Primary Schools' Enrolment and Dropout Rates in Low Income Neighbourhoods and Their Implications for Community Development in Kasarani Sub County, Nairobi County, Kenya

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ABSTRACT
This study assessed primary school's enrolment and dropout rates in poor neighbourhoods of Kasarani and their implications for community development. This neighbourhood is expanding and is rarely mentioned when or where other similar settlements are discussed. Motivation for this study was drawn from the fact that this area has many schools and the fact that, education is an important form of human capital that improves productivity, health and nutrition of the people and slows down the population growth. Education as a need for development transforms communities from poverty to self-reliance. It was carried out in this area because it remains undeveloped despite establishment of the many schools and industries as well as lack of documented studies pertaining to Kasarani area. This area was also selected as it was among the poorest neighbourhoods presented in the national poverty survey recently conducted by the government of Kenya. Objectives of this study were; to assess schools' enrolment and dropout rates, to explore factors determining dropout rates in poor neighbourhoods; to examine implications of enrolment and dropout rates to community development, and; to examine measures embraced by community and roles of dropout youths towards community development. Social disorganization theory reinforced by status delinquency theory informed the study. This study adopted a descriptive research design capturing qualitative and quantitative data that was collected through interviews. From a population of 17,088, a sample size of 99 parents and 60 teachers was drawn. Data was analyzed using Statistical Package for Social Sciences software and presented through tables, graphs and charts in the form of frequencies, percentages and correlation. It established that there was increased enrolment trend, 51.8% for boys and 48.2% for girls and a notable increase in dropout at 55.1% before completing primary education where by dropout rate for boys was 24.3% and that for girls was 30.8%. Schools' dropout was due to lack of school fees, negligence, poor retention, sexual abuse and insecurity. Increased enrolment led to increased literacy level, better sanitation and while dropout has resulted to drug abuse, unemployment and insecurity. Generally, community and youths are playing a pivotal role in enhancing development via expansion of community based centres, formation of self-help groups, community clean-ups and variety of businesses. This study concludes that there was high enrolment at entry level to primary schools but also high rate of dropout towards higher levels. This study recommends relevant stakeholders to seriously address education issues in the poor neighbourhoods as a pillar in sustainable community development.

Keywords: Community development, Informal schooling, Low income neighbourhood/poor, Neighbourhood schools

INTRODUCTION

Background

This study examined primary schools' enrolment and dropout rates in low income neighbourhoods and their implications for community development. Motivation for this study was drawn from the fact that Kasarani poor neighbourhood has many developed and

developing institutions especially schools and industries yet nothing much has been documented by previous studies about impacts of low income settlement to schools' enrolment and dropout rates outcomes as well as their implications to community development as compared to neighbouring settlements with similar conditions such as Korogocho and Dandora. Impacts of institutional developments have not spread uniformly hence continued low income neighbourhoods expansion. Urbanization accompanied by sustained rapid population growth and large-scale migration leads to mushrooming of low income neighbourhoods. Thus, these settlements have become a universal phenomenon and exist practically in almost all cities across the world. Indeed, about 828 million or 33% of the urban population of developing countries resides in low income neighbourhoods. In sub-Saharan Africa about 62% urban populations live in informal settlements (UN-Habitat, 2010). In Asia, the proportion of urban population living in poor neighbourhoods varies from 25% in western Asia to 35% in south Asia. In Latin America and the Caribbean low income neighbourhoods prevalence is 24%.

As Kenya's low-income urban neighbourhoods expand at rapid rates, they face increasing challenges in food security, security, health services and related problems, water, and sanitation. Nairobi's low income neighbourhoods are desperately crowded: they occupy less than 6 percent of Nairobi's residential land, yet are home to 60 percent of the city's population (Nath, *et al.*, 2015). There is continuous population growth which jeopardizes provision of basic needs including children education. The under privileged children residing in poor neighbourhoods are deprived of various basic amenities that the non-slum children in general do enjoy. Education plays a pivotal role in laying a proper foundation for the over-all socio-economic development of any region.

Past decade has seen marked advances towards Education for All (EFA) in sub-Saharan Africa. The region has increased primary net enrolment ratios by almost one-third, despite a large rise in the school-age population. Sub-Saharan Africa is home to 43% of the world's out-of-school children, levels of learning achievement are very low, gender disparities are still large, and the learning needs of young children, adolescents and adults continue to suffer from widespread neglect. After much progress in increasing government investment in education, the financial crisis has reduced education spending in some countries and jeopardized the growth in spending required to achieve EFA in others. External aid to basic education declined in 2008, resulting in a significant decrease in basic education aid per child. The 2013/14 EFA Global Monitoring Report (GMR) noted that fifty-seven million children remain out of school with girls making up 54% of this population (Bundi and Ringu, 2012).

Churches and NGOs have started schools in this area as an initiative to address community development needs. It was absolutely necessary to understand and evaluate the present scenario of low income neighbourhood children in regard to access, retention and completion of elementary education of satisfactory quality.

LITERATURE REVIEW
Primary Education in Africa

Past decade has been one of rapid progress towards the goal of universal primary education (UPE). Many countries in sub-Saharan Africa have registered extraordinary advances. But the pace of advance has been uneven, and the region as a whole is not on track to achieve UPE by 2015. Strides towards UPE have been impressive. From 1999 to 2008, an additional 46 million children enrolled in primary education in sub-Saharan Africa. Despite a large increase in the school age population, the region has increased the primary adjusted net enrolment ratio (ANER) by 31% since 1999, to reach an average primary ANER of 77% in 2008. Progress

towards UPE has been impressive in Burundi, Ethiopia, Madagascar, Mali and the United Republic of Tanzania, with primary ANERs increasing by more than thirty percentage points between 1999 and 2008. By contrast, the situation remains critical in many countries, with ANERs below 70% in Burkina Faso, the Central African Republic, the Congo, Eritrea, the Niger and Nigeria (Bundi and Ringu, 2012). This study went beyond enrolment to compare enrolment and completion of primary education in poor neighbourhoods.

There is an abundant of literature which indicates that efforts to enhance access and community participation in education are thwarted by a variety of factors which include school based variables (Orodho, 2013). In January 2003, the Kenyan Government introduced Free Primary Education (FPE) and an extra 1.3 million children enrolled in public schools, raising the figure from 5.9 million children in 2002 to 7.2 million in 2003 and 8.6 million in 2010 (Republic of Kenya, 2012). Despite this increase, statistics available at the ministry of education indicate that more than one million children are still out of school in Kenya, and this is attributed to various socio-economic and cultural factors that are yet to be tackled (Orodho, 2013). Kariga (2009) and Orodho (2013) established that provision and access to education in some Kenyan communities continues to be undermined by social, political and economic factors. Another study by Daraja Civic Initiative (2007) reported that, since the re-introduction of FPE in 2003, the challenges to the availability and quality of free education have been compounded by inadequate physical facilities among others. The report continues to assert that 2.4 million children have joined primary school, 23%, or about 1.6 million children are not in schools. Of these children, some of the most vulnerable are those who live in Kenya's poor neighbourhoods where almost no public schools have been built for the past 15 years. This study will go beyond this by researching on implications of these statistics to community development. It would find out how increased enrolment or dropout would affect area development.

Education, enrolments and dropout rates in low income neighbourhoods
Globally, there is now clear indication that the MDGs will not be met with countries in sub-Saharan African (SSA) showing the least likelihood of meeting the targets. In the case of education, the 2013/14 EFA Global Monitoring Report (GMR) noted that fifty-seven million children remain out of school with girls making up 54% of this population. Among those who enter, rates of attrition are high. In SSA, for instance, the proportion of children who started primary school and then went on to reach the final grade of this educational level deteriorated from 58% to 56% between 1999 and 2010 (UNESCO 2014: 3). High attrition rates reduce the stock of human capital that is available within countries. This is so because dropout from primary school results in fewer children progressing to lower secondary education and even fewer numbers of children successfully graduating from basic education. It may positively or negatively implicate community development.

Despite a large number of studies on education in Kenya, education related to children in urban neighborhoods' areas has not been adequately researched and attention in education research has not been paid to the high level of disparities within the urban sector (Herbert, 1971). It is the children of the well-to-do, not the children of the poor who have benefitted most from public education. That is especially true of the higher levels of schooling, one important function of which has been to secure differential advantage to the children of the affluent.

Children from rural and urban poor areas face a real problem. They are most likely to attend public and informal schools with a limited range of educational resources. Failure and dropout rates tend to be high in schools serving low-income population. Many poor children,

dissatisfied with their school experiences are drawn by the need to find employment to help their families. By contrast, children who come from more affluent communities tend to have a more positive experience. They are likely to enter public schools with a built-in head start like parents are able to provide the money and other resources to prepare their children for schools (Herbert, 1971). According to (Oketch, Mutisya, Ngware & Ezeh, 2010) it can be said that one symptom of the ills and the conundrum of Kenya's education system is the fact that while universal access policies such as Free Primary Education (FPE) has led to improved school participation, a large proportion of pupils from poor households use low- fee private schools' due to inadequate space and many have very limited opportunity to transition to secondary level. Lack of transition to secondary level may have mixed fortunes where some may become vagabonds while others may impact community development positively.

Dropout youths' engagements in poor neighbourhoods
It has been said that we do not bequeath our communities to our children, but rather, we borrow our communities from them. Recent representations of youth in Africa have been dominated by negative images of young militants involved in civil conflict, and of threatening young men in overcrowded urban areas. These perceptions of the threat posed by youth are based on long entrenched misconceptions about Africa from outside the continent. Colonial representations of parts of Africa as a "Heart of Darkness" have been carried over into contemporary tropes about African political and societal chaos. One of the most influential examples of such characterizations is Kaplan's (1994; 1997) description of the coming anarchy", which has had a notable influence on United States foreign policy across the continent. Kaplan's descriptions are typical of such negative images of Africa, which regularly rely on a perception of African youth in crisis, which is heading toward a darker and more brutal future. Similarly, "youth bulge theory", holds that impoverished societies with disproportionately large youth populations are more prone to violence. While there is no doubt a strong link between poverty, youth delinquency and violence, we need to critically examine the perceptions held by the international public of African youth as victimized and as a threat to stability and development. More often youths in poor neighbourhoods without education and any form of income generation or engagement may be recipe of insecurity thus affecting development of an area.

In recent years the UN has shown an increasing recognition of the role of youth across the world and of the importance in including young people in the development of programs and strategies to address poverty. Since beginning to publish the World Youth Report in 2003, the UN has increasingly emphasized the relevance of youth issues to development, based on the understanding that "young people can be dynamic agents of social change, taking an active role in combating problems if given the right tools to work with" (United Nations, 2003: 2). The 2003 report stated emphatically that the participation of young people – politically, economically and socially – can have widespread and dramatic benefits for the whole of society. By looking at youth potential through a human development lens, UN agency activities can be relevant to issues facing Africa, ranging from food security, population issues, environmental protection and resource management.

Education systems often fail to prepare young people adequately to participate in decision-making. They do not develop the necessary analytical skills for critical thinking or problem-solving through participatory, active learning. In some cases, young people are given the opportunity to participate in decision-making without ensuring that they receive adequate training or access to the appropriate information that would enable them to make informed decisions. In many countries, young people lack direct access to institutional systems and structures within governments, the media and private and civil society sectors. This severely

impedes their ability to advocate for their rights. In the rare cases where young people have been able to influence or make decisions, barriers within complicated infrastructure have tended to limit implementation. This destroys young people's confidence and trust in such mechanisms.

The main gap identified from the literature review was that there was no linkage between education and its implication to community development in poor neighbourhoods. There was also no literature on issues affecting education as an indicator of development in poor neighbourhoods.

Theoretical framework

This study was based on social disorganization theory reinforced by status delinquency theory; each of these is briefly discussed.

Social Disorganization Theory

Social disorganization is an inability of community members to achieve shared values or to solve jointly experienced problems (Bursik, 1988). Social disorganization theory specifies that several variables such as residential instability, ethnic diversity, family disruption, economic status, population size or density, and proximity to urban areas influence a community's capacity to develop and maintain strong systems of social relationships. Communities in Kasarani neighbourhoods are harmonized together by development projects such as expansion of community education centres as well as interlinking with NGOs and churches.

According to the social disorganization framework, covariates of urban growth are triggered by the weakened social integration of neighborhoods because of the absence of self-regulatory mechanisms, which in turn are due to the impact of structural factors on social interactions or the presence of delinquent subcultures which is well portrayed by communities living in Kasarani neighbourhoods. The former process defines disorganization as the reflection of low levels of social control generated by socioeconomic disadvantage, residential turnover, and population heterogeneity; the latter highlights the convergence of conflicting cultural standards in poor neighbourhoods and the emergence of group behavior linked to criminality. And this has affected community development as well as education in one way or other as the settlements have high population as well as many primary schools but just a few secondary schools. This makes one wondering where the primary school going pupils go to after primary education and this may lead to stagnation of area community development. Social disorganization link attributes of communities to aggregate levels of crime, the modeling of relationships across levels of analysis, and heightened attention to the operationalization and measurement of key variables. Heterogeneity population could also lead to tribal groups especially during elections periods and during projects implementation which may trigger unity or cause groups to fall apart leading to slow community growth.

The rapid process of urbanization reexamines the relationship between structural socioeconomic conditions and local processes of social integration of which gives the first articulated explanation of ecological differences in crime as resulting from a process of "differential social organization." Shaw and McKay (1972) developed a similar argument concerning the "cultural transmission" of delinquent values across generations. This also gives an explanation why high enrolments in schools at lower levels are high but they decline at high levels, youths get assimilated to cultural transmission whereby they mimic their parents, peers or neighbours which is negative on community self-regulation. More important, it elaborates on the range of structural socioeconomic factors shaping these informal controls (poverty, transiency, population heterogeneity). Delinquency emerges in this context because of the

absence of effective parental supervision, lack of resources, and weak community attachment and involvement in local institutions. More recent studies continue to specify the mechanisms by which structural factors influence the ability of communities to enforce collective goals. Current specifications of the theory summarized by Sampson and Bean (2006) move away from the examination of actual social exchanges in favour of other mechanisms linking informal controls with individual expectations and cultural processes.

Current versions of social disorganization theory assume that strong networks of social relationships prevent delinquency (Bursik and Grasmick, 1993; Sampson and Groves, 1989). When most community members are acquainted and on good terms with one another, a substantial portion of the adult population has the potential to influence each child which contributes to well-being of community. Community becomes disorganized when members are not in good terms and thus affecting growth stability. Sometimes youths in these neighbourhoods pose insecurity due to constrained resources hence deter community development.

Status Theory of Delinquency

Status theory of delinquency by Albert K. Cohen, (1918 – 2014) say that deviance is the result of individuals conforming to the values and norms of a social group to which they belong, if you belong to a social group whose norms differ from those of the main society then you will become a deviant which in many cases leads to poor relationships in poor neighbourhoods posing a challenge to stable community development where youths are majority and uncontrollable (*Cavendar*, 1994)

Cohen and Short (1958) said lower-working-class boys want to achieve the success which is valued by mainstream culture. But due to educational failure and the dead-end jobs that result from this they have little chance of achieving these goals. This result into status frustration, boys are at the bottom of the social structure and have little chance of gaining a higher status in society. This is similar to Merton's theory, however Cohen said that instead of turning to crime as Merton said, they reject the norms and values of mainstream society and instead turn to the norms and values of a delinquent subculture. In this subculture boys can achieve success because the social group has different norms and values from the rest of society. In this culture, a high value is placed upon criminal acts such as stealing and vandalism which are condemned by mainstream society.

In these subcultures, the individual who lacked respect in mainstream society can gain it by committing crimes such as vandalism and truancy. Because the crimes reward the individual with respect there is not always the need for a monetary value to commit a crime, so the sub-cultural perspective explains why people commit non-utilitarian crimes (*Cavendar, 1994*). Status frustration is directed mainly to the young people of lower classes. There is no parallel between their social realities and the rest of society's promoted goals. They become frustrated at the disadvantages and inequalities that they face.

Reaction formation is the reaction from status frustration, and the young men of the lower classes find themselves replacing their society's norms and values with alternative ones. I.e. instead of working hard being the common goal for respect, it may become a delinquent act like who commits the most vandalism to gain the respect (Cavendar, 1994). This provides the group with a sense of values and status which they cannot receive from the larger society. It is a process which allows the members of the groups to adapt to their own exclusion from society. It holds the view that the reaction to status frustration is a collective response rather than an individual one.

This theory accounts for the increasing rates of non-utilitarian crime (vandalism, loitering and joyriding) in societies. Although actions such as these do not provide monetary gain to the perpetrator, they come to hold value to members of the sub-culture. As such becomes accessible means of achieving status and prestige among the individual's peer group.

METHODOLOGY

Study area

This study was conducted in Kasarani neighbourhoods. This neighbourhood had a population of 30,741 (KNBS, 2010), number of adults was 17,088. Low income neighbourhoods were Kariadudu, Kasabuni, and Glue Corner. This location bordered the Nairobi River, Riverside Estate next to Outering road and on the other side is Kariobangi North which neighbours Korogocho and Dandora dumping site. It also bordered Kenya Breweries Limited (KBL) near Thika road and Lucky Summer estate next to Safaricom/Kasarani stadium. (Figure 3.1).

Sample size and Sampling procedure

Population for this study constituted parents with school going children within the area mainly at Kasabuni, Kariadudu and Glue Corner locations. Teachers in selected schools were also interviewed. This area had a population of 17,088 adults as per KNBS 2009 and a sample size of 99 parents was interviewed. Data was also collected from a sample size of 60 teachers from schools in the area. There were eighteen schools with a population of 268 teachers as determined during pilot study. The researcher randomly sampled 10 teachers from each of the selected schools. This study used Yamane's (1967), formula to calculate sample sizes.

$$n = \frac{N}{1 + N(e)^2}$$

$$17088/ (1+17088(10)^2) = 99$$

Where n = sample size, N = population size, e = level of precision (5%), and 95% as the confidence level. Sample size for ±10% precision level was considered.
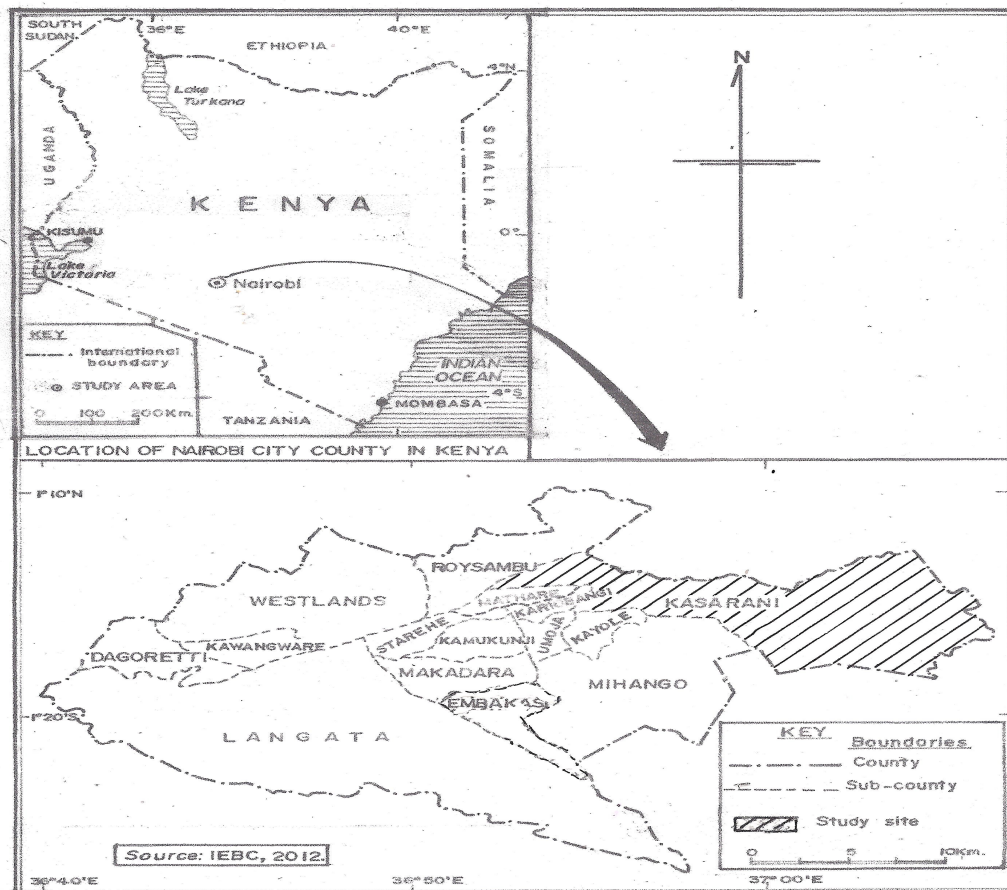
Figure 3.1: Map of Study area: Nairobi County showing Kasarani Sub County

Cluster sampling was adopted as the area has several schools and has three poor neighbourhoods. Schools had been clustered in terms of the management either government, NGOs, community based centres and privately-owned schools. This sampling procedure was deemed best to ensure inclusivity and representation of every primary school in the area. Simple random sampling was on the other hand used to select teachers. They were randomly selected since almost all teachers were available at school during time of interview. Snow balling sampling technique was employed when collecting data from the parents since it was not easy to identify parents with schooling children within the neighbourhoods' schools. Therefore, the first identified parent led researcher to building required sample size within the areas. Thirty-three parents responded from each of the three-low income neighbourhoods within study area.

Interviews
Structured and closed ended interview schedules were designed with relevant questions based on the study objectives or themes. These were the main tools used to collect data from parents and teachers from the study area. The selection of this tool was guided by the nature of data to be collected and by the objectives of the study. The overall aim of this study was **to examine primary schools' enrolments and dropout rates in low income neighbourhoods of Kasarani and their implications to community development** and this study was mainly concerned with views, opinions, feelings, attitudes and perceptions and such information can be best collected through the use of interview schedules. Interview schedule was used since the study was concerned with variables that could not be directly observed and the target population was also largely literate and unlikely to have difficulties responding to the interview schedule items as researcher was assisting in comprehending.

This interview schedule was divided into four parts as shown in Appendix I & II. Part one collected data on the primary schools' enrolments and dropout rates for the last five years while parts two to four collected data relating to factors determining school dropouts, implications of schools' enrolment and dropout rates to community development and the measures taken by the community and the youth towards sustainable community development.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION
Demographic Characteristics of Respondents
Demographics of the sample group was collected as key indicators of the level of development and general characteristics of the community that have a strong bearing on the overall findings and outcome of this study. The information sought through the interview schedules included income levels, housing structure/size, household size, development in terms of schools' enlargement, and general effects of poor neighbourhoods to education and development.

Respondents interviewed included both men and women who have school going children within this area. Their education background was low as majority of the interview respondents revealed that they had not gone beyond primary levels with a handful had completed secondary education. This had generally affected their income levels which are not that good as most earned between Kshs. 5,000 to 10,000 as presented from the result.

Household size
Respondents, who comprised of 60 teachers, were asked to indicate the average household size of residents at the Kasarani neighbourhoods. Table 4.1 gives the percentages of the frequency distribution of their responses.

Average Household size	Frequency (N)	Percent
3	2	3.3%
4	2	3.3%
5	14	23.3%
6	32	53.3%
7	10	16.7%
Total	60	100.0%

Table 4.1: Household size in Kasarani neighbourhoods

Based on the collected data, 53.3% stated that the households were made up of 6 persons. This was followed by 23.3% who indicated that the average household size was 5. In third place were 16.7% of the respondents who specified household size of 7. The least two were at 3.3% each with both groups stating that the average size was 4 and 3 respectively.

Income Levels
When asked to indicate the average monthly earnings of teachers in Kasarani area, 78% of the teachers interviewed specified that they earned Kshs 5000 per month. About 18% gave Kshs 10,000 as the monthly earning. The rest 1.7% each of the respondents stated that the earnings were Kshs 20,000 and 25,000 respectively.

Income	Frequency (N)		Percent (%)	
Kshs	Monthly salary	Income from business	Monthly salary	Income from business
5000	47	27	78.0	45.0
10000	11	15	18.0	25.0
15000	0	14	0.0	23.3
20000	1	3	1.7	5.0
25000 and over	1	1	1.7	1.7
Total	60	60	100.0	100.0

Table 4.2: Income levels of teachers in Kasarani neighbourhoods

Parents interviewed corroborated the above when asked the approximated monthly payments for residents working and living in the area; and the income for people living and having businesses in the area. The majority at 78% and 57.6% in both questions listed an earning of Kshs 5,000 per month (Table 4.2 & Table 4.3).

Income	Frequency		Percent	
Kshs	Monthly payments (salary)	Income from business	Monthly payments (salary)	Income from business
5000	57	47	57.6	47.4
10000	22	35	22.2	35.4
15000	20	17	20.2	17.2
20000	0	0	0.0	0.0
25000 and over	0	0	0.0	0.0
Total	99	99	100.0	100.0

Table 4.3: Income levels of parents of Kasarani neighbourhoods

At least 22.2% and 35.4% of the parents indicated that the earnings from either employment or business were at Kshs 10,000 per month. About 20.2% and 17.2% of the respondents said the earnings were Kshs 15,000. None of the parents indicated an income level of Kshs 20,000 and above (Table 4.3). Kshs 10,000 and below for the average person residing in the cosmopolitan areas is within poverty spectrum particularly when considering price of basic wants (i.e. food, shelter and clothing) and obligations (tax, school fees, etc.) necessary for one to survive.

Primary schools' enrolments and dropout rates for the last five years
Information on the enrolment and drop out levels was collected from six schools in **Kasarani poor neighbourhoods. The respondents, who comprised of both teachers and parents, provide the necessary data that informed this study in establishing trends between 2012 and 2016.**

This study delved into possible indicators and stimulants for enrolment or discontinuation (drop out) of school going children from Kariadudu, Glue corner and Kasabuni, the three major neighbourhoods in Kasarani district. These included the various

forms of insecurity faced by the students in their daily living in the area, disease outbreaks and indicators of the high enrolment over the 5-year period.

Primary schools' enrolments in Kasarani neighbourhoods

Table 4.4 provides information on enrollment between 2012 and 2016. Overall, the total number of girls enrolled within the period was higher than the number of boys at 51.8%. The boys' enrollment number for the five years was 48.2% of the total 19650.

In 2012, the number of girls enrolled were 2053, (10.4%) overall number - 19650. This however fell in the following 2 years to 10.2% for the year 2013 and 2014. In the next two years, 2015 and 2016 the enrolment picked up to 10.5% and 10.4% respectively.

Year (N)	Gender	Enrolment	Total	percent	Total
2012	Boys	1847	3900	9.4	19.8
	Girls	2053		10.4	
2013	Boys	1853	3862	9.4	19.7
	Girls	2009		10.2	
2014	Boys	1977	3984	10.1	20.3
	Girls	2007		10.2	
2015	Boys	1900	3957	9.7	20.2
	Girls	2057		10.5	
2016	Boys	1895	3947	9.6	20.0
	Girls	2057		10.4	

Table 4.4: Enrollment of boys and girls between 2012 and 2016 into the six schools

The collected data showed a steady increase in the enrolment of boys into the sampled schools between 2012 and 2014 i.e. from 9.4% to 9.4% to 10.1% of the overall enrollment number (i.e. 9472). These numbers however changed trend to decrease from 1900 (9.7%) in 2015 to 1895 (9.6%) in 2016. The change is well illustrated in Figure 4.1.
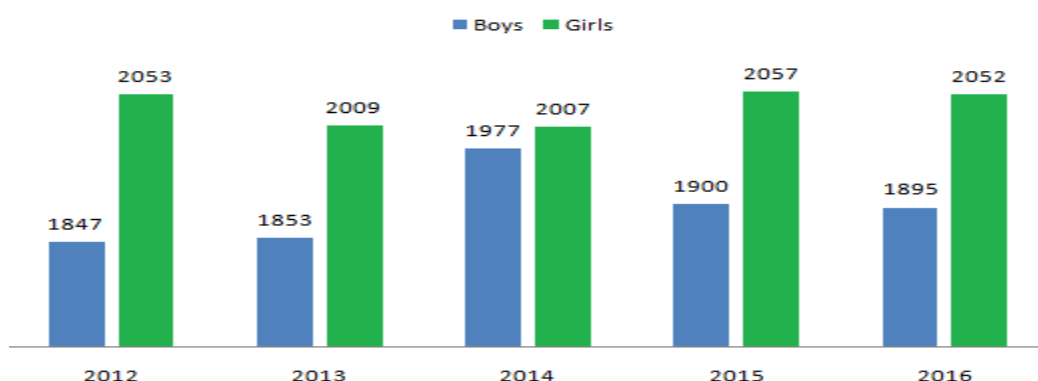

Figure 4.1: Enrollment of boys and girls between 2012 and 2016 into the six schools

Table 4.4 shows collective trend in the enrolment of both boys and girls in the 5-year period. Even though there was a significant rise in enrollment between 2013 and 2014 i.e. from 19.7% to 20.3%, there was a steady decrease between 2014 and 2015, from 20.3% to 20.1%. Despite

the small difference of 0.2% this represented an actual figure of 27 students. Between 2015 and 2016, the decrease was minimal with a difference of 10 students.

The above analysis showed that girls' enrolment was better than that of the boys and that despite the overall growth in the enrolment over the five-year period, there was a notable slack in the growth, with marked decreases of 5 students each from each of the categories (boys and girls).

Primary schools' dropout rates in Kasarani neighbourhoods
Out of the total 8828 students who completed primary school between 2012 and 2016, about 53.2% were boys and 46.8% were girls. The highest number of students (both boys and girls) completing school over the 5-year period was 1948 or 22% in the year 2016. Even though boys' completion rate decreased between 2012 and 2014, the rates increased between 2015 (967) and 2016 (1061).

In the case of girls, completion rate was highest in the year 2015 at a figure of 947. Unlike the boys, girls' trend of completion showed an upward, then downward curve to mean that their rate of completion was not steady. Between 2015 and 2016, the number of girls completing primary school went from 947 to 887 (Table 4.5).

Year (N)	Gender	Completion	Total	Percent	Total
2012	Boys	932	1652	10.6	18.8
	Girls	720		8.2	
2013	Boys	895	1740	10.1	19.7
	Girls	845		9.6	
2014	Boys	840	1574	9.5	17.8
	Girls	734		8.3	
2015	Boys	967	1914	11.0	21.7
	Girls	947		10.7	
2016	Boys	1061	1948	12.0	22.0
	Girls	887		10.0	

Table 4.5: Number of students that have completed primary school education over the last five years

The overall completion trend for students in Kasarani schools showed notable increase in the number of students completing primary school though significantly small. Table 4.5 shows an overall upward trend, with a slight decrease in 2014. The percentage of completion against the total number of 8828 students from 2012 to 2016 was 18.8%, 19.7%, 17.8%, 21.7% and 22% respectively.

Year (N)	Total enrolments	Completions	Non-completions (dropout)	Non-completions (%)
2012	3900	1652	2248	57.6
2013	3862	1740	2122	54.9
2014	3984	1574	2410	60.5
2015	3957	1914	2043	51.6
2016	3947	1948	1999	50.6
Total	19650	8828	10822	55.1

Table 4.6: School yearly dropout rates for 2012-2016 in the six schools of Kasarani

From the data, the year 2014 recorded the highest dropout level at 60.5% - a comparison between enrolment and completion at the end of the year. The dropout percentage, referred to as non-completions were 57.6%, 54.9%, 60.5%, 51.6% and 50.6% for the progressive years between 2012 and 2016.

The overall dropout rate was 55.1%, a disturbing figure as it was more than 50% thus implying that more than half the students in a class are most likely not going to complete their education, for various reasons. The reasons are discussed below.
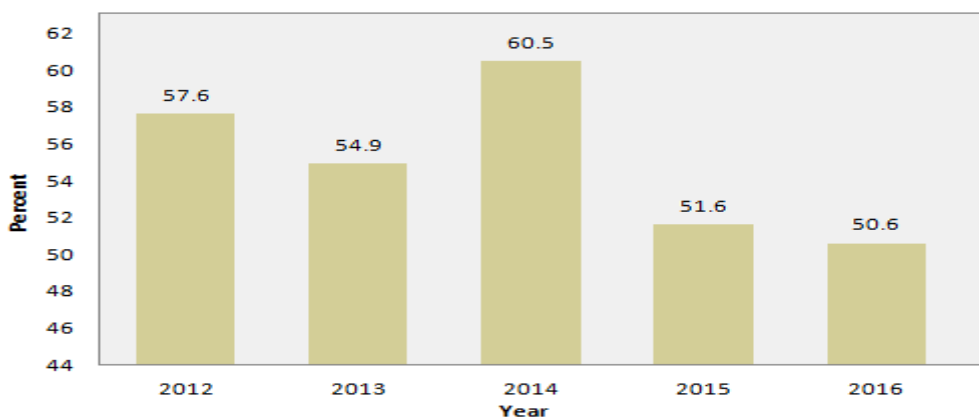

Figure 4.2: Yearly percentage dropout compared with enrolment for period 2012 – 2016

The feedback collected from the teachers revealed that the number of girls dropping out of school were slightly more than the number of boys leaving primary school prematurely (Table 4.6). Over the five-year period, of 49.7% of the drop outs were boys (i.e. 0.5+5.1+6.6+37.6), while 50.3% (1.5+4.6+11.7+32.5) were girls.

There was a gradual increase in the number of dropouts from one year to the next, with majority of the parents indicating that more than 10 students had dropped out in 2016. About 37.6% of the respondents stated that more than 10 boys had dropped out in 2016 while 32.5% stated that more than 10 girls had dropped out of school in 2016. This is in contrast with what would be expected considering free primary education policy.

Possible causes of increase in enrolment in area schools
When asked to state why they thought there was an increase in enrolment into schools in the area, majority of the respondents cited high birth rate as the main indicator for the increase.

Reasons for increased enrolment	Frequency	Percent
High birth rates	85	85
No admission vacancies	12	12
Classrooms filled over the capacity	1	1
High number of teachers per school	1	1
Teachers not able to mark work	0	0
Expansion of classrooms	0	0

Table 4.7: Reasons for increase in enrolment into the area schools (parents' response)

About 85% of the respondents indicated high birth rate, 12% said that their reason was due to lack of admission vacancies and 1% stated that classrooms filling to overcapacity were indicators of high enrolment in the schools over time (Table 4.7).

Reasons for increased enrolment	Frequencies	Percent
High birth rates	35	58.3
Free admissions	14	23.3
Increased facilities	10	16.7
Increased immigrants	1	1.7
Increased teachers	0	0
Total	**60**	**100**

Table 4.8: Reasons for increased enrolment (teachers' response)

The teachers' response when asked to state what they would attribute to the high increment in enrolment over the five-year period, 58.3% who were the majority (35) indicated that high birth rate was the main reason for the increment (Table 4.8). This was followed by 'free admissions' at 23.3% (14 respondents). The other cited reasons for the high enrolment were increased facilities and increased immigrants at 16.7% and 1.7 % respectively. None of the respondents attributed the increments to an increase in the number of teachers.

Factors determining school dropouts in neighbourhood communities
This study also looked at various factors deemed contributory to the dropping out or non-completion of school by the school going children in the study area. Some of these included the parents' challenges, disease outbreaks and insecurity in the area,

Challenges for providing education to children of Kasarani
About 56.6% of the respondents stated that low income was a main challenge for parents when striving to educate their children. As seen earlier, the earnings of the residents were mainly below Kshs 10,000. Lack of income was also cited as another factor, at 31.3%. The rest of the respondents (12.1%) said that single parenthood was a problem which interfered with the children's education (Table 4.9).

Problems in providing education	Frequency	Percent
Low income	56	56.6
Lack of income	31	31.3
Single parenthood	12	12.1
Total	99	100.0

Table 4.9: Problems cited by parents in providing their children with education

Thus, the income generating status of the residents was a major factor that determined whether or not a child would pursue primary education to the end or not.

Causes of school dropout	**Frequencies**	**Percent**
Negligence	26	43.3
Poor retention	20	33.4
Child labour	10	16.7
Sexual abuse/rape	2	3.3
Availability of jobs	2	3.3
Total	**60**	**100**

Table 4.10: Causes of school dropout

When asked to state causes of the non-completion of primary school education by the children in the area, 43.3% of the respondents from the teaching fraternity stated that negligence by the parents or guardians was the main cause. About 33.4% attributed the dropout trend to poor retention while 16.7% said that this was caused by child labour. This was followed by 3.3% who attributed it to rape and at 3.3% indicated that the availability of jobs contributed to the problem of children dropping out of school (Table 4.10).

Reasons for dropout	Frequency	Percent	Rank
Lack of school fees	74	37.3	1
Early marriages	2	1	6
Early pregnancy	21	11.1	4
Employment	1	0.5	8
Drug abuse	42	21.7	2
Transfers	1	0.5	8
Sickness and diseases	19	9.6	5
Family break-ups	36	18.2	3
Disasters e.g. fires	2	1	6

Table 4.11: Reasons for non-completion and/or school drop out in the area (parent)

Majority of the parents, at 37.3% stated that the lack of school fees was a main cause of school dropouts. At least 21.7% of respondents cited drug abuse, 18.2% indicated family break ups, 11.1% cited early pregnancy and Sickness and disease was stated by 9.6% of the respondents. The other reasons provided were early marriages (1%), disasters (1%), employment (0.5%) and transfers (0.5%) (Table 4.11)

Correlation between reasons for not completing primary education and the causes of school dropout

The reasons given for the school dropout were analyzed and correlated against the given causes of the dropout by the teacher respondents (Table 4.12)

Reasons for not completing primary school education	Rank	Causes of school dropout	Rank
Pregnancy	3	Child Labour	3
Early Marriage	4	Sexual Abuse/Rape	4
Lack of School Fees	1	Negligence	1
Transfers	2	Poor Retention	2
Insecurity	5	Availability of Jobs	5
N	5		
Spearman's correlation	1		
p (3)	1		

Table 4.12: Correlation between reasons for not completing primary education and the causes of school dropout

The Spearman's correlation for the two rankings was 1. This indicates a perfect association of the ranks. Thus, there is a strong correlation between the factors that make pupils/student from this area not to complete primary school education and the other causes of school dropout.

Student behaviours that contribute to non-completion or dropout

On the behaviours of students and other factors that cause dropout from primary school, 46% of the parents cited poverty, especially the poor housing as a major factor (Figure 4.3).
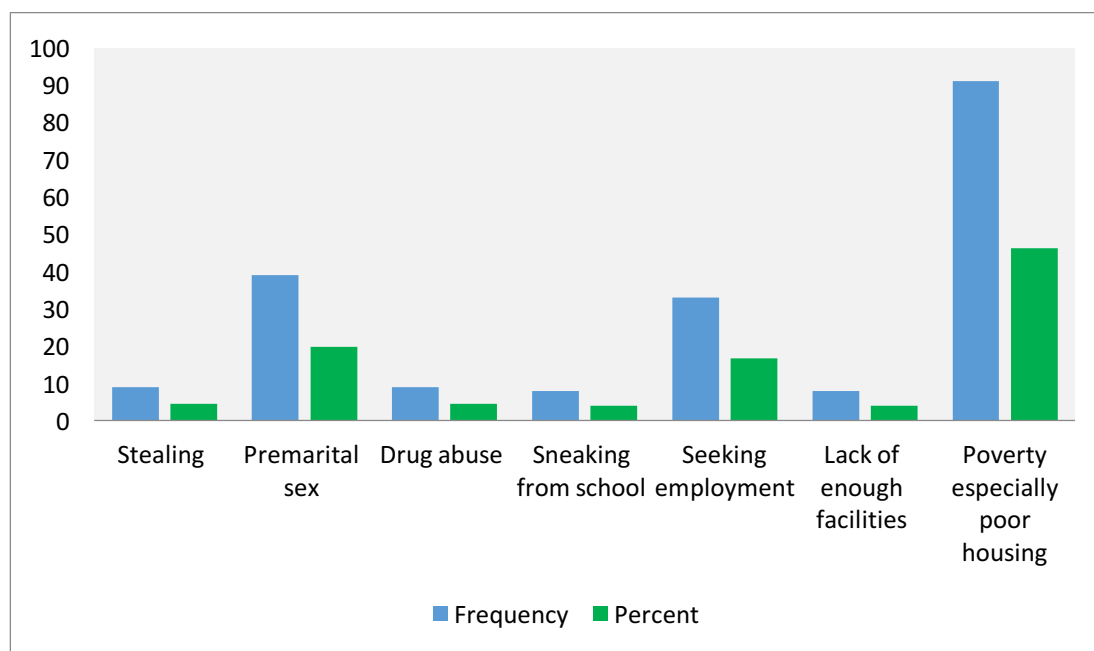

Figure 4.3: Behaviours of students and other factors that cause failure to complete or dropout from primary school

About 20.2% of the parents cited premarital sex, 16.8% said that students left schools to seek employment while stealing and drug abuse were indicated by 4.5% each of the respondents.

Sneaking from school and insufficient facilities was cited by the last two groups of 4.0% each of the respondents.

Insecurity

Insecurity was singled out as a possible deterrent for development and a major cause of school dropout, based on the reviewed literature. The respondents were asked to specify form of insecurity that the students and the general public of the area faced.

Forms of insecurity	Frequency	Percent
Beating/attacks	27	27.5
Cases of in-fight	17	17
Harassment	16	16.3
Rape	21	20.9
Mugging	9	8.5
Corporal punishment	7	7.8
Kidnapping	2	2
Total	**99**	**100**

Table 4.13: Distribution of the forms of insecurity faced by pupils in Kasarani

The main form of insecurity was beating or attack of the students on their way to or from school. This was specified by 27.5% of the respondents. This was followed by rape of students and other members of the general public at 20.9%. At least 17% stated in-fighting by the students as another form of insecurity. Harassment of the general public was cited by 16.3%, in fifth position was mugging indicated by 8.5% of the respondents. Corporal punishment and kidnapping came in last at 7.8% and 2% respectively.

Implications of schools' enrolment and dropout rates to community development

To establish the relationship and implication of school enrolment and dropout rates to the development of the community, the respondents were asked to select from multiple/possible outcomes in the society.

Implications of schools' enrolment to community development

About 33.3% of the parents stated that increased school enrolment resulted in more pupils in the community having more knowledge. At least 27.3% said that there has been better sanitation and health.

Effect of enrolment on community development	Frequency	Percent
Construction of classrooms	8	8.1
Discipline enforcement	1	1.0
More pupils are now equipped with knowledge	33	33.3
Development of community centre schools	30	30.3
Better sanitation and health	27	27.3
Total	**99**	**100**

Table 4.14: Effect of school enrolment on community development (parents' response)

This was followed by the 30.3 % response that community centre schools were developed or improved as a result of the high enrolment. At least 8.1% of the respondents indicated that more classrooms were constructed while 1.0% felt that school enrolment had led to enforcement of discipline in the community.

Benefits of increased enrolment	Frequency	Percent
Increased literacy level	29	48.4
Culture diversification	2	3.3
Reduced levels of hatred among/integration	5	8.3
Knowledge acquisition	15	25.0
Increased interactions	9	15.0
Total	60	100

Table 4.15: The effect of school enrolment on community development (teachers' response)

The responses gathered from the teachers were consistent with that provided by the parents on the topic. About 48.4% of the teachers stated that school enrolment had resulted in increased literacy levels in the community. It was also shown that 25% said that there was acquisition of knowledge by the community while 15% indicated that there was increased interaction amongst people residing in the area as a result. Some 8.3% of the respondents said that there were reduced levels of hatred and 3.3% identified culture diversification in the community as a product of the school enrolment.

High enrolment rate & development	Frequency	Percent
Increased classrooms	9	9.0
Employment of more workers	11	11.1
Increased security	2	2.0
Reduced sickness due to hand wash hygiene	26	26.3
Peace	6	6.1
Improved hygiene	19	19.2
Cohesiveness in community	23	23.2
Good sanitation	3	3.0
Total	**99**	**100**

Table 4.16: The effect of high enrolment in the primary schools on development of the area

The respondents were further asked to mention other areas of development which had been caused by the school enrolment that were not earlier mentioned. Reduced sickness due to better hand hygiene was mentioned by majority at 26.3%. This was followed by Cohesiveness in the community as stated by 23.2% of the respondents. Other areas, in chronological order were improved hygiene (19.2%), employment of more workers (11.1%), increased classrooms (9.0%), peace (6.1%), good sanitation (3.0%) and increased security (2.0%).

These findings confirmed that indeed there was positive effect of school enrolment on the general development of the area. The increase in knowledge, literacy, healthy and community cohesiveness were major indicators of the effect of the enrolments in Kasarani neighbourhood.

Implications of schools' dropout rates to community development
The respondents were also asked to indicate the effect of school dropouts on the development status of the community. They were asked to state the effects of school dropout by youths from the schools in the study area and also to mention any other relevant issues on the subject.

Effects of schools' dropouts	Frequency	Percent
Increased drug abuse	15	25
Insecurity	16	26.7
Gang culture	14	23.3
Early marriages	4	6.7
Increased house break-ins	11	18.3
Total	60	100

Table 4.17a: Effect of school dropouts on development of the area (teachers' response)

Effects of schools' dropouts	Frequency	Percent
Pregnancy	17	28.3
Increased STDs	12	20.0
Increased cheap labour	21	35.0
Increased child births	10	16.7
Increased income	0	0
Total	60	100

Table 4.17b: Effect of school dropouts on development of the area (teachers' response)

Increased drug abuse was mentioned by majority of the respondents from the teaching profession (25.0%) followed by insecurity at 26.7%. Other responses on what resulted in school dropouts were gang culture by 23.3%, early marriages (6.7%), increased house break-ins (18.3%), pregnancy (28.3%), increased sexually transmitted diseases (20%), increased cheap labour (35%) and increased child births (16.7%) (Table 4.17a and 4.17b)

Figure 4:4: Frequency distribution of the effects of school drop out on community development - parents' perspectives.
The parents specified the effects of school dropouts on community development, in order (from highest to lowest frequency) as follows: - increased insecurity e.g. mugging at 35.4%, more drug abuse with 22.2% of the responses, increased early marriages (11.1%), increased STDs, HIV and AIDS infections (9.6%), increased early pregnancy (9.1%), availability of cheap labour (6.6%), more family break-ups (5.6%) and increased business operations (0.5%) (Figure 4.4).

An analysis of the findings show that drug abuse is a problem in the area and it is largely attributed to lack of education, non-completion of school or dropout levels in the low-income area. Insecurity also stands out as caused by the dropouts. Thus, the development of the community is impeded by the high rate of school dropouts in the area.
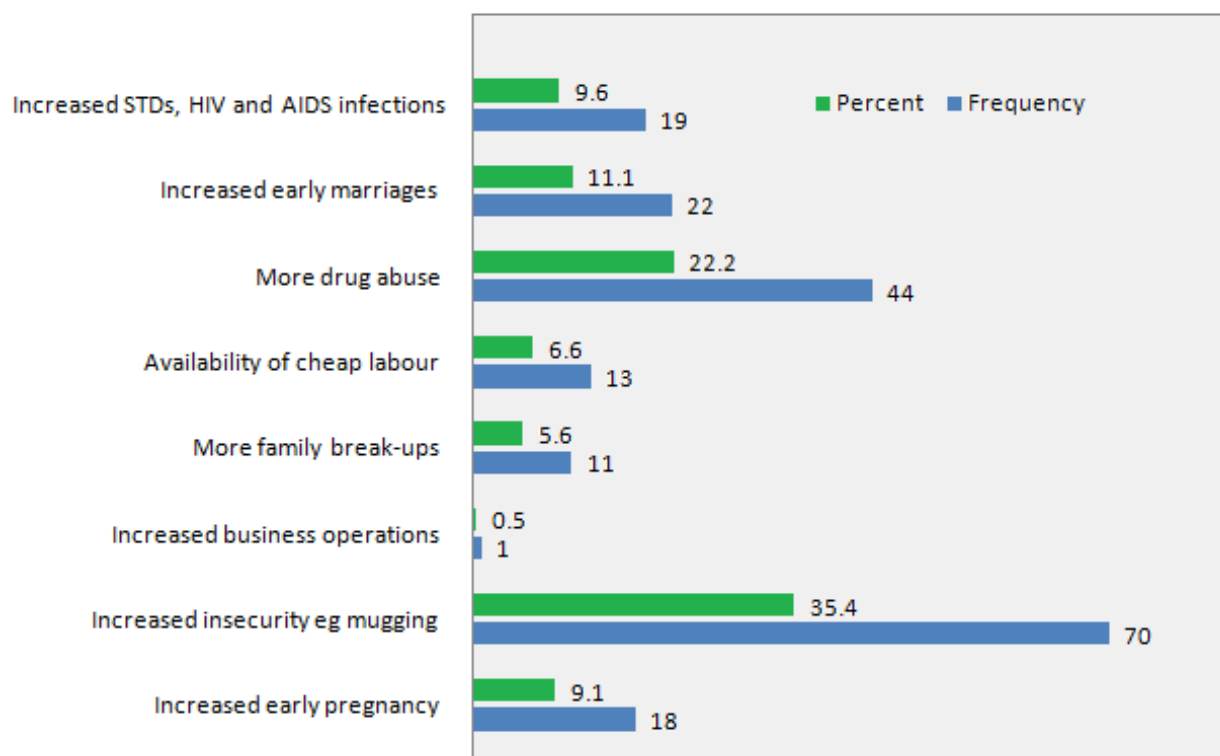
Figure 4.4: Frequency distribution of the effects of school drop out on community development - parents' perspectives.

Measures embraced by the community and the roles played by the youth towards sustainable community development

In reference to the social disorganization theory that specifies that several variables influence a community's capacity to develop and maintain strong systems of social relationships, the communities residing in the low income neighbourhood of Kasarani are separated by their inborn and acquired wants, needs and abilities. This disorganization is lessened when people meet at a common point of necessity, where values, services and beliefs are shared and held to be true by all, regardless of their differences. The development of common areas within the community is facilitated when people acquire knowledge or are educated.

Thus, some of the measures and action taken by the community in Kasarani to develop the area include expansion of existing schools, construction of community based centres, reduced birth rates, participation in communal workers in clean-ups, education in hygiene and sanitation matters, construction of CBOs schools, expansion of existing infrastructures, formation of self-help groups, reduced birth rates and employment of more community based teachers. These were gathered from the feedback from the respondents.

Community action for area's development

About 30.6% of the respondents mentioned formation of self-help groups, 26.1% specified construction of community based centers, 10.4% who indicated education in hygiene and sanitation matters and employment of more community based teachers by 9% of the respondents.
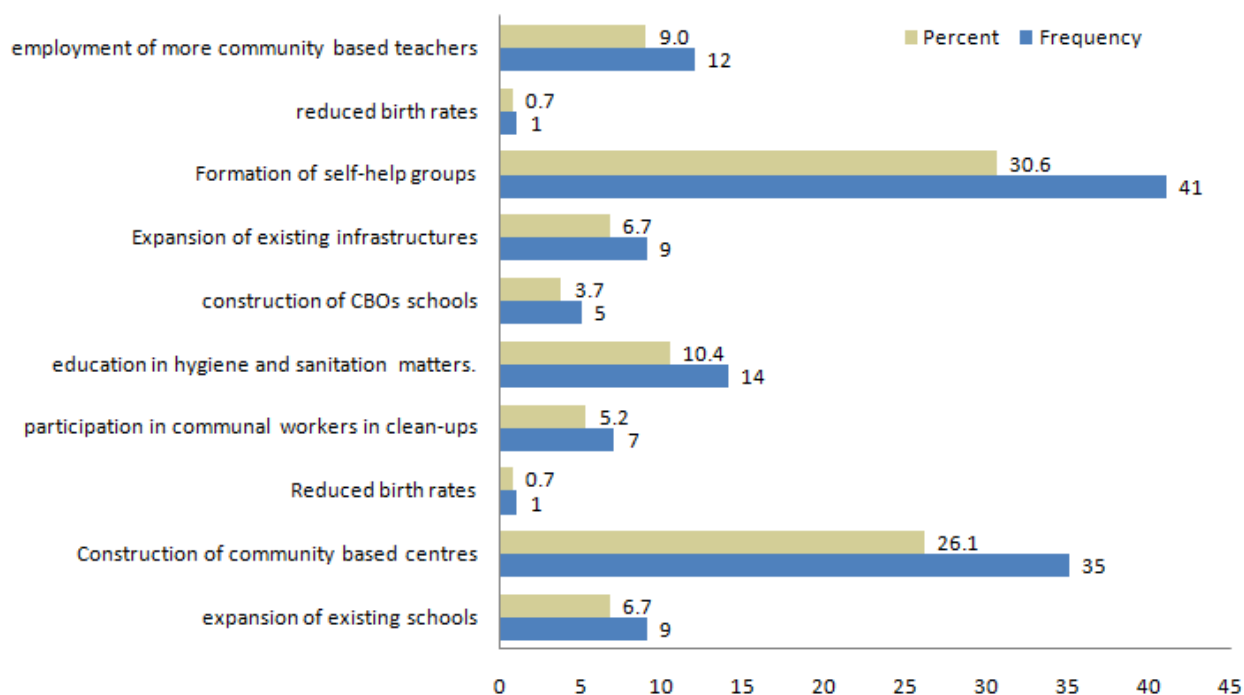
Figure 4.5: Community action for area's development

Action	Frequency	Percent
More micro business	22	22
Volunteering in clean-up events	28	28
Demand for installation of security lights.	0	0
Start of community schools centres	12	12
Formation of self-help groups	14	14
Formation community policing	3	3.5
Increased education on FP	20	20.5
Total	**99**	**100**

Table 4.18: Community action to improve development, cohesion and growth

The respondents specified some of the activities undertaken by the community to improve cohesion and growth in the area. Table 4.18 shows that the majority (28%) stated that the volunteering in clean up events had reaped the expected results. This activity was followed by setting up of more micro businesses in the area indicated by 22% of the respondents. At least 20.5% of the respondents identified increased education on family planning, 14% stated formation of self-help groups while 12% - start of community school centres.

Dropout youths' action for area's development

In response to query on what the youth engaged in to generate income, 32% of the respondents (teachers) stated that they were operating salon and barber shops. About 31% specified activities in the open markets within Kasarani area. These were followed by employment as an income generating activity by 13% of the respondents. Food vending and security fees collection were each cited by 12% of the respondents.
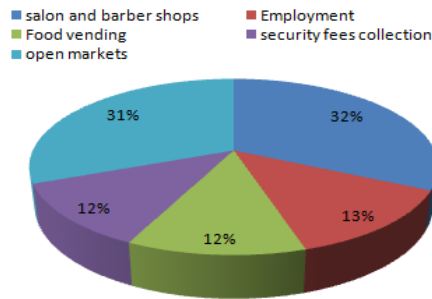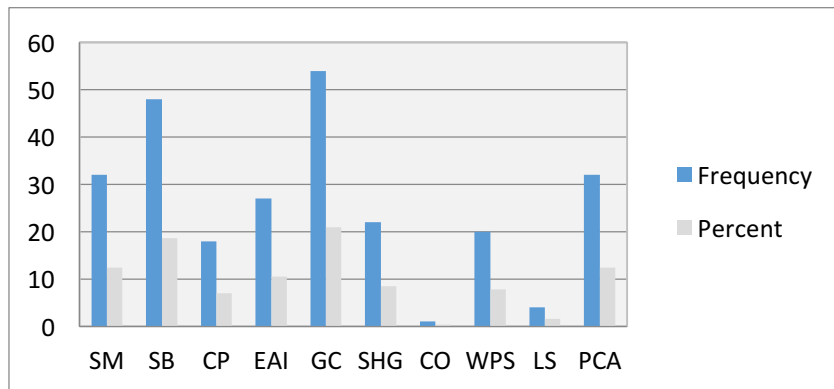
Figure 4.6: Youth's income generating activities at Kasarani

Income generating activities by dropout youth for personal and community development at Kasarani area

About 20.9% of the parents stated that youth engaged in garbage collection and clean up at a fee for both personal and community developments. At least 18.6% specified small start-ups businesses. This was followed by 12.4% who indicated sports, mainly football as an income generating activity for the youth in the low-income area. The other mentioned activities, ordered from highest to lowest included participation in community activities e.g. money contribution and labour towards schools' construction (12.4%); employment in area industries and transport sector (10.5%); self-help groups (8.5%); Water point selling (7.8%); Community policing at a fee (7%); Leadership (1.6%) and finally Counseling (0.4%).

KEY:

SM - Sports mainly football

SB - Small start-ups businesses

CP - Community policing at a fee

EAI - Employment in area industries and transport sector

GC - Garbage collection and clean up at a fee.

SHG - self-help groups

CO - Counseling

WPS - Water point selling

LS - Leadership

PCA - participation in community activities e.g. money contribution and labour towards schools' construction

Figure 4.7: Income generating activities by dropout youth for personal and community develoment at Kasarani area

DISCUSSION

This study established that there was a steady increase in the enrolment of children into the primary schools in the five-year period. However, despite the increase, there was notable increase in the rate of incompletion or drop out amongst the pupils from the low-income areas of Kasarani neighbourhood. The overall dropout rate was a disturbing 55.1% which showed, that the likelihood of almost half the number of students joining primary schools at class one dropping out before the end of the mandatory 8-year period, is very high. Findings in figure 4.2 confirm Herbert's assertion that failure and dropout rates tend to be high in schools serving low-income population. Marger (2008) established that research has found that there is a high risk of education underachievement for children who are from low-income housing circumstances. He further adds that children in poverty are at a higher risk than advantaged children for retention in their grade and even not completing their high school education (Marger, 2008).

This study also noted that the rate of enrolment for boys was at 51.8% and 48.2% for girls. The rate of dropout was at 55.1% overall but boys' dropout rate was at 24.3% percent while for girls was at 30.8%. This leads to conclusion that despite high enrolment for girls, their rates of completion for the eight years in primary schools is quite low.

High birthrate was cited mainly as the reason behind the increased enrolments and low income as the main challenge faced by parents when educating their children. Teachers felt that the drop outs were due to parental negligence, poor retention, child labour and sexual abuse. Marger, (2008) also mentions high birth rates as common in low income areas as shown on table 4.8. He states that the big number of children in poor neighbourhoods areas is a problem currently because the educational facilities are inadequate. Despite the challenges, Reche, *et.al* (2012), attribute the general increase in enrolment to introduction of FPE. They state that in 2003, enrolments in public schools increased significantly from five million in 2002 to 6.9 million. Though the enrolments rates have been high UNESCO (2014), attribute that among those who enter, rates of attrition are high.

Income levels for people working and doing businesses in Kasarani poor neighbourhood had low income. This was due to that majority of those employed as teachers earned an average of Kshs. 5,000 to 10,000. Parents working in Kasarani industries and having businesses within the area corroborated similarity that a large percentage earned income ranging from Kshs. 5,000 to 10,000 as shown on table 4.2 and 4.3 respectively. This was a major factor that contributed to school dropouts as most of the residents could not pay house rents, buy food and at the same time afford education fee for their children despite education being a pillar of sustainable development goal for community development.

Parents on the other hand shared that lack of school fees caused by their low income was the major cause of the school dropouts. Insecurity which included attack of the students on their way to or from school was singled out as another major factor. Lack of school fees as shown on table 4.12 cited as a main reason matched well with the low-income reasons previously provided by the respondents as challenges faced by the parents in line with educating their children (Marger, 2008; World bank, 1994). As poverty and population increases, parents find it hard to support their family's education needs (UN-HABITAT, 2003).

Parents and teachers said that increased school enrolment resulted in more pupils in the community having more knowledge, increased literacy levels and better sanitation and health. The school enrolments resulted in reduced sickness due to better hand hygiene, cohesiveness in the community, increased employment and increased security.

School dropout as Bloom *et.al* (2008) mentions resulted to insecurity as one of the ills that is prevalent in the low-income areas which has continued to deter development. Other vices such as early pregnancy and early marriages by dropout youths have rendered to Kasarani increased population growth which leads to constrain on available resources hampering area development. Drug abuse was also rampant among dropout youths which may have attributed to sickness thus affecting community development.

The reasons given for the school dropout by parents were analyzed and correlated to those given as causes of the dropouts by teachers' respondents. The ranking was 1 as shown in Spearman's correlation indicating a strong correlation between factors that make people from Kasarani poor neighbourhood not to complete primary education and the other causes of school dropout thus derailing community development.

Findings from the results (table 4.1) support the notion by Bloom *et.al* (2008) that low income areas are generally overcrowded as the household size in the neighbourhood of Kasarani are generally large with majority of the households having between 5 and 7 family members. This study also confirmed that the houses are relatively small despite the large household sizes. This area mainly has houses that are 10x10 and 8x10 feet- almost in equal measure. Kanyiga (2006) refers to these as substandard houses due to their inadequacy from varying dimensions.

Measures taken by the community in Kasarani poor neighbourhood to develop the area included formation of self-help groups and construction of community based centers. Majority of the dropout youth involved in income generating activities operated salons and barber shops and open markets within Kasarani area. Others were also involved in garbage collection, clean up and small start-ups businesses. These findings concluded that indeed there was positive effect of school enrolment on the general development of the area. The increase in knowledge, literacy, healthy conditions and cohesiveness in the community were major indicators of the effect of the enrolments in the low income neighbourhood of Kasarani. The high dropout rate resulted in increased drug abuse, sexually transmitted diseases and insecurity among others.

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