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RESEARCH ARTICLE

EDUCATIONAL PLANNING: ANALYSIS OF COST-SHARING POLICY IN KENYAN PUBLIC UNIVERSITIES

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ABSTRACT

This paper analyzes cost-sharing policy which was implemented by the Kenyan Government as a strategy to deal with the financial crisis that faced public universities in the late 1980s and early 1990s. Confronted by a decline in economic growth, and other urgent and competing social needs like health, as well as pressure from international organization characterized by the infamous Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs), it was inevitable to distribute between the Government and the students, the costs of public university education. Considering the undisputed role of education in sustainable economic development, strict adherence to policy planning apparatus is important to achieve optimal rates of returns to education. By applying Haddad and Demsky's educational policy-planning cycle, a critical analysis of the cost-sharing policy from its conceptualization to its application is discussed. It is noted that although the policy was inevitable considering the prevailing economic conditions, proper and effective adherence to the planning cycle was not fully followed. As a result, the policy was received with hostility by parents and students.

INTRODUCTION

It has been proved that education is vital for any sustainable economic development of any country (Appiah and McMahon, 2010; Becker, 1964; Colclough, Kingdon and Patrinos, 2009; Government of Kenya [GOK], 1964). Proper educational planning is an absolute pre-requisite if the rates of return to education are to be optimally achieved (Haddad and Demsky, 1995; Kaufman, Herman and Walters, 2002; Mutua and Namaswa, 1988). However, educational planning is not a smooth process with well-defined objectives, clear alternatives, and a clearly predictable outcome. Rather, it involves many and diverse routes involving stakeholders with different and varied perspectives – both technical and political – and whose diverging viewpoint if well synthesized, results to a well-informed and widely acceptable educational policy. It is therefore important that pre-planning and post-planning activities are carried out with provisions for appraisal and modification where necessary (Haddad and Demsky, 1995).

This paper describes the cost-sharing policy that was implemented in the 1991/1992 academic year in all public universities in Kenya. It was a radical policy change from "the state-centered model" of financing universities to "the market competitive model" that was necessitated by the economic recession in the country in the 1980s (Assie`-Lumumba, 2006; Munene, 2009). After elucidating the problem, a critical analysis is made of the cost sharing policy as a strategic plan which was introduced as a panacea to the financial predicament of universities. Haddad and Demsky (1995) provide seven stages of educational policy-planning which include:- i) Analysis of the existing situation, ii) Generating policy options, iii) Evaluating of policy options, iv) Making a policy decision, v) Planning policy implementation vi) Impact assessment and vii) Subsequent policy cycles.

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The paper uses the aforementioned stages to analyze the planning process that was undertaken by the "*Report of the Presidential Working Party on Education and Manpower Training for the Next Decade and Beyond*" (RPWPEMT). The report laid the foundation for the subsequent implementation of the cost sharing policy (GOK, 1988).

Country profile

Geographically, the Republic of Kenya lies in the east coast of Africa bordering Somalia to the East, South Sudan and Ethiopia to the North, Tanzania to the south, and Uganda to the West. Kenya has a population of 41 million people (World Bank, 2011). It covers an area of 582,646 Km2. She gained her independence in 1963 from the British. The official language is English and the national language is Kiswahili (Teferra and Knight, 2008; UNESCO, 2005). The bulk of the Kenyan economy is based on agriculture and tourism which when combined, contribute a third of Gross Domestic Product (GDP). In addition, agriculture employs about 2/3 of the population either directly or indirectly (UNESCO, 2005; World Bank, 2011).

The Problem: Financing higher education in Kenya

A historical background

A discussion of Kenyan higher education is of historical and political interest. This is because the system has evolved as an economic need and at the same time as a tool for political maneuvering by various political parties in the country since independence (GOK, 1964; Ojiambo, 2009). The education system in Kenya takes the 8-4-4 model comprising of 8 years of primary, 4 years of secondary and a minimum of 4 years in the university (GOK, 1981). From independence till the late 1980's, Kenya's state universities were able to absorb virtually all the candidates who qualified for university

Table 1. Education Finance: Growth in Expenditure 1963/1964-1987/88

Recurrent KSHS. '000'				Development KSHS. '000'		
Year	Education	Total Government	%	Education	Total Government	%
1963/64	135,670	602,984	22.5	9,000	282,841	3.2
1964/65	68,046	657,298	10.3	12,400	314,830	3.9
1965/66	98,044	739,658	12.1	30,000	368,382	8.1
1966/67	115,854	820,376	14.1	43,870	440,450	10
1967/68	133,978	895,768	14.9	65,988	533,280	12.4
1968/69	157,682	960,724	16.4	59,169	543,467	10.9
1969/70	250,300	1,199,302	20.8	38,287	601,871	6.4
1970/71	409,280	1,389,866	29.4	33,796	757,701	4.5
1971/72	525,140	1,749,958	30.0	49,826	1,131,368	4.4
1972/73	650,998	2,003,744	32.4	67,798	1,386,253	4.8
1973/74	778,342	2,438,782	31.9	64,794	1,358,580	4.7
1974/75	1,084,310	3,139,442	34.5	77,340	1,766,442	4.3
1975/76	1,291,828	3,800,516	33.9	53,660	2,695,786	2.0
1976/77	1,423,964	4,531,616	31.4	113,373	2,938,532	3.9
1977/78	1,677,658	6,452,000	26.0	104,690	4,696,720	2.2
1978/79	1,907,470	7,439,620	25.6	133,570	5,364,121	2.4
1979/80	2,293,936	7,945,382	28.8	154,796	4,859,122	3.1
1980/81	2,997,074	10,120,228	29.6	250,354	5,162,454	4.8
1981/82	3,298,184	11,006,004	29.9	277,924	6,489,596	4.2
1982/83	3,548,606	11,658,030	30.4	286,672	7,134,437	4.0
1983/84	3,671,084	12,251,660	29.9	287,748	6,006,854	4.7
1984/85	4,429,154	14,825,570	29.8	403,330	8,729,432	4.6
1985/86	5,926,843	16,529,646	35.8	344,660	8,195,960	4.2
1986/87	6,760,134	18,593,876	36.4	481,179	10,749,564	4.5
1987/88	7,711,678	23,338,193	37.7	643,604	12,273,306	5.2

Source: Republic of Kenya – Estimates of Recurrent and Development Expenditure (1988)

Table 2. Growth in Student Enrolment in Public Universities (1963/64-1987/1988)

Academic Year	Nairobi	Kenyatta	Moi	Egerton	Total (Undergraduates)	Post Graduate Total
63/64	565				565	6
64/65	618				618	33
65/66	875				875	51
66/67	1,067				1,067	88
67/68	1,392				1,392	108
68/69	2,056				2,056	182
69/70	2,639				2,639	123
70/71	3,137				3,137	306
71/72	3,243				3,243	200
72/73	3,468	220			3,680	95
73/74	4,230	706			4,936	366
74/75	4,618	1,121			5,739	663
75/76	4,509	1,218			5,727	546
76/77	4,367	1,119			5,486	738
77/78	4,458	1,175			5,633	825
78/79	5,008	1,413			6,421	934
79/80	5,543	1,749			7,292	1,115
80/81	5,507	2,124			7,631	1,120
81/82	5,382	2,206			7,588	1,542
82/83	*	*			*	*
83/84	5,249	2,169			7,418	1,626
84/85	5,103	2,144	83		7,330	1,579
85/86	5,158	2,338	112		7,608	1,539
86/87	5,506	3,505	230	136	9,377	1,725
87/88	8,984	8,196	977	786	18,883	1,934

Note * University closed Source: Republic of Kenya: Central Bureau of Statistics. Public universities in (GOK, 1988)

education. This was possible due to the heavy investment and subsidies by the Government which literally made university education free of charge (GOK, 1988; Ngolovoi, 2010). Table 1 summarizes recurrent budget in education from the year 1963 – 1988. As Table 1 illustrates, the recurrent budget in education continued to escalate since independence from Kshs 135,670,000 which was equivalent to 22.5% of total government budget in 1963/64 financial year to Kshs 7,711,678,000 translating to 37.7% of total government budget by the year 1987/1988. During this period, the education development budget was merely Kshs 9,000,000 and Kshs 643,604,000 in 1963/64 and 1987/88 respectively (GOK, 1988). This pattern is explained by the fact that the demand for university education in Kenya continued to increase significantly to an extent that the University of Nairobi – which was the first public university in the country - was overwhelmed in handling the ever increasing numbers. This led to the establishment of Moi University in 1984, Kenyatta University in 1985 and Egerton University in 1987. Table 2 illustrates the growth in student numbers in public universities between the year 1963 to 1988 (GOK, 1981; GOK, 1988). Table 2 shows that enrolment in public universities increased from a paltry 565 undergraduates in 1963 to 18,883 by 1988. Considering the prevailing economic conditions in the face of insatiable demand, there was need for a paradigm shift on the distribution of direct costs in public higher education. A major reform since independence involved a change in the financing of public universities which prior to 1990, had been state funded. Due to the economic recession in the 1980s, the Government reduced its funding to the universities significantly (GOK, 1988; Johnstone, 2004; Teferra and Knight, 2008). The situation was aggravated by the World Bank Structural Adjustment Program (SAP) that was implemented by the Kenyan Government through the Education Sector Adjustment Credit System (ESACS) and the Education Sector Lending for Policy Reform (ESLPR) initiatives with a primary aim of reducing the recurrent expenditure on education which stood at 40% by then (Assie`-Lumumba, 2006; Ngolovoi, 2010; Owino and Abagi, 2000; Penrose, 1998b; Sifuna, 2005). The ESACS and the ESLPR policies worsened challenges related to access, equity and quality in higher education (Sifuna, 2005).

Cost sharing policy

Faced with many financial challenges, and worldwide economic recession, the Government sought assistance from the World Bank (WB) and International Monetary Fund (IMF) who were the main lenders to the Government's educational projects (WorldBank, 2011). The WB by then had introduced SAPs in the 1970s with an aim of streamlining and strengthening local economies in developing countries (Sifuna, 2005). As a result, the Government scrapped the free university education in the 1991/92 financial year. This implied that students would be contributing a significant portion of the universities budget through tuition fees (GOK, 1988). Cost-sharing has affected many aspects of education culminating in low enrolment rates, low completion rates, insufficient learning materials and poor quality of teaching (Oketch, 2003; UNESCO, 1995; World Bank, 1997). It is on the record that the introduction of cost-sharing nearly paralyzed the universities and students went on rampage destroying property and crippling the operations at the universities (Assie`-Lumumba, 2006; Oketch, 2003). It is against this background that this paper uses the Haddad and Demsky's educational policy-planning process to analyze the pre and post-planning processes that were undertaken in implementing the cost-sharing policy.

Haddad and Demsky's Educational Policy-Planning Model[1]

Haddad and Demsky (1995) provides a framework which combines two essential dimensions of who does it (the actors) and how (the process). The framework is illustrated in Figure 1.

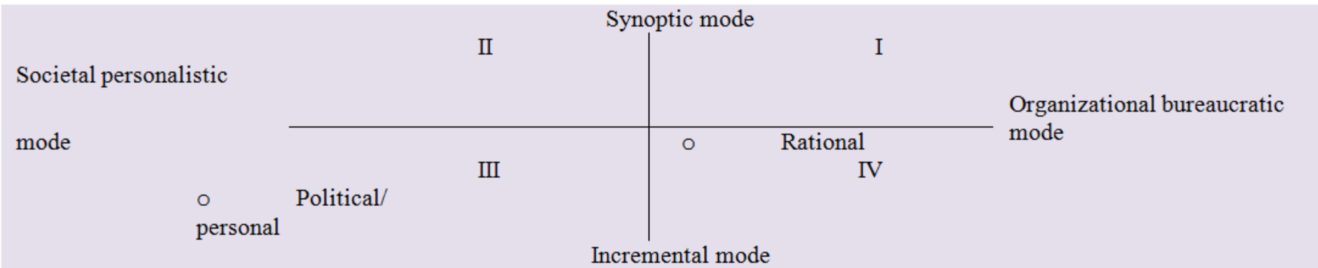
the international community, etc.) driven by their own conceptions of the problem and individual values (Haddad and Demsky, 1995:22).

The process of policy making

The process of policy making - from the incremental to the synoptic approach - is placed on the vertical-axis. Citing Lindblom and Cohen, Haddad and Demsky (1995) differentiate incremental and the synoptic approach to policy making. Accordingly, the synoptic method entails, in its extreme form, one single central planning authority for the whole of society, combining economic, political, and social control into one integrated planning process that makes interaction unnecessary. It assumes: (a) that the problem at hand does not go beyond man's cognitive capacities and (b) there exist agreed criteria (rather than social conflict on values) by which solutions can be judged and (c) that the problem - solvers have adequate incentives to stay with synoptic analysis until it is completed (rather than 'regress' to using incremental planning). Incremental policy making, on the other hand, relies on interaction rather than on a complete analysis of the situation to develop a blueprint for solving problems. The incremental approach to policy making is built on the following assumptions: (a) Policy options are based on highly uncertain and fluid knowledge, and are in response to a dynamic situation (ever changing problems, and evolving contexts); (b) No 'correct' solution can therefore be found, or technically derived from a diagnosis of the situation. Thus, no sweeping or drastic reforms should be attempted; (c) Only incremental and limited policy adjustments can be made; and (d) Policy adjustments are expected to remedy an experienced dissatisfaction with past policies, improving the existing situation or relieving an urgent problem. Consequently, these adjustments should be tentative - and in some cases temporary - and must be revised as the dynamics of the situation evolve.

Analysis of cost sharing policy using Haddad and Demsky's framework

Any policy making takes into consideration various dimensions specifically on who does it, how it is done, who are the beneficiaries and losers (if any), what viable alternatives are available, under what



Source: Haddad and Demsky, "Framework for education policy analysis," (1995)

The actors in policy making

The actors in policy making is placed on the horizontal-axis. At one end of the spectrum is the societal/personalistic mode, wherein decisions are reached by negotiation among a variety of interest groups (including government ministries, teachers' unions, etc.), driven by their own conception of the problem and individual values. On the other end is the organizational/bureaucratic mode wherein decisions are made within the organizational entity (i.e. the military,

conditions, in what priority, the urgency and how will the goal be recognized (Haddad and Demsky, 1995; Mutua and Namaswa, 1988). In our present context, cost-sharing policy starting from its conceptualization to implementation was solely a Government project representing a synoptic model of planning (Assie`-Lumumba, 2006). The process was done through the recommendations of the RPWPEMT. There were three main alternatives that were put in place. Firstly, the Government tried to strengthen the student loans scheme as a safety net. Secondly, there was an attempt to encourage the establishment of private universities, and finally, there was a call to revive the vocational and technical colleges (GOK, 1988; GOK, 1999). However, there were pertinent planning issues regarding the pre and post-planning activities that were not totally followed. Cost-sharing policy is therefore an example of a synoptic or comprehensive model that involved the government as the central planning authority in the strictest sense. The policy to an extent affected the entire education system from primary all the way to university level. As Figure 1 indicates, the process cannot be classified as purely synoptic since there were some elements of incremental inclination. This is because whereas one would think that the policy was fully in the

[1] This is an example of a strategic planning model that was developed and applied by Waddi D. Haddad with assistance of Terri Demsky. The document in which they wrote appears in the series "Fundamentals of Educational Planning 51" which is part of the series of UNESCO: International Institute for Educational Planning. The objective of this document is to help those engaged in educational policy-planning as well as any other administrator with an interest in educational policy issues. Both Haddad and Demsky developed an educational planning framework consisting of seven stages in a cyclic pattern that can be applied in many educational planning initiatives (Haddad and Demsky, 1995).

hands of the government, a deeper analysis of the process clearly indicates that the decision was reached after negotiations and political maneuvering among a wide variety of interests groups, though of course not at the same level (GOK, 1988). In applying a synoptic model, the Government assumed that the financial predicament that faced universities could rationally be solved by changing the policy from state centered funding model to market competitive model and by using the incremental model, the Government assumed that the strengthening of the student loans and other ad hoc policies would safeguard the poorer students who could not afford tuition (GOK, 1988; Munene, 2009). Moreover, the Government decision to implement this policy was not an individual decision but it resulted from lengthy negotiations involving politicians, academicians, universities and students albeit the involvement of stakeholders was at a minimal level (Ojiambo, 2009a). In terms of scope, cost sharing policy was a strategic plan due to its high complications, indefinite conclusion, a variety of options and wider decision benchmarks. One aspect the RPWPEMT failed to factor in was that the complexity and the implication of the strategic nature of cost-sharing policy not only affected the universities but also significantly and widely affected the economic and social well-being in the society. The policy changed the socio-political and economic landscape in the country as parliament became divided in its support to the policy (Ojiambo, 2009a). Many families had to change and reorganize their priorities in order to factor in the additional and unexpected cost. It is, however, noted that educational policy-planning is not a linear process, it involves a balancing of many opposing and at times contradictory demands, and therefore, campaigning for support and utmost tolerance coupled with patience from the interested groups, is absolutely important (Haddad and Demsky, 1995). According to Haddad and Demsky (1995), informed decision making is crucial in educational planning process. However, it is clearly preceded by investigative and administrative activities that involve analysis, negotiations, soliciting support, and sometimes a referendum in order to gather as much evidence as possible. This is followed by equally important planning activities such as implementation, assessment, possible redesign after being supported by evidence from various sources (Shaxson, 2005).

The main objective of the cost-sharing policy was to reduce Government expenditure on education while at the same time maintaining and expanding enrolment. However, while acknowledging that some aspects of these objectives were achieved albeit in miniature ways, the policy had some damning effects in regard to access and inequality (Yakaboski and Nolan, 2011). The biggest challenge that affected the implementation of the policy was political interference. As a result, it was characterized by lack of wide consultations, and sometimes conflicting decrees and circulars and the normal political rhetoric replacing the policy making ideals (Amutabi, 2003). According to Ojiambo (2009), education as key to the development of a country ought to be protected from excessive political dictates. Instead, it should be owned by relevant stakeholders, adequately financed and constantly reviewed. Proper procedures such as examining education history, theoretical frameworks, and objectives of the educational process, curriculum and administration needs were not exhaustively investigated (Ojiambo, 2009a).

Education Policy-Planning Cycle

Haddad and Demsky's (1995) provide a seven step policy planning processes, the first four of which deal with policy making, the fifth with planning and sixth and seventh with policy adjustment: The steps are as follows: (i) analysis of the existing situation; (ii) the generation of policy options; (iii) evaluation of policy options; (iv) making the policy decision; (v) planning of policy implementation; (vi) Policy impact assessment and ; (vii) subsequent policy cycles. The following section analyzes the application of the steps to the cost sharing policy.

Analysis of the existing situation

Any policy change result from a need to respond to a problem or a set of problems in a sector. Therefore, an analysis of the situation is important in order to understand the context. A PEST analysis[2] which helps the planners to understand the situation on the ground was applied to evaluate the political, economic, social and technological atmosphere in the country before and after the policy (GOK, 1988; Henry, 2007). The existing situation can be traced back to the declaration of independence in 1963. After Kenya gained her independence, the country took charge of its economy and other areas of development. This was not a simple challenge considering that most of the skilled work was in the hands of foreigners who had to leave the country after independence (GOK, 1976). Consequently, most of educational policies at the university level were greatly influenced by human capital perspective and man power approach which was viewed as an ad hoc solution to fix and sustain the new and emerging economy (Heyneman, 2003; Mutua and Namaswa, 1988). As Table 2 indicates, the demand for higher education increased exponentially from a mere 575 in 1963 to 18,883 in 1988 (CBS, 1988). The increase in enrolment had its own financial implications for by 1976/77 financial year, the university recurrent budget was Kshs 6,343,000 which was 9.1 % of all the education budget and in general by 1976/77 financial year, education accounted for Kshs 69,840,000 representing 86.3% of all the money that was allocated for training in all the ministries (GOK, 1976). In 1963/64, the recurrent expenditure on education was Kshs 135,670,000 or 22.5 % of the national recurrent budget while only Kshs 900,200 or 32% went to development (GOK, 1988). Since then, the overall expenditure has gone up and by 1987/88 the government allocated Kshs. 7,711,678,100 or 37.7% of the national recurrent budget to the education sector (GOK, 1988).

On 27th August 1988 through a Kenya Gazette Notices No. 3743, the Government appointed a "*Presidential Working Committee on Education and Manpower Training for the Next Decade and Beyond*" with the main goal of "reviewing the national education and training for the next decade and beyond and to make recommendations thereto" (GOK, 1988). In Sessional Paper No. 6 of 1988, the Government was overly concerned that the rising cost of education was too high considering the increase and consistent demand for education every year. This was in harmony with an earlier sessional paper of 1986, entitled, 'Economic Management for Renewed Growth' that recommended the government to reduce the expenditure on formal education and training to about 30 percent of the national recurrent budget. The Government agreed to this recommendation and outlined how to achieve this objective through cost sharing in the financing of education and training (GOK, 1986).

The process of generating policy options

Due to other urgent competing and equally relevant demands, the task-force recommended cost-sharing policy as an alternative methodology with its consequent effect of shifting the cost burden to parents, students and religious groups and as providing grants to those parents or students who were not able to pay (GOK, 1988). This was thought to enhance equality. However, this rationale has its own limitation and it becomes relevant only if higher education is pursued by a relatively small population, and the relatively few or small population is from middle and high income (Johnstone, 2004). According to Haddad and Demsky (1995), such a policy required an extensive and a well deliberated planning due to its extensive and myriad nature. In generating policies, the planners had a variety of options but only four are considered essential: systematic, incremental, ad hoc and importation (Haddad and Demsky, 1995). The Government to some extent used the systematic mode as it appointed a commission in 1985 that comprised stakeholders from the ministry of education, educationists, politicians, religious and civil groups (GOK, 1988). Among the key responsibilities of the

[2] A PEST analysis is a tool used by planners to understand the Political, Economic, Social and Technological conditions of a situation before proceeding with any planning activities. It is important to understand these four aspects because they are interconnected.

committee was to collect data by visiting all the (eight) provinces in Kenya, held interviews and discussions with senior administrators, leading educationists, and professional personnel, religious leaders and members of the public (GOK, 1988). It also emerges that the policy had some incremental aspects in that the solution was generally forced into the system and this is evidenced by the amount of unrest that resulted from its implementation in 1991/92 academic year (Ngolovoi, 2010; Oketch, 2003). Nonetheless, the government went ahead to promise the population that measures had been taken to ensure that no one would be affected because of the safety nets in form of student loan scheme for the poor (GOK, 1988). Accordingly, there was a certain element of policy importation as the working parties also visited a selected number of foreign countries to learn from them about their education and training models and approaches (GOK, 1988). It emerged that education was not the only sector that was affected but there were other competing social services including health (Oketch, 2003). The rationale of this policy option was primarily based on the framework of human capital and neoliberal perspective that view education as an investment. It was argued that university students should bear the cost of their studies because they would in return benefit through significantly higher earnings in their lifetime following the economists claim that there are more private returns to higher education, and therefore, students should pay a significant cost of their studies. Other proponents to this policy argued that a substantial number of students come from families with at least a certain degree of ability to pay tuition fee (Assie`-Lumumba, 2006; Munene, 2009). With the implementation of this policy, it was assumed that students would take their education serious as they would have an incentive of finishing their program (Ngolovoi, 2010; Oketch, 2003).

Evaluation of policy options

Options for the policies can only be evaluated only if other scenarios similar to the ones under consideration are developed to allow estimations of the likely implications of the options being deliberated. The alternative scenario is evaluated in terms of desirability, affordability and feasibility (Haddad and Demsky, 1995). It seems that this process was overlooked in RPWPEMT report. One explanation would be that the commission felt limited in terms of alternative policies though in actual fact, it emerged later that there were practical alternatives that would have been effective as evidenced in the subsequent reports and sessional papers. However, it is evident that the policy was desirable and timely for a country that could not meet its financial obligation in other critical areas of social welfare (GOK, 1988). On the other hand, it was undesirable for the population as it increased the burden on the households (Mondoh, 2002; Mwinzi, 2002). Unknowingly at the time, the policy was undesirable as a whole for it was perceived to create more inequality in an already unequal society. The affordability of the policy depended significantly on the economic ability of the households. The difficulty, as in many other policy decisions in the country, was that there was limited and scattered data to confidently ascertain the income for households in the country (Penrose, 1998a). The Government acknowledged that there were some short term discomforts in terms of cost. Nevertheless, the long-term benefits that were presumed to accrue were thought to be immense. However, the evidence available shows otherwise as the cost-sharing policy resulted to inequality, poor quality education and corruption in the education sector. Some of the benefits were that more resources would be generated as students pay for the cost of education, the universities would be held accountable by the students and therefore respond effectively to the demands and finally, the universities would be forced to diversify their revenue by encouraging more private sponsored students (Ngolovoi, 2010). However, one would question how much benefits were gained as strikes, loss of life, promiscuity, a fall in academic standards, social vices such as theft, vandalism, drunkenness, businesses in the hostels increased tremendously (Mondoh, 2002).

Making the policy decision

In the 1991/1992 financial year, the Government announced sweeping reforms in the education sector with an effect that free university education was scrapped and students had to bear the burden of tuition. This was a radical departure from what had been experienced in a couple of decades. This announcement was a presidential decree seen as a KANU[3] ideology taken without due consultation and involvement of all the stakeholders and without sufficient evidence (Jepkemei, 2011). The students' unrest that followed raised pertinent questions on whether the decision underwent all the stages of a planning process for it to be accepted and fully owned by at least a substantial number of the stakeholders (Bonyo, 2012).

Planning policy implementation

The commission that prepared the RPWPEMT was set up in 1985 and only finished its findings and recommendations in 1988 (GOK, 1988). The committee's work was supplemented by Sessional Papers Number 1-6 of 1988 that set to offer practical guidelines on the implementation of the policy. In the 1991/92 academic year, the policy was in place and had been legitimized by a presidential decree. Consequently, all students were expected to pay their tuition. In order to counteract the student's unrest, the Government set out to strengthen the loan scheme which was in a mess since its inception in 1974. By the 1987/88 financial year, the Government had advanced Kshs.1, 273,814 through the Loans Board to 37,620 students (Central Bureau of Statistics [CBS], 1988). In practical terms and in order to quell the confusion that resulted, the Government made it clear that all the boarding and feeding expenses were to be borne by students, while tuition was partly funded by the Government through the loan scheme. The implementation was that all students would pay Kshs 6,000 per year and a student soft loan of Kshs 21,000. In order to ensure a political settlement, the Government ensured that the bill was debated in parliament and a consensus reached on the rationale of the policy (Abagi, Nzomo and Otieno, 2005).

Policy impact assessment

There has not been a formal Government directed impact assessment on cost-sharing policy. However, private funded research has provided a glimpse of the reality on the ground. A research conducted by Organization for Social Science Research in Eastern and Southern Africa (OSSREA) revealed untold suffering and difficulties that students faced with regard to accessibility of food at the campus. Cases of criminal activities such as stealing university property or other students' property have become common. Students have also become increasingly involved in Income Generating Activities (IGAs). Nafukho (1996) argues that there have been increased trading activities in students' halls of residence. These activities are not only time consuming but are also immoral and anti-social, all of which negatively affect their academic performance. Mwinzi (2002) reported that research at Egerton, Moi and Nairobi universities attested that in order to survive under limited financial resources availed to them, poor students have engaged in risky behaviors such as prostitution, selling illicit brews and drugs, preparing their own meals in residence halls not designed for that purpose, poor dietary habits as and preferring to rent accommodation off-campus in unhygienic neighborhoods. As a result, depression, attempted suicide, substance abuse, examination failure and drop out had registered a marked increase. The findings of these researches revealed acute socio-economic problems related to the policy in which almost 100% of the students were discontented (Mondoh, 2002). The Department for International Development (DFID) revealed a variety of loopholes in implementation due to the absence of actual unit cost of education. Moreover, the DFID funded research revealed that the Ministry of Education failed to offer timely policy guidelines and consequently

[3] KANU was the political party that was in power by then. Its chairman was President Moi who left power in 2002.

resulted to a wide divergence in cost charged by various colleges and universities. Despite the claim by the Government that it had created good safety nets, the safety nets remained ineffective as they were characterized by lack of transparency and accountability, leakage of benefits, limited coverage and poor coordination (Owino and Abagi, 2000).

The new policy cycle

Upon implementing and rolling up the policy in all the public universities, the Government thought that cost-sharing would be a panacea to the challenges facing the universities. However, as the policy assessment indicates, other issues emerged and had to be addressed (Haddad and Demsky, 1995). Social demand in higher education continued to rise exponentially. Faced with these challenges, the Government had to begin a new educational policy-planning cycle as the state universities could still not meet the university demand for its citizen (Abagi, Nzomo and Otieno, 2005). It was a period in which liberalization tsunami had virtually affected the economy in a large scale. The Government proposed and encouraged the establishment of private universities by strengthening the Commission for Higher Education (CHE) through an Act of parliament which provided the much needed and awaited impetus for the establishment and control of the private universities (Abagi, Nzomo and Otieno, 2005). In 1996, the Government in a policy framework paper noted the need to increase and encourage private partnership in higher education which was further restated and enhanced by subsequent documents especially the Master Plan on Education and Training (1997-2012) and the Report of the Commission of Inquiry into the Education System in Kenya (Abagi, Nzomo and Otieno, 2005). All these documents drew their insight from what RPWPEMT had recommended that the establishment of private and Harambee university institutions be encouraged but controlled and guided to ensure they offer courses relevant to the needs of Kenya and maintain acceptable standards" (GOK, 1988). To enhance the means tested students loan as a safety net, the Government had to review the Higher Education Loans Board (HELB) Act to ensure its efficiency (Owino and Abagi, 2000). The scheme was re-launched in 1995 and under the Higher Education Loans Board that was supposed to disseminate loans in a merit based system to all the needy students. There has been a lot of reforms in this area and gradually, some gains have been achieved (Abagi, Nzomo and Otieno, 2005; Oketch, 2003; World, 1997).

As a follow up of the policy, the President of the Republic of Kenya through Gazette Notices number 2291 and 2292 appointed a "*Commission of Inquiry into the Education System*" and one year later, the commission presented its findings and recommendation entitled "*Totally Integrated Quality Education and Training*" (TIQET) (GOK, 1999). Among the key responsibilities of this commission was to identify the challenges and obstacles that had to be addressed especially in investigating "the role of the private sector in providing educational opportunities", (GOK, 1999). Major reforms are on course after the enactment of the University Act 2012 that sets the stage for a major overhaul of university education in Kenya (Muindi, 2012). At present, there are 7 public and 24 private universities compared to 4 public and 4 private universities in 1992. Enrolment in private universities has continued to increase steadily from 4,970 in 1997/98 to 8,212 in 2000/2001 (Abagi, Nzomo and Otieno, 2005).

Conclusions

Education is an important component to any sustainable economic and social development in a country. Importantly, properly designed educational policy-planning activities ensure an optimal maximization of rates of return to education with minimal waste and delay. To achieve this goal, Haddad and Demsky's (1995) seven stages of educational policy-planning cycle form an important prototype in which governments and individuals could apply in formulating, implementing, and evaluating decisions. By analyzing the cost-sharing through the seven stages of educational planning cycle, important findings were noted. It is evidenced that cost-sharing was formulated and implemented without due adherence to the strategic plan. The PEST analysis in the first stage of the cycle was effectively done as the prevailing economic predicament facing the country by then could not have financially sustained universities. However, the process of generating policy options was loosely adhered to partly because of other competing and equally relevant and urgent social demands. Nonetheless, this situation would not have prevented the committee to evaluate policy options in order to give a wider view of available alternatives. The hostility to this policy was aggravated by the fact that the making of policy decision was to some extent dictated by the ruling party KANU by issuance of a Presidential Decree that ignored a proper procedure that was earlier proposed by the committee (Jepkemei, 2011). The Ministry of Education (MOE) was not fully prepared to deal with the implementation process as it was characterized by confusion and ambiguity on the amount of money that the students were supposed to pay for accommodation, health, and catering (Mwinzi, 2002). Furthermore, there were notable delays in relaying information from the MOE to the relevant departments in the education sector.

Recommendations

Future policy making in the education sector can be improved, if the Government, through the MOE, depoliticizes the education sector by making sure that all appointments are guided by merit. This is possible by encouraging the autonomy of all state universities and ensuring that the head of state is not the chancellor. All policies in the MOE should be supported by evidence from research and roadside Presidential Decrees should not be accepted as a policy guideline. The MOE should establish and strengthen an educational planning unit with enough budgetary allocation and headed by a qualified planner trained by an established organization such as the International Institute for Educational Planning (IIEP). Overall, the Government should encourage and fund more research aimed at developing and diversifying wider options in financing universities. Finally, this paper highly recommends an all-embracing involvement of all the educational stakeholders through conducting seminars, workshops and conferences in order to provide policies that are generally acceptable and sensitive to the socio economic capability of a wider population.

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