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PRIMARY SCHOOL LEAVERS IN RURAL AREAS

by

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PRIMARY SCHOOL LEAVERS IN RURAL AREAS

An enquiry into the occupations and activities of male primary school leavers in the Kikuyu and Tetu locations of Central Province Kenya.

One of the most perplexing features of the developing nations is the rural primary school leaver. He has become a paradox of great interest and speculation. Briefly, it appears that while his years of formal education may prepare him to be more useful in the essential nation building roles of small scale farming and rural development, they also whet his appetite for secondary education and wage employment in the modern urban sector, so scarce in the early stages of development.

Exacerbated by population growth and the falling school age, yearly waves of young primary school leavers apparently meet frustration as they search to fulfil their early hopes, but little is known of how they actually occupy their time. This paper attempts to look at the experiences of two very small groups in the Central Province of Kenya.

In Kenya in 1965 with approximately 50% of the requisite age group receiving primary schooling, 150,048 pupils, enrolled in St.7 and the remaining St.8 classes, left school.¹ So far only very general estimates have been made of the destinations of primary school leavers. The Education Commission Report made a rough calculation of the distribution of the 1964 school leavers and a C.C.K. working party followed this by attempting a more detailed assessment of the 1965 output.² The activities of these primary school leavers formed an important part of the work of the recent Kericho Conference and the enquiries described in this paper were undertaken to provide background material for this conference. Time did not permit a widespread investigation but it was felt that a small case study would be useful in giving detail to the general assessments which had been made. The enquiries which this paper describes attempted to trace two small groups of primary school leavers, to look at the type of occupations they have eventually undertaken and to enquire more closely into the lives of those who had remained at home without the hoped for secondary education or wage employment. While the results cannot be considered nationally representative, it is believed that they offer details and insights about the lives of young people living in the rural areas described.

METHODOLOGY

The areas which were selected were the Kikuyu area of Kiambu district, and the Tetu location of Nyeri district. Whilst it was appreciated that they offered different rural settings the reason for their selection was that the writer had personal contacts in these places and some knowledge of local conditions. Different experiments were tried and in each case the primary school was used as the basis for analysis.

1. A written questionnaire was given to the Standard 7 class of three primary schools in each area.³

1. Ministry of Education Annual Summary 1965 p. 21

2. Report of the Kenya Education Commission and 'After School What', the report of the CCK/CCEA working party.

3. The schools used were:

Kikuyu - Thogoto Primary School Tetu - Giathakwa Primary School

Thirime Primary School

Wandumbi Primary School

Mai-a-ihii Primary School

Kiriti Primary School

The questionnaire was designed to question the pupils about employment aspirations, their knowledge of the educational and employment structure of the country and the type of help they looked for when they left school in order to give a background for the later work. The questionnaire was first pilot tested in January 1966 at two schools in the Kiambaa district of Kiambu and a revised version was then given to three primary schools in each of the selected areas. The questions were in English but a Kikuyu speaking supervisor was present to help with difficulties. The results of these questionnaires have been tabulated and used but they should be treated with caution. Primary school children have great difficulty in expressing their views correctly in English. There are tendencies to give quick answers, to try to please, to copy from neighbours, to miss items out and so on. Nevertheless, as general guide-lines, such questionnaires did provide useful information about the hopes and beliefs of pupils about to leave school.

2. A second experiment was to try and trace a group of Primary school leavers for a given year, in this case 1964. The method used was first to question the headmaster and teachers at the school, and then to question the pupils of Standards 6 & 7 and to compare results. Each boy's name was mentioned and all the various responses recorded. In the great majority of cases it soon became clear who really knew what had happened to the boy in question. A pilot-test was carried out in Kiambaa and then a very careful study in Tetu during which a local investigator went to each boy's home to check information if there were any doubts. This may seem a very rough and ready method but I believe it was remarkably accurate. During this enquiry the investigator, a local teacher, visited the home of every school leaver who was residing there and interviewed the leaver and his parents. He also visited the schools and talked to the headmaster and teachers about school records.

A similar enquiry was tried with 1964 leavers from Thogoto School at Kikuyu. As many as possible of the leavers were traced and a special tea party was organised to which all the male leavers from the school still living at home without employment or secondary education were invited in order to be interviewed. It was intended to use this technique as no permanent interviewer could be employed in the Kikuyu area. In fact no further schools were investigated in this way, but during the course of the discussions with the leavers from Thogoto school the two interviewers, Mr. Job Watene, a temporary teacher at the Alliance High School and myself, were asked to start a class for local school leavers. After the necessary negotiations a class was started in March 1966, although it was stressed from the beginning that the class would have a "club" atmosphere, that there would be no attempt to work for examinations and that academic subjects would only be taught because of their usefulness or interest. English and Arithmetic have been given a commercial slant and subjects like simple Economics and Current Affairs have been included and are very popular. This "club" was first operated at Thogoto Primary School but has now been transferred to the Institute of Adult Studies, and teachers from the Alliance Boy's High School and the Institute are giving classes. The attendance at the club has varied and changes in membership have occurred, but a hard core has remained and although this changes as older members find employment or move away, the club has gradually grown. Two girls have now found their way in.

This venture has provided a very useful contact with a group of Primary school leavers and one of the rules of the club has been that each student should keep a diary which has been marked each week. This has kept the students writing in English, has provided a basis for English corrective exercises, and of course has provided some very useful insights into the activities of young men in the Kikuyu area. It is from these diaries and general conversations with club members that the description of teenage life in the Kikuyu area has been built up.

WHAT DO PUPILS LEAVING SCHOOL EXPECT?

It is generally assumed that approximately two thirds of Primary school pupils are boys and one third are girls that the important age period is 7 - 13. However areas differ. In some areas, Nyeri and Kiambu included, nearly all the children go to Primary school and there is a relatively young school population; in others a much smaller percentage go to school and there is an older primary school population. The ages of the pupils in the Standard 7s' questioned ranged from 11-19 for both boys and girls and were mostly clustered between 13 and 16.

One of the significant features of this age level in Standard 7 is the paradox of opportunities for leavers. The younger pupils are much more acceptable to secondary school principals but are too small for paid employment, whilst the reverse is true for the older pupils. As the school entry age falls so the "gap" between leaving primary school and being old enough to find employment widens.

This section of the paper considers the primary school pupil about to leave school. It is recognised that the "un-schooled" are just as great a consideration but they have not been taken into account in this paper because in the areas studied they do not form a large group. The emphasis in this account is given to boys rather than girls because the thinking which gave rise to this study assumed that boys posed a more urgent employment problem. Girls however are considered at various points and it has become clear that in terms of aspirations the girl school leaver is every bit as hopeful and determined as her male counterpart.

The aspirations of the pupils about to leave primary school have been the focus of much interest and a number of detailed studies have been made recently in East Africa.² Only a brief look is taken here and it is focused mainly on the knowledge of the school leaver about the job market he is going into and the degree of realism with which he prepares for his probable lot.

1. The concept of the "gap" and its complications is explained in the Report of the CCK/CCEA Working Party "After School What?"
2. See D. Koff 'Education and Employment Perspectives of Kenya Primary Pupils'
- J.B. Heijnen 'Results of a Job Preference Test'
(Standard 8 pupils, Mwanza, Tanzania)
Both these are Kericho Conference Papers.

The pupils ranked seven of the major alternatives which face them after leaving school as follows:

1. Government aided secondary school
2. Training Courses, (e.g. E.A.R. & H., E.A.P. & L., Police, etc),
3. Government Trade Schools
4. Private Secondary School (Girls marked employment as highly as this type of secondary education)
5. Harambee Secondary School
6. Employment
7. Work at home on father's land.

The question was badly phrased in that the obvious first choice was put at No.1 and the least popular at No.7 but even so the results clearly confirmed the overriding popularity of the government secondary school and the unpopularity of work at home. The intermediate rankings were much less clear cut but in general education was preferred to direct employment, underlining the assumption that some form of education or training offers access to better jobs. However, both boys and girls seem to prefer the prospect of government training courses and government technical and trade schools to private secondary schools or harambee schools, suggesting that a safe 'blue collar' training is preferable to a doubtful 'white' one. This was confirmed in interviews. In many cases girls preferred direct employment to less secure educational possibilities. A second question, somewhat more projective in approach, asked pupils to choose the best of four possibilities and to give their reasons. The results are given below:

	Boys			Kikuyu			Tetu			Total
	M	Tho	Thi	W	K	G	W	K	G	
1. Harambee School	32	25	20	77	21	9	7	37	114	
2. Get a job	7	15	7	29	24	22	9	55	84	
3. Land on Settlement Scheme	7	6	3	16	7	19	6	32	48	
4. Work on father's farm	1	0	0	1	0	3	2	5	6	
TOTAL	47	46	30	123	52	53	24	129	252	
	Girls									Total
	M	Tho	Thi	W	K	G	W	K	G	
1. Get a job	9	17	7	33	19	24	6	49	82	
2. Harambee School	16	15	14	45	8	6	10	24	69	
3. Land on settlement Scheme	3	5	3	11	0	6	2	8	19	
4. Work on father's farm	3	0	0	3	1	0	2	3	6	
TOTAL	31	37	24	92	28	36	20	82	176	

They confirm the interest in secondary education but offer an interesting comparison with the desire for employment. Overall, girls preferred employment to Harambee school education, one of the reasons being that they felt that fathers were less likely to pay fees for them. But there was also a significant difference between the two areas, employment being more popular in Tetu with both boys and girls than Harambee school education. This is difficult to understand, but it seems to lie in the greater sophistication in the Kikuyu area, where so many people are employed in Nairobi.

Boys particularly are more aware of the difficulties of getting a job and the need for some form of further education, no matter how doubtful, in order to improve job prospects. Pupils in Tetu, less aware of these difficulties, are apparently still seeing Harambee school education as an alternative to immediate employment, whilst in Kikuyu boys are more likely to regard it as a pre-requisite. It must also be mentioned that Harambee schools in the Kikuyu area are generally more developed, better equipped and staffed than those in Tetu. The reasons given for choices, showed a remarkable degree of realism. While Harambee education was still selected because "I want to get more education to become an important man", many pupils rejected it because of the cost or preferred employment because of the need to give immediate help in the family. One boy illustrated the dilemmas "Because we have no farm I want to get a job, because my father like me to get the job. He can not get the money (for fees) because harambee secondary school is not good." The interest in land on a settlement scheme, whilst not great, at least points to some recognition of the need to rely on agriculture and a latent interest in farming. The nineteen boys from Kiriti School emphasised the importance of land the basic need for food, and more specifically "because I can grow cash crops", and "because I want to be a farmer." The boys and girls choosing to work at home were perhaps a surprise but tend to confirm the interest in farming where it is profitable. The one boy in the Kikuyu area comes from a family running a market garden. Three of the boys in Tetu come from families with farms growing cash crops and two of them mention the returns these crops bring. One boy wanted to work with his father and the sixth partly misunderstood the question, assuming that he would be given land. The three girls from Kikuyu had fathers with large farms (50, 17, 8 acres) and the three girls in Tetu all came from farms growing cash crops.

The job preference question asked: "If you cannot go to a secondary school what type of job available to primary school leavers would you most like to do?" and "Why do you think you will like this job?" A table of the selections follows:

BOYS

KIKUYU		TETU	
Mechanic/Engineer	30	Teacher	37
Teacher	18	Police	15
Farmer	18	Driver	14
Clerk	15	Mechanic/Engineer	14
Driver	9	Clerk/Typing	14
Railway (EAR & H)	5	EAR & H	8
Musician	4	EAP & L	5
Navy	3	Shopkeeper/Trader	5
Agriculture Instructor	2	Army	4
Dresser	2	Dresser	3
Traffic Warden	2	Agriculture	3
EAP & L/Electrician	2	Veterinary	3
Salesman	1	Post Office	1
Artist	1	Book Keeping	1
Office Boy	1	Surveying	1
Bus Driver	1	Navy	1
Electrician	1	Carpenter	1
Tailor	1		
Police	1		
Mason	1		
Plumber	1		
Priest	1		
Businessman	1		
Manager	1		

GIRLS

KIKUYU		TETU	
Nursing	45	Nursing	38
Teaching	25	Teaching	36
Clerk/Typist	10	Clerk/Typist	13
Farming	4	Police	1
Tailor	3	Trader	1
Nursery	1	Agriculture	1
Musician	1		

In asking open ended questions it was hoped that an insight into pupils' knowledge of the job market as well as his preferences would be shown. The results shown in the table must be treated with caution as copying obviously took place and the interpretation of obscure choices was necessary. It is clear that girls are just as job-oriented as the boys, though the range of choice is less. In general the most popular choices for boys were teacher, mechanic/engineer, clerk and driver. The main reason for the popularity of these choices seems to be that they are occupations which do not involve heavy physical labour and can be obtained without further education. The popularity of mechanic/engineer is very interesting for it is only recently that Africans have been able to apprentice themselves to this trade and opportunities are still limited. Nevertheless boys seem to realise the value of mechanic's skill and the ability to handle his tools clearly has prestige.

The reasons given for choosing jobs provided some interesting insights into pupils' thinking but showed an unfortunate lack of understanding about the training necessary for jobs and procedure for obtaining them. In a very large number of cases a regular salary is the first and foremost consideration and the reason given for selecting all types of jobs. A second common reason is to help people, children or the government, and a third was the opportunity for further study. Turning to more specific reasons.

(a) Teacher

"It is because I am going to be employed quickly."

"I shall be given further training."

An untrained teacher's post is clearly much sought after for these reasons: Teaching also offers security and is not considered hard work.

"I can do it even when I am old."

"It is not very hard." "It is an easy job."

This sentiment was repeated several times for the most popular jobs - "hard work" is clearly seen as monotonous or strenuous physical labour.

(b) Mechanic/Engineer

Several boys wished to be engineers because of the high pay, but they were hazy about the details, "Engineer" and "mechanic" in many cases meant in reality motor mechanic.

"I would like to be an engineer.....to be one who can tell the noise of a car then say what what is wrong with it."

"I like this job because it is not hard to be trained."

"Even those who are not educated can do it".

Yet a mechanic's job clearly has prestige and interest:

"I like this job because if I know about it I will be able to make something important."

(c) Clerk

Clerking is popular but not unduly so and it is interesting that other more specialised "white collar" jobs are identified: typist, office boy, "Office master" and book keeper, although ironically one of the commonest reasons for choosing these types of jobs is because it was felt that they did not require further education beyond the skill of typing:

"It is work I can do with my little education."

(d) Farming, Agriculture, Veterinary

Surprisingly farming was much more popular in Kikuyu than in Tetu, possibly because the pupils of Kikuyu realise how much harder it is to get other forms of employment and because land is so scarce they value farming more greatly. The difficulties of land shortage were mentioned frequently and the need to "get money by farming." Others show a rural sentiment: "Many Africans are farmers.", "Because I know farming." One does not get the impression that there is a general dislike of farming, only perhaps a dislike of the hard physical labour involved.. Beyond this, a latent interest in farming shows through, although it is only strong where good cash returns are being made.

The straggling distribution of the less popular choices shows up the uneven knowledge of the job market. Often such jobs were chosen because of a relative's influence. One girl in the pre-test gave a clue by selecting the East African Railways because "My sister works there and she can employ me." Girls tended to give more altruistic reasons for their selection of nursing and teaching and also mentioned such comments as:

"I like looking after little children".

The income provided was important and so was the status. Nursing was seen as a job in which "You don't get free time but it is a good job." It also had value in that "I can learn hygiene and help my family."

A final question asked for the leavers' views of their prospects:

"Now think carefully. It is difficult to get a place in a secondary school or to get a job. What do you think you will be doing one year after you leave school?"

This question is clearly loaded because of the attempt to get the children to think at the right level. In Kikuyu 50% of the boys and 58% of the girls and in Tetu 86% of the boys and 95% of the girls gave answers such as "helping my parents", "farming at home", or "looking after cattle", although many also contained provisos about "studying at home" and "doing correspondence." Few of the pupils gave definite answers about looking for work; very few thought they would have a job. Some, mainly in Kikuyu, mentioned the possibilities of repeating and the need to study at home because "my father has no land." One boy outlined his programme:

"I will first be borrowing books from friends who are a class ahead and then I will be studying hard and during my resting time I will be helping my parents with any work at home."

In summing up expectations it is apparent that school leavers do have a fairly realistic attitude to the lives they are likely to lead after school, albeit a disappointed one. There is the full realisation that education leads to a better job and must be sought either in or out of school. All types of jobs are eagerly sought though a weather eye is kept for educational/promotional opportunities involved. In respect of agriculture, there is an ambivalent attitude; an underlying respect for land and farming skill lingers in many young people and can be aroused (witness the 4K Clubs) but unless agriculture can demonstrate powers to provide more than a subsistence living it cannot compete with regular income jobs and in areas where families are large and land is over-committed or unavailable, it is a non-starter.

WHERE DO SCHOOL LEAVERS GO?

In its assessment for 1964 the Kenya Education Commission calculated that of the 103, 400 school leavers 11.5% went to secondary school, 3.5% found some form of training course, and 19.5% entered wage employment, leaving 65.5% with "no prospect of wage earning employment or further education."¹

Since 1964 changes have taken place. Training course selectors and employers are now increasingly using a year or two's secondary education as a criterion to separate possible candidates from the great mass of K.P.E. holders.²

Teachers Colleges select older candidates who already have some experience as untrained teachers, the tendency to repeat primary education is more pronounced and the provision of unaided secondary schools has increased greatly.

A pilot study of two schools in the Kiambaa area of Kiambu, about 15 miles from Nairobi, where market gardening flourishes, showed that of 119 male school leavers (1964) traced at the end of 1965 7% were in aided secondary schools. 23% in unaided secondary schools and 32% were repeating primary school. 4% had found local wage employment as market attendants or on farms and 5% had found jobs away from home mainly in Nairobi. 17% were living and working at home and 2% had gone to live with relatives. This figure would probably have been larger if the 8% untraced could have been found. A final 2% were accounted for in prison and a mental hospital.

1. Kenya Education Commission Report. Vol. 1 .p.135
2. The introduction of the Kenya Junior Secondary Certificate will almost certainly increase this tendency.

A full survey was then carried out from April to June 1966 in the Tetu location of Nyeri. All 203 male leavers (1964) from four schools were traced. The table below shows the activities of these boys approximately 16 months after they had left school:-

	1st Attempt at KPE in 1964	Repeating KPE in 1964	Total	%
<u>1. Education</u>				
Aided secondary schools Form 2 (1966)	5	19	24	12
Form 1 1966 (repeated St. 7 in 1965)	7	4	11	5.5
Unaided secondary schools Forms 1 & 2	29	20	49	24
Government & Commercial Training Courses	0	0	0	0
Primary Schools (i.e. repeating St.7 in 1966) ¹	26	6	32	15.5
<u>2. Wage Employment</u>				
Living at home & going to work	4	2	6	3
Living away & going to work ²	8	4	12	6
<u>3. No wage Employment</u>				
Living at home	33	15	48	23.5
Living away with relatives	15	2	17	8.5
<u>4. Other</u>				
Family moves from the area	2	0	2	1
Lost contact with home	2	0	2	1
	131	72	203	100

Briefly, the destinations of primary school leavers can be divided up into a few convenient groups:

1. One boy was repeating St.6.
2. Only one boy amongst those working had completed a training course. He had become a police constable.

1. Secondary Education

- (i) Government maintained and assisted schools
- (ii) Unaided mission schools - normally older schools of reasonable standard that have not received grants in aid.
- (iii) Unaided harambee (community self help) schools, offering education to Kenya Junior Secondary Certificate and in some cases to School Certificate.
- (iv) Unaided private schools and commercial colleges - these are run for profit and usually offer a very inadequate education aiming at School Certificate. The commercial colleges vary from those offering courses up to School Certificate level plus some book-keeping and a little typing, to those offering sketchy typing lessons for perhaps an hour a day for a few weeks.

Of the 203 students in Tetu who left school in December 1964, there were approximately 42% occupied in some form of secondary education in May 1966. It should be noted that some of those going to private schools or harambee schools (particularly private schools) tend to drop out, but others remaining at home may decide to enrol a year later.

2. Primary Education

In many parts of Kenya there is an understandable desire for pupils to try to repeat Standard 7 in the hope of either getting a K.P.E. Certificate or better grades and consequently a secondary school place. This matter is largely left in the hands of the Headmaster although it is understood that Standard 7 places must not be denied to regular pupils and Standard 7 classes must not be overcrowded. In fact, repeating goes on to a very large degree and some children repeat Standard 6 and lower forms in order to better their chances. Repeating three and four times is not unheard of, particularly in the case of younger boys who stand a good chance of eventually getting a secondary school place. At the beginning of each school year many primary headmasters are faced with large numbers of anxious parents but in fairness to them they generally try to adopt a policy of selecting the better and younger pupils. It is in their interest to do so, of course, because much of their work is measured in the local community by the number of secondary school places that the school obtains. Of the 203 boys who took K.P.E. in Tetu in 1964, 36% were repeaters and in 1966, 25 boys were still repeating Standard 7, 6 for at least the second time and one was repeating Standard 6 as he was a very young student.

1. One Tetu boy was traced who had repeated 3 times eventually getting a place at a government secondary school.

3. Training Courses

1. Government Technical and Trade Schools

There are at present 7 of these schools which take in students at the K.P.E. level and offer 2 year courses leading to the Government Trade Test Grade 3 and 3 year courses leading to the Grade 2 Test.

2. Departmental Training Courses.

These include the P3 Teacher Training Courses run by the Ministry of Education Teacher Training Colleges and courses run by such organisations as the Police Training School and the Training Hospitals.

3. The National Youth Service.

This recruits a number of post primary boys in each district annually.

4. Voluntary and Commercial Training Schools.

These are training schools run by various private companies and voluntary agencies e.g. The East African Power and Lighting Company Training School and the Christian Industrial Training Centre.

In general, these courses are very popular and there is strong competition for places which are hard to find. Of the 203 boys leaving school in 1964, only one found such a course. He trained to be a policeman.

4. Employment

In both the Kiambaa and Tetu studies 9-10% of the leavers had found employment and the majority of these had had to leave home to do so. Further investigations showed that in most cases employment had been secured through relatives or other personal contacts although one or two boys had simply been lucky.

5. Living away with relatives

It is understandable that school leavers, hoping for employment should go to live with relations who have homes in urban areas. In some cases they go to act as temporary servants, but often they walk the streets making up a sizeable proportion of the urban unemployed, in some cases becoming a disruptive influence in the life of their urban relatives. In the Tetu study, 8% of students were living away with urban relatives without employment in May 1966.

6. Living at Home

The lives of those students who remain in the rural areas (living at home without any regular form of paid employment or schooling) is the concern of the last section of this paper. In fact, the numbers and the samples taken in these studies is surprisingly small; in approximately 14% in Kiambaa and in Tetu approximately 24%.

PRIMARY SCHOOL LEAVERS IN RURAL AREAS: WHAT DO THEY DO?

Very often it is assumed that the teenager living at home is unemployed, doing nothing, frustrated and a source of political discontent. "Doing nothing" is an unhelpful and inaccurate generalisation used to cover a lack of knowledge. A closer look at these young people shows that whilst their lives are far from full, they do engage in a broad range of activities.

Two attempts have been made to look at these activities. The first has been composed from a review of the diaries of the Thogoto Young Adults Education Club members and the events discussed during interviews and conversations. The second as a record of the interviews with 47 of the 48 school leavers in Tetu.¹

KIKUYU

From the outset it must be recognised that in the rural area, life is lived at a much slower pace than is accepted by city dwellers. The very nature of an existence where one needs to walk half a mile for water, a mile to get to one's garden and where one needs to spend a whole day waiting for a ten minute interview with a District Officer or health assistant spells under-employment. Travelling is difficult; buses to Nairobi are haphazard and one needs to walk to most local destinations. Shopping is a time-consuming process. Because money is so short, very small quantities are purchased, for instance cigarettes and sweets are sold singly, tea and coffee in 2 oz. packets, and often items are purchased just before they are used. A good example of the time taken to do things is the process of washing clothes. Nearly every boy washes his own clothes. He starts by going to the shop to buy soap, he then returns to his home to collect his clothes, and walks to the river. It is not normal practice to bring water to the home for this purpose because carrying water is very heavy work. He washes his clothes and then has to wait for them to dry. He then returns home and prepares to iron them. He heats charcoal, puts it in the iron, and finally completes his work. If a lot of walking is involved this can take a whole day. "At about a quarter to one I started washing my clothes, I finished washing them at almost eight."

Given this general proviso of under-employment, the pattern of the young adult's life depends largely on the amount of land available for family use and the size of the family. Girls are seldom left without a job to do. Besides working on the land there are all the household tasks of collecting wood, fetching water, washing utensils, and of course looking after younger children; if not their own younger sisters and brothers, the children of older sisters and brothers. In poorer homes, young adult girls often go to look for work as house servants at very low rates of pay.

"I went to look for a job to Mr. X. He gave me work in the house. I worked 'till evening. I went home to help my mother. I went to take water. After that I went to see my friend. She told me that she was sick but any way after two weeks she will be alright. Then I went home. I took my highway book seven, I did maths."

¹ One boy proved to be a permanent invalid and was not interviewed

This little passage shows clearly some of the influences in the life of an eighteen year old girl living with her widowed mother on a small piece of borrowed land. It is not surprising that girls react against this type of existence and want to run away to towns. Not far from this girls home, four young women live together running a brothel. This is of course an exception. The normal route for escape is seen as education and a job, and it accounts for the strong employment aspirations expressed by the girls in Standard 7. Though for the majority, the final destination will be an early marriage, and the unavoidable duties of running a home.

The life of the young man is perhaps easier. He is expected to work on the home farm but, where the farm is small the work is limited, and is of course affected by the seasons. When work on the family garden is finished there are a variety of other jobs. In some cases boys have small pieces of land they can use for themselves and among the diary keepers of the "Thogoto Young Adults Education Club" there are several teenagers who keep rabbits and hens. Selling eggs at 20 cents each in the market is a slow process of making money but it does mean a steady supply of pocket money. The main problem is raising the initial capital to buy the chickens.

Casual labour—especially in the digging and harvesting seasons is relatively easy to obtain and if a boy needs money badly enough he will look for it.

The table below was prepared from the pilot interviews with 12 of the 19 Standard 7 School leavers (1964) from Thogoto School who were known to be living at home without further schooling or permanent employment.

No.	Age	KPE Result	Acres of Family Land	No. of Bros.	Father emplyd.	Worked at home last month	Obtained casual work last mnth.	Own Agri-cultural efforts	Choice
1	17	P(R)	0	3	Yes	No	No	Nil	Sec.Sch
2	19	F(R)	2	6	Yes	Yes	Yes	Nil	Sec.Sch
3	17	F	$\frac{1}{2}$	4	Yes	No	No	Nil	Land
4	18	F	$\frac{1}{2}$	3	Yes	Yes	Yes	Nil	Sec.Sch
5	19	F	$1\frac{1}{2}$	6	Yes	Yes	Yes	Hens	Empty
6	20	F	1	2	No	Yes	Yes	Nil	Land
7	17	F	1	2	No	Yes	Yes	Nil	Sec.Sch
8	19	P(R)	0	1	Yes	No	Part time job as gardener		Land
9	18	F	1	4	No	Yes	Yes	Nil	Sec.Sch
10	20	F	0	2	Yes	No	Yes	Nil	Sec.Sch
11**	18	F	$1\frac{1}{2}$	5	No	Yes	Yes	Hens	Land
12	17	F	1	2	No	Yes	No	Nil	Sec.Sch

** Member of the Thogoto Young Farmers Club

This table attempts to summarize a number of the important factors related to the occupations and income of school leavers. It shows the age and educational level of the leavers, the sources of family income, the attempts they make themselves to find work, and finally choice they would make if offered.

1. A place in a Secondary School
2. A piece of land on a settlement scheme
3. Regular employment in a factory.

In several cases the dependence of the leaver upon his family and his father's income is clearly shown. The lack of land available in this area is also very clear and the ratio of land to brothers is frightening.

For a more detailed view, some of the entries of one of these young men (No.5) in his diary are reproduced below.

- 31st March. . . . Thatched mother's house, and spend rest of day reading.
- 1st April. . . . Casual job digging 8 - 4.30 for 2/50 plus lunch.
- 2nd " Dug lines for maize and potatoes in family garden. Went shopping and studied in the evening.
- 3rd " Went to Church, then visited friends.
- 4th " "I was at home all day for making studies and did some work, I built somewhere to keep my chickens and fed them also. We have no garden except a small one which we have borrowed about 1.5 acres, that is the reason why I am not working because we have finished digging it".
- 5th " Went to see a friend who goes to Kikuyu School and spent most of the day talking, warned his friend to work hard to get into a secondary school. Then reflected on his own education. "I have done it very well and I work very much because I don't want to be failed in K.P.E. exams." "I am glad if I can speak English well and know how to write it."
- 6th " Washed clothes and then read in the afternoon. "In the evening I was going for a walk to listen to the radio what it had said. Then I heard the news and therefore I went home full of thoughtfulness of what I should be? I took some books and read and read till I went to sleep."
- 7th " "In the morning I woke up and said my prayers at 6 o'clock then I washed my face. Then I took my book and started cramming. I wrote some words which were difficult for me to understand. "

These comments were chosen because they show such insights. Only a few of the diaries are this reflective, but these words do convey a very good impression of the type of lives which the diaries show. I have not had time to make a detailed content analysis of the diaries but under a number of headings below I have tried to pick out some of the important features which show through in a preliminary reading.

HOME and FAMILY Most of the boys still live with parents. Fathers and mothers are responsible for providing their food and shelter. In return every boy works on the garden, runs errands and carries out general maintenance at the home. The boy is usually held responsible for clothing himself and finding his own pocket money.

Tensions increase between parents and boys as the boy gets older and wants to control his life but cannot find the money to do so. If money is earned by casual labour it often is spent on household purchases such as sugar and paraffin. Most boys clearly retain respect for their parents and other senior relations, although one boy commented with irritation about uncles who abused him. Visiting relations is common and important. Regular journeys are made to Nairobi and Limuru to see uncles, aunts, brothers and sisters. Where the visit is to an employed person the boys often comment on the small financial gifts they receive. In some cases the boy remains for a longer period. Two club members have gone to live in Nairobi with an uncle and a brother and have left the club, whilst others have had periods away helping relations with their digging. One young man found work in an uncle's shop and another found employment on a European's farm in Limuru where his father is labourer. Visits to and from relations are clearly joyous occasions in the family life and account for much of the leisure time. Weddings followed by the family parties are commented on with gusto.

AGRICULTURE Working in the garden is accepted as commonplace and while there is some aversion to the strenuous manual labour involved, most of the comments are about the lack of land.

The presence of the rains during the months when these diaries were written had an effect on the activities mentioned. Most boys spent several hours a week in the gardens, digging, planting and weeding. One boy had the regular task of milking the family's cows and selling the milk, others comment on their duties of looking after cattle and sheep. Two boys keep hens of their own and sell eggs two more have rabbits, and others mention selling and buying cattle at the local market.

Several boys belonged to the "Thogoto Young Farmers club," a self-help scheme run on 20 acres of the Presbyterian Church land by Thomas Haller an American Agricultural Missionary. 20 boys spend three days a week working on the land and doing classes on practical and theoretical agriculture. They are paid 4/- a week for their work with the promise of a share of the profits when crops are sold. The boys show enthusiasm for their studies and comment freely on their activities at the club.

"First of all I dug the lines of maize three feet wide from line to line. I dug about twenty lines of maize. Then I dug another line of potatoes two feet wide."

Particular interest is shown when visits are arranged. The Sigona Smallholding Settlement Scheme provoked interest because of the prospects of the settlers.

"The agricultural advisor showed us the farms of the farmers who have improved very much on their farms in mixed farming."

Whilst agricultural work may not be their ideal, the boys are clearly aware of its possibilities. During a film show on farming in England, a very knowledgeable discussion on the merits of the quantity of milk given by Friesians as against the quality given by Guernseys developed. If land were available one feels that many of the boys would want to become farmers, would work hard and would learn more. Several have commented on the lack of suitable agricultural instruction manuals for their standard of English.

CASUAL WORK Casual work does not appear to be too hard to find although most of this work is agricultural and was clearly affected by the rains during this period. Nearly every boy has been able to obtain one or two days work a week and several work regularly for the same man. Jobs include:

Digging gardens, planting maize, mending cattle kraals,
Helping with house construction, and digging latrines.

Some boys travelled further and obtained jobs in bars, shops, hotels in Dagoretti and Kibera, and a few went occasionally to Karen to work in the gardens of larger houses. Local pay varies from 1/50 cents to 3/50 cents per day with or without food. The day normally lasts from 7-30 a.m to 4-30 p.m. Work in bars and shops is better paid. One boy received 7/50 cents per day from an Asian shopkeeper in Kibera.

EDUCATION All the boys show an interest in education.. They are fully aware of the need to pass K.P.E. and if they have failed, would like to re-sit the examination. Each one is attracted by the possibility of a secondary school yet when questioned they showed very little faith in the ability of the local Harambee school to get students through the School Certificate. In some cases, boys have started at Private High Schools in Nairobi but have fallen out because of lack of fees. It is necessary to recognise that secondary education is not only important for what it may lead to but for the status it offers here and now. A secondary school boy, no matter from what school, has a clear and respected role. Less is expected of him in the garden, parents are more proud of him and girls are more likely to be attracted by him. Old school blazers are very popular garments, for clothes carry status. Boys complain about having to buy shorts (rather than long trousers) because of lack of money.

Some boys work hard in class and at their diaries, others do not. They find academic work a struggle and make little effort. Most boys claim to study on their own but this varies. One boy who is very able, plans a daily timetable and intends to take the Kenya Junior Secondary Examinations as a qualification to study for School Certificate.

"The rest of the day I was studying. First I did maths from "General Arithmetic for Schools."
Then I did a bit of Biology. Lastly I read "Tales from Shakespeare" by Charles Dickens (Lamb) until six in the evening."

Others merely mentioned "I did my studies." A number is enrolled in Correspondence Colleges but submit work infrequently because of lack of money.

Reading is clearly popular for its own sake and most boys mention reading.

"I came in at half past seven. I got my book as usual and read from page 28 to page 32 and I went to bed because I was tired."

Books which appear to be most popular are stories which convey excitement. Special mention was made of "Chaka the Zulu," "Xhosa Folk Tales" and books on Kikuyu folk lore. Simply written thrillers are also very popular, but many boys will try to read any sort of book they can get hold of. Newspapers are very scarce but are read avidly when they can be procured.

SEARCHING FOR EMPLOYMENT Occasionally boys make trips into Nairobi. One boy went to Kamiti Prison for an interview for the prison service but was turned down because of his height. Another was absent from class one week because he had been staying with a friend and visiting the Labour Exchange in Nairobi. He had spent several days waiting and finally returned because he "was hungry." Sometimes boys write for jobs which they see in the East African Standard but this is not common because jobs for K.P.E. level are not often advertised and in any case a "grape vine" operates so that once a boy has failed to receive a reply to his letter the others know that there is little point in writing.

ENTERTAINMENT Entertainment includes walking with or visiting friends, occasionally visiting a picture show in Dagoretti market or Kikuyu, occasionally playing the juke boxes at these market places and dancing to them. Divisional football matches are watched and three boys mention playing in matches. The club football games are enjoyed thoroughly.

During the athletic season, a number of teenagers competed in the local district sports and two or three train quite hard at the local Teacher Training College where facilities are offered to them. A large number went to see Kipchoge open a new athletics track at the local day secondary school and several went to see him run in Nairobi.

A number of the boys drink local beer, one was recently imprisoned for drunkenness. Several smoke when they can afford it. Few boys have radios in their homes and have to go to shops to listen to them. They comment that radios are only found in the richer homes!

To a large extent the type of entertainment depends on money. If one has some, one spends it on bus journeys, juke boxes, pictures, sometimes shown at market centres and if not one joins one's friends at home and all sit and talk. Many days go by in this manner before there is another spree.

Often entertainment is as much conditioned by the capacity to enjoy oneself as to the facilities available. The description below is taken from a Geography essay describing a local village:

"Boys and girls of Gikambura are not lazy and you can always see them with jembes on their shoulders but there are some who like always to kill their days sleeping outside and waiting to disturb others in the harvesting period.

There are clubs for old men which are opened every day. For young people there is one hall where they turn over, some Saturdays and Sundays for a dance. When they are there they have fun like kids and nobody cares if the other's parents are famous or not.

My best friend in that village is a boy called Geof whose father is a newspaper man. We stay together all we can and just laugh our heads off together at the other funny things that happen. We know lots of the same girls and boys and usually aged between sixteen and twenty. Sometimes we go out on dates together and sometimes alone. I have to admit I love living in Gikambura. It is a wonderful place for a teenager. The only trouble is that its all so much fun, its hard to think of anywhere else for my future happiness and thats all."

RELIGION Most boys claim to be regular church attenders and I have seen several going to church on different Sundays. One or two are particularly keen, having been affected by one of the local evangelical "drives" that occur from time to time. Nearly every boy begins his day: "I got up and said my prayers." Perhaps this is because the area from which the boys come is very near to what was once the Central Mission of the P.C.E.A. Church.

This has been a brief survey of the contents of diaries and conversations with their writers. It is difficult to assess how accurate the information is as one suspects that boys deliberately try to create favourable impressions and that there is also a tendency to tell "hard luck stories". Certainly the appearance of most of the boys does not suggest abject poverty. No attempt has been made to assess political attitudes but some generalisations can be suggested. While the boys accept their existence it is clear that the very nature of their lives involves the under-employment of their talent and dampening of their endeavour. They accept the problems of their present way of life but each boy is preoccupied in trying to find his way to a new standard of life which he knows is possible. There is little overt hostility to any particular group or person. A few have expressed the view that it is a government responsibility to find work, but most have some appreciation of the Government's economic difficulties.

They were very interested in the "little election" and were divided and vocal in their support. An element of tribalism could be detected but few took the proposals for free land and free education at face value. No direct questions were asked, the information was gleaned solely from overhearing conversations. No mention of political leanings has been offered in any of the diaries.

TETU

Although the tribal traditions and the pattern of life are similar to those in the Kikuyu area, the people of Tetu live in conditions which differ in certain respects. The population is less dense, the distance from Nairobi is very much greater and cash farming is much more advanced. It is not intended to make close comparisons between the two areas because of the different character of the surveys but some of the effects of these differing conditions do show through.

FAMILY LIFE

Of the forty-seven boys interviewed twenty-nine came from monogamous families but only four families had more than two wives, the highest number being five. The father of this family had the largest amount of land, thirty two acres, and also ran a bus and a shop. Family size was large in nearly all cases. Only four had less than three brothers, although several of the brothers had moved away from home and established themselves with farms or businesses of their own. They were often helping either by finding work, providing money for correspondence courses, or promising fees for further education. In two cases where parents were dead the boy was living with a brother.

The importance of the family to the boys was very clear. Only one boy had become a serious disturbance in his family and was not prepared to do the work required of him. Others hoped that their fathers would help them by providing fees, or allowing them to have land of their own.

They had frequently been disappointed but this had not aroused antagonism. In many cases it was clear that the boy played an important role in the family's prosperity, particularly where a special effort was being made with cash crops or grade cattle. Labour is important and a 17 year old boy is a vital part of the family's labour force where land is available and the family shows enterprise. In several cases, where fathers were dead, the boy was fully occupied, sharing with his mother the responsibilities of running a farm and educating the younger children. The place of the boy in the family is very important in defining his responsibilities. A relatively large number of the boys interviewed were born among the first three children. Boys born later in the family presumably are more likely to be helped with employment or further education by the older siblings. In two cases boys had been left with their mothers because of some of family break up.

LAND, AGRICULTURE AND WORK

Much of the farming which a family undertakes depends on the amount and quality of land available. The following table shows the distribution of land amongst the immediate families concerned:

Acres	Families
0	5
0-3	9
3-6	12
6-9	14
9-12	5

However, the use of the land differed greatly and clearly depended on the drive of the senior members of the family. Twenty-five of the families had planted cash crops (coffee, tea or pyrethrum) and most of the others with land made money by selling vegetables locally. Twenty-nine families had grade cattle, and most of the others had local cattle and sheep. Three families had pigs. A rough estimate, based on the number of days worked during the month previous to the interview, showed that twenty-four of the boys were more or less fully occupied at home, whilst most of the others did important part time work on the farm. Only in six cases had boys undertaken casual labour in the previous month; in five cases farming and in one case as a builder's labourer in Nyeri; yet casual work was fairly easy to find. Payment averaged at 2/50 cents a day. One boy helped a brother with his taxi, a second helped a brother who sold charcoal, others visited brothers and uncles on the nearby Mweiga settlement scheme and helped with work. The majority of the boys hoped eventually to find work and said they were constantly on the look out for wage employment, but one sensed that the degree of urgency differed, depending on the work to do at home. Ten had been away to live with relatives and friends in urban centres, in the hope of obtaining employment, but had returned. Twenty-one had registered with labour exchanges, twenty in Nyeri and one in Nakuru. Two boys had had jobs in local shops but had lost them when the shops had gone bankrupt. Only a few boys had taken up work on their own initiative. Two were members of 4K clubs and had projects, with rabbits and one boy had 62 hens from which he was getting good returns. Several boys had asked for land to use for themselves but only one had been allowed this. He was growing and selling vegetables.

EDUCATION AND TRAINING

Of the forty-seven boys, fifteen had been repeaters and twenty-three had passed the K.P.E., eleven having repeated to do so. Four boys had K.P.E. with one 'A' two 'B' in English and Maths, (Fairly near to the standard required by an aided secondary school), but no boy had refused a place at an aided secondary school. Many boys initially claimed to be studying at home but this was checked by the interviewer asking to see the books being used. Of the boys from Wandumbi School, one with a good K.P.E. (A-,C-,B), was working regularly and had a good supply of books. He hoped to take the Kenya English test and eventually Cambridge School Certificate. Three more had some books and made limited efforts. The remainder had no books and admitted that they did not work, some even said that they had no time. Others occasionally borrowed primary school text books from brothers and sisters. One boy had lost much of his English and could only answer questions in Kikuyu. In most cases attempts had been made to repeat. Two boys had dropped out from a local harambee school and a third had returned from a private secondary school in Nairobi because of lack of fees. One boy had been to extra mural classes in Nyeri. In terms of vocational training, one boy had taken a teagrowers course, two were doing B.T.C. correspondence courses in radio engineering and typing respectively, and two went to Nyeri to learn typing from a friend who was a typist and was teaching them out of office hours. One boy, whose brother owned a taxi, was learning how to drive and another was apprenticed to his father as a tailor.

Education is still an important factor in the lives of school leavers but as they become engaged in other activities interest wanes or becomes diverted into more practical forms of training. Only ten of the forty-seven questioned chose secondary education and only three could be said to be making a real effort with their own academic studies, although several were learning more practical/vocational skills. By and large it was the more able pupils who remained interested in studying. The others soon give up.

A final question asked these pupils which they would prefer:

a place in a secondary scheme	10
a job in a factory	33
a plot of land on a settlement scheme	4
	47

The result as shown against the choices suggest that whilst the glamour of education fades after leaving school wage employment is still seen to be the major avenue to personal security and eventual independence.

To give a fuller picture of the results of this study and to show more clearly the relationships between the various factors in individual lives brief case studies of the 15 leavers from Giathakwa School are included as a final part of the paper.

1. 18 Years Old. Failed K.P.E. First Attempt.

This boy's father is dead. He is the oldest son at home and helps mother to manage the land. There are 12 acres of land, but most of this is rented out to other families at 100/- per acre per annum. There are 2 grade cows and 4 local cows, half an acre of land is planted with cash crops. Maize, beans and potatoes are sold in the local market and the family has planted some tea. In the early part of 1965 he went to Nyeri daily to look for employment but now seldom goes because he is so busy at home. He is responsible, with his mother, for handling the family finances and paying for younger children's school fees. He has completed a seven day tea growers course run by the Agricultural Department. He chose a job in a factory.

2. 16 Years old. Passed K.P.E. C B+C+ Second Attempt.

Comes from a relatively wealthy family. One brother is a Police constable, a second is at a Government secondary school. The father is on the primary school committee and is a Church elder. The family has 8 acres of land, most of it paddocked and 6 grade cows. The father attends courses at Wambugi Farmers Institute regularly. The boy visited a brother-in-law in Nakuru for one month in 1965. He helps his father, looking after cattle and is doing a correspondence course. His labour is probably needed at home at present, but he will probably get a place in a harambee school eventually. He chose a secondary school place.

3. 16 Years Old. Failed K.P.E. First Attempt.

He is the eldest son. His father has 6 acres of land and has recently planted coffee. He sells maize, beans and potatoes in the local market. He has 1 grade cow and 4 local cows. He owns a hotel at Kamakwa near Nyeri and is mainly concerned with the running of this. The boy did apply to Nyeri Labour Office for a job and spent two weeks at his father's hotel but now is fully occupied at home on the farm, and is interested in the work. During his leisure time he plays football.

He chose a job in a factory.

4. 17 Years Old. Passed K.P.E. - D,B-,D. First Attempt.

He is the eldest son. His father has four acres of land, growing maize, beans etc. There are 3 local cows and milk is sold locally. The boy visits Nyeri occasionally to look for work but spends the remainder of his time working at home. He wanted to go on with his education, applying to repeat, but claimed his father had no money.

He chose a job in a factory.

5. 16 Years Old. Failed K.P.E. First Attempt

His parents are dead. He lives with his brother who has been loaned a small piece of land and keeps pigs and burns charcoal. He helps his brother and works as a casual labourer when jobs can be found. He tried to repeat K.P.E. but could not get a school place. He visits Nyeri and has applied at the Labour Office. He hopes to go away to look for employment.

He chose a job in a factory.

6. 16 Years Old. Failed K.P.E. First Attempt

The father owns 6 acres of land and grows coffee, potatoes and beans. He has 2 grade cows and 2 sheep. The boy is the second born child of the family and is required at home to help with the farm. He works regularly at home and does not do casual work. His father provides for his needs but does not give him a regular salary. The boy tried to repeat K.P.E. but was refused a place. He hopes to do further studies in the future.

He chose a job in a factory.

7. 18 Years Old. Failed K.P.E. Second Attempt

The parents have eight acres of land and sell local crops. There are no cash crops or cattle. The elder brother is a Tribal Police corporal. The boy lives with his parents who are old and cultivates the garden. He hopes to go away when he gets enough money to try and look for jobs. He does casual labour, building houses when work is available, and has already been to Mweiga and Nyeri to look for a job.

He chose a job in a factory.

8. 18 Years Old. Passed K.P.E. D,B,C+. Second attempt

His father is a farmer with six acres of land, growing tea, maize, beans and potatoes. He owns 3 grade cows and 1 local cow. The boy is the first born and works on the farm. He has been to Nyeri and has applied to the Labour Office there. He would like to look for a job but at present he is needed at home to work on the farm, although his father will not allow him to have any land of his own. He is interested in scouting.

He chose a job in a factory.

9. 16 Years Old. Passed K.P.E. C,C-,B-. First Attempt

The family has eight acres of land, growing tea, maize, beans, potatoes and vegetables. There are 3 grade cows and 3 pigs. The father is a member of the North Tetu Farmer's Co-operative Society. The produce of the land is sold to the local market. The boy looks after the cows and spends some time studying privately. He has tried to repeat K.P.E. and has attempted courses with British Tutorial College. He hopes to be able to sit for K.J.S.E. and S.C. examinations. He has never left home to look for work.

He chose a place in a secondary school.

10. 16 Years Old. Passed K.P.E. D,B,C+. Second Attempt.

The family has 1.5. acres of land with maize and beans for the local market. The father is a charcoal seller at Mweiga. The boy is the first born and works at home with his mother. He sometimes goes to Nyeri but does not look for casual work because his father lives away and the boy manages the home with his mother. He gets no personal money for there are other children at school and fees have to be paid.

He chose a job in a factory.

11. 16 Years Old. Passed K.P.E. C+,C+,C+. Second Attempt

The family has four acres of land, growing coffee, beans and potatoes. There is 1 grade cow and 1 local cow. The father is a member of the Co-operative Societies. The boy is the first born and goes to Nyeri regularly. He has applied to the Labour Office. He lives at home with his parents, digging and looking after cows. He tried to repeat K.P.E. and has attempted courses with British Tutorial College. He does not do casual work because of his duties on the home farm.

He chose a job in a factory.

12. 16 Years Old. Passed K.P.E. D,B+,C. Second Attempt

There are five acres of land growing coffee, vegetables, maize and beans. The family owns 2 grade cows and 3 local cows. The boy is the second born. He has applied for a number of jobs. His home is near Nyeri so he goes there often, sometimes to the Labour Office. He lives with his parents at home and helps in cultivating and looking after cattle. He tried to repeat K.P.E. and has done some studying through British Tutorial College. He hopes to sit for the Kenya English Test next year.

He chose a place in a secondary school.

13. 17 Years Old. Failed K.P.E. First Attempt

The family owns six acres of land, growing pyrethrum, beans, maize and potatoes. There are 3 grade cows and 1 local cow. The father is a member of two Co-operative Societies. The boy claims to be satisfied staying at home with his parents, but his father complains that he does little work. He is noted by the local population for being a trouble maker and has been jailed once for stealing from a school office.

He chose a job in a factory.

14. 16 Years Old. Passed K.P.E. C-,B,C+. First Attempt

The family is relatively prosperous. There are eight acres of land, four are used for cash crops, growing coffee, pyrethrum, maize, beans and potatoes. There are 4 grade cows and 1 local cow. The father attends agricultural courses regularly. The boy, first born of the first wife, lives at home with his parents picking pyrethrum and coffee. He gets money for all his needs. He is interested in scouting and hopes to start studying at home using correspondence courses.

He chose a place in a secondary school.

15. 16 Years Old. Failed K.P.E. First Attempt.

The family's father is dead. The boy is the first son of the first wife. She has $\frac{1}{2}$ an acre of land for growing subsistence crops. The second wife lives in Mweiga on a settlement scheme but does not help this part of the family. Both the boy and his mother work as casual labourers when work can be found at an average of 3/- per day. The boy went to Nakuru for two months where he stayed with an elder step-brother and applied to the Labour Exchange. He now goes regularly to Nyeri to find work and is registered at the Labour Office. He hopes to start work on a correspondence course with British Tutorial College and says his elder step-brother, a police constable, will help him.

He chose a piece of land on a settlement scheme.

CONCLUSION

The purpose of this paper has been to suggest the need to review the present situation amongst primary school leavers; their knowledge, their aspirations, their education, their interests and their activities. A number of tentative experiments and their results have been presented, not in an attempt to offer any conclusive evidence but in order to give clues to questions which might be asked.

There is clearly a need for action to provide meaningful occupations for primary school leavers. Primarily the problem is an economic one but the plans to meet it will need to involve educational and community development measures as well. In planning these a careful understanding of the present situation is needed. The history of African education warns against the danger of working from assumptions.

Some of the glamour of the secondary school may be fading, the realities of the agricultural economy are becoming more apparent but the desire to find a stable role in the adult community remains. In talking to teenage school leavers one does not so much sense bitterness but rather one is conscious of enthusiasm changing to apathy as it meets disappointments and confusion.