

BIELEFELD UNIVERSITY

**The Millennium Development
Goals and Educational Justice**

A critical realist analysis of
capability deprivation in Kenyan education policy

Dissertation zur Erlangung des Doktorgrades (Dr. phil.)
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DECLARATION OF ORIGINALITY

I hereby declare that I have not submitted this thesis titled “**The Millennium Development Goals and Educational Justice: A critical realist analysis of capability deprivation in Kenyan education policy and practice**” to any other faculty either in its current version or any other version.

I hereby certify that I am the sole author of this thesis and that I have used no sources other than those explicitly indicated and due acknowledgement has been made.

Joshua Caleb Amunga Eshuchi
Bielefeld, February 2014

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If I have seen even a little further, it would only be because I have been standing on the shoulders of giants. I am highly indebted to many, some not mentioned here, who through their generosity, assistance, response and guidance made this study a reality.

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All shortcomings and weaknesses within this thesis are however exclusively mine.

Joshua Caleb Amunga Eshuchi
February 2014
Bielefeld, Germany

DEDICATION

For those who were there

ABSTRACT

This dissertation focuses on the implementation of free and universal primary education in Kenya, policy inspired by the human development paradigm in which education is a mechanism for provision of essential educational outcomes that enable all children to develop capabilities for the good life. The central purview of this study is the tension between structure and agency in pursuit of educational justice, particularly how gendered, economic and cultural constraints interact with children's educational aspirations. This tension is framed in the relationship between new equity regimes and continued educational inequalities and is explored in light of the impact of free primary education on educational outcomes of children in disadvantaged regions of Kenya through analysis of the interaction of macro-processes of education at policy level with micro-processes in schooling at the family, school and individual levels. The main research problem addressed in this dissertation addresses is, "how does the intersection of pupils', families' and school educational aspirations and practices affect the educational outcomes of pupils in Kenyan schools?". The Capability Approach is employed to conceptualize the global, national and local priorities of the socialization arrangements in Kenya primary schools, focusing on free primary education in Kenya as influenced by the Millennium Development Goals, while a structure-disposition-practice model originating from Bourdieu's reproduction thesis and refined with a critical realist perspective frames deeper exploration of socialization, reproduction and transformation within schooling experiences. The study focused on three schools in an urban slum, rural agricultural and rural pastoralist setting. Data was collected through policy analysis and semi-structured interviews with teachers, pupils and families.

Analysis of the data showed that parental involvement in schooling occurs as a form of social practice that only achieves meaning when located in a classed institutional context. When class locations limit parental understandings of educational standards and norms, families are unable to effectively contribute to children's learning and outcomes. However, the high familial aspirations exhibited by parents in this study went beyond the bounds of their social class and played a key role in enabling children overcome habitus-contingent limitations and pursue educational success through mitigation of competing socialization demands and negative cultural norms. Notwithstanding the high aspirations of the families in this study, it was evident that the disconnect between schooling and livelihoods and the lack of opportunities for transition were a major cause of disillusionment in education. This calls into question the design of schooling and curriculum and requires greater engagement with children's realities. Pupils were caught up in the disparities between schooling and their social lives, where modern schooling was in stark contrast to the socialization processes within their community. Schooling was thus a process of becoming estranged from their cultural norms and backgrounds, and this led to tensions in children's efforts to pursue a balance between modernity and tradition.

As the families and teachers in this study have shown, the ontological reality of organizations can be altered through human agency to better handle structural flaws in institutional habitus, as familial aspirations, coupled with institutional commitment to provision of quality education enabled the pupils to successfully pursue educational success in spite of cultural, economic and political constraints. While the family habitus affected children's aspirations and socio-economic ability to participate

successfully in schooling, school habitus structured children's opportunities to achieve instrumental, positional and intrinsic benefits of education. This affected children's perceived chances at educational success, as children developed either positive or negative dispositions towards schooling based on their families expectations and support, their ability to match to schools expectations and cultures and their own pragmatic choices regarding the future. In particular, the compulsion to either conform to traditional norms of their community or discard them in favor of the modernity espoused by schooling posed a great challenge that in the end made or broke the children's educational careers. From the analysis it was evident that the children's aspirations for educational success were largely linked to the perceived instrumental function of education as a ladder towards future economic success. Children focused solely on achieving good tests scores rather than a broader notion of education as human development, underscoring the human capital orientation of Kenyan education.

The adoption of the MDGs and EFAs in Kenyan developments served as an ideal starting point to consider changing global paradigms that influence how education is conceptualized as a tool for social change in developing countries. It was evident that global priorities and shifting development paradigms had considerable influence over educational reform in Kenya. However, the reality on the ground as experienced by teachers, pupils and families indicated that implementation challenges, lack of political will and policy oversights lead to lack of substantive progress towards the policy goals. In particular, it is evident that the institutional frameworks of primary school provision are still highly influenced by the regional and social inequalities that have for long prevented achievement of equity, access and relevance of education. Thus, the foremost implications of this study are that educational authorities should undertake a comprehensive situation analysis of the educational system in Kenya to develop a minimum threshold of educational provision that ensures representation of all stakeholders, redistribution of education opportunities to all children and recognition of diverse needs. Such a threshold should be evidence-based, drawing on a firm foundation of evidence from theory and empirical research and supplemented by democratic consultation and debate. This dissertation argues for a nuanced and refined conceptualization of educational outcomes that should encompass the breadth of human development rather than the focus on economic growth and employment that is prevalent in Kenyan education and development policy. Such a conceptualization is offered by the Capability Approach in its approach to development as agency and wellbeing freedom. Education as a tool for poverty reduction would be in this instance vital in enabling individuals escape the influence of inequalities arising from gender, cultural and class and thus be able to pursue lives that are of value to them.

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1. INTRODUCTION

Education enriches the life of the individual and also serves to promote development and democracy in society. It is seen as an effective tool in empowering individuals to pursue lives that they value by widening their skill sets and choices, thus ensuring they can be productive members of their societies. As Kofi Annan, the former Secretary-General of the United Nations stated, "there is no tool for development more effective than educating girls" (UNICEF, 2003, p. vi). This is reflected in the international trend to measure women's literacy and years of schooling, and through this, develop an index of women's empowerment. This is driven by conceptions of human development, and is most evident in developing countries. Access to and persistence in schooling is thus seen as an achievement in itself. The same case can and indeed should be made for boys, as they too are a relevant part of society (UNESCO, 2003; World Bank, 2001). In measuring the contribution of education to development, development orthodoxy focuses on metrics of access, persistence and transition within education systems and conducts cross-country statistical analysis to rank countries based on these achievements. However, this measure of progress in terms of percentages and relevant populations enrolled does not reflect the true experiences of learners and the benefits they accrue within these systems. Moreover, it fails to take into account the continued suppression of both men's and women's freedoms and non-participation of the majority in societies in the developing world, even in instances where participation in education has been widened (Unterhalter, 2003; Walker, 2005). Long after commitment to the Millennium Development Goals Two (universal primary education), Three (promote gender equality and empowerment of women) and the Dakar Framework for Action, differences and inequalities in Kenyan education persist. Boys comprise the majority in schools, achieve better performance and gain better opportunities after schooling. Furthermore, many children, especially girls, still do not gain access to schools and even when in school, do not obtain essential educational outcomes that justify participation in education (UNICEF, 2003; FAWE, 2002).

The Human Development and Capability Approach, which underpins the Millennium Development Goals and current international development practice, conceptualizes education as a complex social process that is central to human development. Although development orthodoxy tends to simplify education into metrics of access, persistence and transition, Amartya Sen, the founder of the Capability Approach, sees education as a foundation for development of other capabilities through provision of access to learning opportunities and a concrete set of both basic and advanced educational outcomes such as literacy, numeracy and cognitive abilities (Sen, 1992; Unterhalter, 2002). It is thus worth noting that learning that only ends at functional literacy and numeracy is not in itself a central capability and is insufficient in addressing capability poverty. For education to be a central capability in expanding substantive freedoms and enhancing real choices, development orthodoxy needs to adopt a broad perspective that encompasses equity, quality and relevance of education practice and outcomes. Education is valuable only if it enables children to think critically and creatively, solve problems, make informed decisions, cope with and manage new situations and communicate effectively (Hoffman et al., 2005). This indicates that development should focus on supporting education systems and outcomes that are

equitable, of good quality and relevant to the livelihood contexts of learners. It is thus evident that international development practice is not pursuing education as a central capability that support development but is rather focusing on certain indicators that do not reflect the true contextual nature of educations possibilities and limitations. At fault is that development orthodoxy ostensibly adopts the tenets of the capability Approach without consideration of the actual operationalization of the tenets. Although Sen's Capability Approach is criticized for not providing a clear-cut operationalization, education as a social project in itself defeats universalistic prescriptions. Education is bound in the structures of any given society and thus the context needs to be taken into account.

One of the definitive problems of the sociology of education is the continued persistence of difference and inequality in access to and outcomes of education (Halsey, 1975). Sociology attempts to explain this perpetuation of differentials through a structure-disposition-practice scheme developed by Bourdieu in which the explanatory weight is carried by properties of socialized agents (Nash, 2003). In this scheme, it is necessary to interrogate the socialization processes that contribute to these differentials in an effort to identify the underlying causes and thus develop educational policy and practice that can extinguish or ameliorate them. Given that the Bourdieu's theoretical and conceptual weaknesses are well documented (Robbins, 2000; Nash, 2003; Mouzelis, 2007), adopting a critical realist approach to Bourdieu's scheme can help overcome the weaknesses arising from Bourdieu's positivist approach and thus provide an explanatory framework reliable enough to sustain multilevel explanations of inequality and difference within education systems (Nash, 2003). Moreover, contextualization of the disposition-structure-practice model to an African context is invaluable in enabling accurate evaluation. This would enable conceptualization of policy and practice that recognizes the peculiarities and problems of sub-Saharan education systems and thus contribute to solutions of actual problems that contribute to lack of equity, quality and relevance in education systems of sub-Saharan African countries (Scrase, 1997).

1.1. Problem Statement

Difference and inequalities have been a persistent problem in Kenya's education system since the foundation of the modern education system by missionaries and later by the colonial government. In the missionary era, formal schooling was restricted to regions which were accessible to missionaries and which accepted Christianity, a precondition imposed by the missionaries. Furthermore, a lot of communities were hostile to the missionaries, who were seen as upsetting the order of traditional societies. After establishment of the East African Protectorate and later the Kenya colony in 1920, the British colonial government established a basic education system that was limited in scope. Education was seen not only as a means of pacification of regions the colonialists were interested in occupying but also as a means of rewarding communities that cooperated in the colonization process. Education provided only basic literacy to provide low-skill labour to the colonial government in the form of clerks and other lower government functionaries. Thus, the majority of the population did not have access to formal schooling and indigenous education, which was meant to enable learners to pursue successful livelihoods and fit in the traditional social structure,

flourished (Mareng, 2010). However the changing social reality, which rendered indigenous education insufficient, meant that a lot of children were disadvantaged due to lack of access to valuable educational opportunities especially in the mushrooming urban areas. Missionary schools, which expanded further to cover the gap left by government provision of education, however focused on catechism and conversion without regard to relevant educational content, thus further reducing the value of education and antagonizing communities which saw this as an attack on their traditional religions and values. Many communities became wary of missionary education, seeing it as a manifestation of the “Bible before the gun” strategy of the Western imperialists and thus preferred not to send their children to school. In many communities, families that sent their children to school were ostracized and in some cases even expelled from the community. The nascent resistance movement to colonialism further championed the importance of indigenous education system. This further reduced the expansion of educational opportunities. Many regions that did not have exposure to the colonialists and missionaries, particularly in the Rift Valley region and Northern Kenya, also did not gain access to any form of modern schooling up to the independence era (CREATE, 2007; Mareng, 2010).

During the early period of independence, access to formal schooling was limited to urban areas and some regions in Central and Western Kenya. The number of individuals with educational credentials was also very limited. During the run-up to the independence, the colonial government ramped up efforts to expand access to educational opportunities. This was aimed at ensuring enough Kenyans had the skills and qualifications to take over the government after independence. However, provision was limited to regions and individuals sympathetic to the colonial government. After independence, political machinations within the government ensured that distribution of educational opportunities was skewed in favour of regions close to the President and other powerful figures in the government. Regions seen as supporting the opposition or angling for secession, such as the then Nyanza province and the Northern Frontier District respectively, were marginalized in provision of social services such as health and education. Moreover, rural areas did not receive the same level of provision as urban areas. Gender disparities emanating from cultural practices regarding women also found their way into the educational system, with girls overwhelmingly lacking access to educational opportunities (Abdi, 2010; Mareng, 2010). Cultural diversity also posed an issue, with certain communities not valuing formal education in favour of indigenous systems whereas other communities, especially those which had been exposed to Western culture during the missionary and colonial period embracing formal education and thriving in the system. Up to the early seventies the government embarked upon an expansion of access and quality of education, with various programmes aimed at ensuring all children accessed and completed at least basic primary education. Government expenditure on education in form of teacher training, infrastructure development and curriculum development ballooned to form the single largest item in the national budget. In the wake of economic shocks to the world economy in the eighties, the government was forced to comply to Structural Adjustment Programs (SAPs) designed by the Breton Woods institutions to minimize government spending according to the precepts of neoliberalism which favoured a minimal state and a capitalist market economy. Development in this context was seen as fostering economic development and expansion of the national Gross Domestic Product GDP with state provision of social services such as education considered a drain on resources. Economic development, once achieved, was supposed to rectify the imbalances in provision of such services through the invisible hand of the

market. The SAPs had a detrimental effect on educational provision, with the government implementing cuts in education funding and this had a marked impact on access to and quality of education. The Harambee initiative, aimed at communities raising funds to cover government shortfalls in funding, was unable to cover these gaps and thus the education system deteriorated further (Sifuna, 1990).

In the nineties, there was renewed focus on the quality of human life rather than economic development as a measure of development. The human development approach introduced by the United Nations favoured increased provision of social services as a means of increasing quality of human life and fostering development. The Jomtien Declaration, the Dakar Framework of Action, the Education for All initiative and the Millennium Development Goals were embraced in international development orthodoxy, signalling an increased focus on provision of health and education as central to human development, with the Human Development Index using health and education alongside income as indicators. Adoption of these initiatives in Kenyan educational policy and practice led to the government increasing expenditure on education and efforts to better the quality and relevance of education in Kenya and culminating in introduction of Free Primary Education (FPE) in 2003. This was later followed by introduction of (partially) free secondary education in 2010. Introduction of free primary education led to a massive increase in gross enrolment throughout the country. Although more noticeable in urban areas increased enrolment was distributed throughout the country, with noticeable increases in rural and marginalized areas and also a reduction in the gender gap in access. The massive increase in enrolment in urban areas was attributed to reduction of economic barriers, as the enrolment was mostly in slum areas where previously families were unable to pay the required tuition fees. Introduction of a legislative framework which made education compulsory and introduced penalties for families not sending their children to school also helped boost enrolment rates in rural areas and in reduction of the gender gap (Sifuna, 1990; Abagi, 1999).

Despite all the achievements attributed to introduction of FPE, the age old problem of equity versus efficiency/effectiveness of education persisted. Massive increases in enrolment were not accompanied by sufficient investment in infrastructure and material. The number of teachers, books and other necessary facilities constrained the value that would have been brought about by increased access. Many public schools experienced a clear-cut drop in performance in the Kenya Certificate of Primary Education (KCPE) a drop in quality that was attributed to overcrowding in classrooms and lack of sufficient resources in the teaching-learning process. Private schools saw a resurgence, with wealthier parents opting to send their children to the well-equipped private schools. Moreover, many pupils who joined school due to FPE did not persist in the educational cycle with dropout rates spiking. Many children dropped out since although tuition fees were reduced, there was minimal effort made to address other contextual factors which were barriers to participation in education, such as poverty in families, children's participation in economic activities to contribute to family livelihoods, conflict in certain regions and other socio-economic conditions. Introduction of a school-feeding program was meant to alleviate such conditions, but it was not sufficiently funded to capture all learners in the relevant demographic. Moreover, the competitive nature of the Kenyan academic pipeline meant that even those who succeeded in completing the first cycle did not have realistic prospects of proceeding to the next level. This was more so among learners from poor families who were the ones targeted by the FPE policy. Without a clear value in obtaining merely primary

education, many opted to drop out and pursue other means of livelihood outside formal education (Mareng, 2010; Mbiti et al., 2011).

Thus, even with reforms aimed at increasing access to effective opportunities to all learners, the problems FPE was meant to address still persist. It is also evident that there is an overwhelming focus on numbers and persistence rather than quality and relevance. While access is important, the value of education only lies in the valuable outcomes pupils obtain through participation. Simply being in school is not sufficient to overcome inequalities and promote educational justice. In this context, it is imperative to figure out what is responsible for the continued and increasing levels of difference and inequality in education and to develop relevant solutions. Moreover, it is necessary for educational policymakers and planners to streamline policy processes to ensure they recognize and correct challenges in the Kenyan education system. To correct the deficiencies of the system thus requires in-depth investigation of the main challenges with a focus not only on numbers but also on narratives in the education system (CREATE, 2007; Mathooko, 2009).

1.2. Research Questions

The central purview of this study is the tension between structure and agency in pursuit of social justice in and through education. It is framed in the question, “how does the intersection of pupils’, families’ and school educational aspirations and practices affect the educational outcomes of pupils in Kenyan schools?”

In answering this main question, the following questions will guide the data collection and analysis;

1. *How do schooling and family regimes construct difference and inequality in Kenyan educational spaces?*

This question explores how family habitus and institutional habitus of the school, coupled with contextual conditions (poverty, rural area, urban area, slum area, culture) and personal characteristics (gender, cognitive competence) construct difference/inequality among primary school pupils in Kenya.

2. *How is difference and inequality lived by pupils in educational spaces?*

This question explores how difference/inequality arising from family and institutional habitus is translated through individual habitus into academic practices and educational outcomes.

3. *How do policy discourses create or limit space for the performance of difference and inequality in educational spaces?*

This question explores if and how educational reform arising from adoption of the MDGs and EFA ameliorate difference/inequality in academic practice and educational outcomes, thus undoing barriers to successful participation in education and ensuring equitable and quality educational outcomes for all.

4. *How can these policy discourses be reformed to achieve the good life for children in education spaces?*

This question explores how current educational policy and practice in Kenya can benefit from consideration of the Capability Approach as a normative framework for conceptualization and implementation of educational reform aimed at achieving educational justice.

1.3. Structure of the Dissertation

Chapter 1 is the introduction to the thesis, outlining the context and motivation for undertaking this study, the research problem and questions and the limitations of the study.

Chapter 2 discusses the role of education in human development, with a focus on educational justice and the operationalization of the Capability Approach as a framework for pursuing educational justice.

Chapter 3 pursues a sociological explanation of difference and inequality in education by defining difference and inequality in education, with a focus on categorical and individual inequalities based on gender, culture, poverty and rural-urban disparities. Then a conceptual model, based on the disposition-structure-practice scheme, is developed to be applied in analysis of data.

Chapter 4 discusses the role of education in development in Kenya, with a focus on the history and challenges of provision of free primary education in Kenya as a means of distributing effective education opportunities fairly in Kenyan society and a discussion of education policy reform based on EFA and the MDGs.

Chapter 5 focuses on the empirical approach and research design of this study, introducing the rationale for selection of the deviant case study approach, the three research sites and their socio-economic characteristics, the sampling procedure, the selection and application of the data collection methods, namely policy analysis and unstructured interviews, the data analysis procedures undertaken, namely Qualitative Content Analysis and finally the author's reflections on the empirical and methodological issues encountered in the process of this study.

Chapter 6 discusses the results of the family interviews, focusing on the role and impact of family habitus on children's participation and progression in school. Beginning with a description of the families, the chapter outlines the families instrumental, positional and intrinsic aspirations for their children's education, then discusses how the families' social, cultural and economic capital influences their educational practices and realities. It concludes with a discussion of the role of families in children's educational success.

Chapter 7 focuses on the schools' institutional habitus, beginning with a description of the schools and their associated institutional rhetoric and practice with regard to educational justice. The chapter focuses on school factors such as teacher professionalism, classroom regimes, composition effects and community engagement and how they affect achievement access to, equity and relevance of the education

offered under the Free Primary Education program. The chapter concludes with a discussion of the role of the institutional habitus in children's educational success.

Chapter 8 discusses the learner habitus, beginning with a description of the learners' educational aspirations and practices at home and at school. The chapter then proceeds to discuss the educated habitus and its component parts, namely the pupils' disposition towards schooling, their academic self-concept and the relevance of knowledge in children's lives. This segues into a discussion on children's perceptions of the nature of schooling, focusing on ideas of schooling as a cultural arbitrary or an educational necessity. The chapter concludes with a discussion of the learners' habitus and its impact on educational outcomes.

Chapter 9 discusses Kenyan educational policy practice and the good life for children, presenting the impact of educational reforms in the Kenyan system and outlining a possible path for adoption of the CA as the basis for reform. Beginning with a discussion of the organization of international development architecture in the field of education and development, the chapter proceeds to discuss Kenyan education policy and practice from the perspective of participation, inclusion and relevance. The penultimate sections of the chapter focus on education quality and the impact of schooling on children's wellbeing while the concluding section develops and defends a list of capabilities that can underpin a minimum threshold for supporting children's agency and wellbeing in educational spaces.

Chapter 10 is the concluding chapter and offers answers to the four research questions in relation to the findings outlined in chapters 6 to 9, in particular touching on the impact of socio-economic inequalities on children's outcomes in basic education, the influence of international and national paradigms on educational policy and practice in Kenya, the failures and successes of educational reforms in Kenya and outlining a path for educational reform in Kenya that is based on the Capability Approach. In conclusion, the chapter offers reflections on the possible implications of this dissertation's findings for educational policy, practice and research.

Chapter 11 outlines the references consulted in the process of writing this dissertation

Chapter 12 contains the appendices relevant to clarification of the research procedures undertaken in obtaining and analyzing data in the process of writing this dissertation.

2. EDUCATIONAL JUSTICE

Education is valuable not only for its future income stream benefit but also because it enables individuals to acquire other opportunities in life and for its intrinsic value. Moreover, it contributes to social development due to its promotion of social and civic participation. It is thus necessary to investigate distribution of educational opportunities and outcomes in society to ensure equity and fairness in distribution of educational opportunities and outcomes. Pertinent to this aim is the question of which social states can be categorized as fair and how to measure the fairness of these states. Rigorous definition of educational justice would thus ease theoretical and empirical investigation of difference and inequality in education and also provide guidance for policymakers in designing policies aimed at enhancing equity and fairness. By applying contemporary theories of distributive justice to education, educational researchers can develop a clear and universally acceptable definition of educational justice.

2.1. Social Value of Education and Schooling

The five main social institutions, namely family, education, religion, politics and economics, provide a structure for society. Though distinct, they are interrelated and their intersections affect the lives of individuals through socialization, deviance and social stratification. All societies prepare their young for a place as adult members of the society through the education process, which inculcates in the young ones the acceptable social norms, relations and values. Education serves a societal purpose, to promote harmonious social development, but also serves to enrich the life of the individual learner. Education and schooling should thus provide education experiences and outcomes that enable the learner to contribute to a better society for them and fellow humans. According to Dewey (1938), there exists two extremes in education that battle for supremacy in determining the course and content of education systems, namely traditional (conservative) and progressive (liberal) education. This paradigm war is based on whether education should be highly structured and didactic or whether it should be unstructured and learner-directed. Traditional education is criticized for lacking a holistic understanding of student needs and requirements thus offering curriculum that is not suited to student needs. Progressive education is also criticized for being too reactionary without really taking into account the true utility of freedom in education. Dewey argues that education should free itself from this paradigm war and instead first try to understand and encompass the true nature of human experience, which is a function of the interaction between past experiences and the present situation. By taking into account these factors, education can offer an experience that enables each individual learner to maximize individual and social returns from education.

In the modern world, formal schooling has emerged as a central institution in societal organization. With the family, the school is one of the most important institutions of socialization in which most children's formative years are shaped, in part by the curriculum but also by macro- and micro-level processes of interaction with other pupils, teachers and the wider community. Through various mechanisms of the schooling system, individuals learn how to find their place in society, how to avoid deviant

behavior that is unacceptable and how to achieve socio-economic credentials that enable upward social mobility. Schooling is a fundamentally optimistic social institution that pursues progress in society through betterment of individuals through distribution of valuable social and economic attributes. Moreover, education is meant to enable individual overcome handicaps that hold them back in pursuit of desirable lives. Thus, the purpose of education can be described as enabling individuals to develop their full potential as human beings and fully functional members of society thus promoting social harmony and equality. However, critics of education systems argue that they do not achieve this goal and in reality act as means of social reproduction of inequality to the ends of ensuring stability in social structure. This ascribed dual role of education is reflected in the success and failures of the educational system of a country. Every education system is beset with various problems, most arising from demands of social justice and the question of equality vis-à-vis sufficiency of educational opportunities and outcomes. Educational equality demands that all school-going children should have equal prospects for educational achievement regardless of their social background. Strict egalitarianism even demands that all children have equal prospects regardless of natural talent. However, most sociologists view this as an untenable position, thus restrict themselves to equalizing differences arising from family and other relevant socio-economic conditions. Sufficiency on the other hand demands that all children should achieve a minimum specified threshold and further achievement be left to individual aspiration and effort (Scrase, 1997; CREATE, 2007). Schultz (1963) and Becker (1964) outlined the economic value of education to a society. Educational opportunities and outcomes represent a clear monetary value for those receiving them, namely in form of monetary rewards through an income stream in the future. Educational qualifications provide an indicator of an individual's future earnings and open access to further career related opportunities such as higher education. Educational outcomes also have an impact on an individual's social position. Moreover, education has a positive correlation with inter-personal advantages valued by theories of distributive justice such as being happy (welfarism), access to primary goods (Rawlsian justice as fairness), enhanced functionings and capabilities (Capability Approach), better health and civic participation. Education also has intrinsic value regardless of other benefits accruing from it, being educated is simply a valuable end in itself. The United Nation's Human Development Index (HDI) uses indicators from health and education along with income to rank countries performance in fostering human development. Fleurbaey (1995) even considers education to be a "core individual achievement" that societies should promote without regard to any expected returns. Education enables individuals to function in a society by learning or gaining the capacity to do things that are requisite to fitting in society. Thus it is necessary for a society to ensure all individuals receive a quality education that enables them become fully functioning adult members of society (Van Parijs, 2004). Various societies have different forms of education. In modernity schooling is the dominant form of education. Although schooling has been criticized for various shortcomings, it still remains the most viable form of a society to provide educational opportunities and outcomes currently and thus it should be structured to provide the most opportunities to all, and to ensure that distribution of opportunities and outcomes is fair and equitable. In ensuring this, it is necessary for policymakers to have effective guidance that enables them to assess issues of inequality and design policies that redress this to ensure fairness and equity.

2.2. Conceptualizing Educational Justice

Rawls (1971, p. 3) states that “justice is the first virtue of social institutions”. This claim provides a relevant starting point to any discussion of justice in social institutions such as education and schooling. It brings to mind the normative nature of theories of justice which in essence aim to define acceptable criteria for evaluation of existing, desirable and realistically possible social institutional arrangements and policies. A theory of justice that can sufficiently conceptualize educational justice needs to address three substantive issues (Macleod 2010, p. 175). Firstly, it should define the scope of justice, which indicates the justice-based entitlements of individuals; basically what is owed to whom and by whom and to what extent can distinctions be made between different individuals or groups of persons with respect to their justice-based entitlements. This is the currency or relevant space of justice. Secondly, the theory should specify the metric of individual advantage that indicate dimensions of individual situations that are relevant for comparison with the situations of others, thus enabling ranking of wellbeing and the good life. And lastly, it should provide an evaluative function that provides criteria for assessing how institutional arrangements and policies affect the fairness in advancement or distribution of advantageous attributes. Furthermore, the level at which justice is to be addressed is also a key issue that a theory of justice should specify. Kolm (2002) distinguishes three levels at which a normative analysis of justice can be conducted; macro-justice which covers the basic rights of individuals within a society and the ensuing global distributive justice; meso-justice, which focuses on specific social issues whose distribution affect a whole society such as health or education and micro-justice which covers the distribution of opportunities and resources in local situations within institutions such as schools or hospitals. A choice of a particular level on which to address justice is a contested issue in political philosophy and normative economics and each theory of distributive justice which determines its own extent of application.

Social justice has been addressed by many political philosophers and normative economists, with a plurality of theories of distributive justice abounding. However, the field of educational justice has been largely ignored. There is few explicit research which addresses education from the perspective of theories of distributive justice and which address challenges in dealing with requisite trade-offs that would emerge in practical application of said theories in educational policymaking and practice (Waltenberg, 2010). In current development orthodoxy, education has been vaunted as an important arena for reducing poverty and other inequalities in society. This is represented in the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and the Education for All (EFA) initiative. Thus it is surprising that few researchers engage with the issue of justice in education, especially in the content of developing countries, since aiming to achieve development in and through education necessitates engagement with distribution of relevant outcomes within a given demographic. A review of literature on justice in education and educational justice identifies some research on the issue. Brighouse (2002) discusses the relationship between egalitarian liberalism and justice in education, criticizing educationists for ignoring Rawlsian justice as fairness as a tool for critique of educational policy and practice. Empirical research on equity in education financing abounds, but this focuses mostly on inputs in education, thus ignoring a relevant space of analysis (outcomes) since achieving equity in inputs does not guarantee equitable distribution of valuable outcomes, given the impact of other intervening variables such as family background (Roemer, 1998; Waltenberg 2010).

Amartya Sen, though not focusing on education, provides an interesting perspective to educational justice with his focus on outcome equity (Sen, 1999). Levin (1994) focuses on equity in education and defines equity as a situation where human diversity does not interfere with individual opportunities to achieve valuable outcomes. Arguing that equality of access or inputs is not sufficient for achieving equity in education, he champions pursuit of outcome equity through distributive or compensatory measures of individuals disadvantaged by difference/inequality.

A key challenge in conceptualizing educational justice arises from the need to describe fair social states and rank them according to the degree of fairness they exhibit (Fleurbaey, 1995). Thus there is a clear need for criteria that enables evaluation and comparison of the distribution of valuable educational outcomes in educational systems. In particular, any discussion of educational justice should grapple with the dichotomy between demands of equality vis-à-vis sufficiency in provision of effective opportunities. Educational justice falls within the scope of distributive theories of justice, since it entails equitable distribution of educational opportunities and outcomes. It is obvious that educational opportunities and outcomes are something of value to society and individuals, thus the need to distribute them fairly. Achievement of educational justice thus entails provision of an effective opportunity to the relevant demographic to pursue the valuable educational outcomes. Moreover, educational justice should be founded upon a universal normative grounding that justifies equitable distribution of educational outcomes. In considering educational justice, this dissertation focuses on two dominant theories of distributive justice, Rawlsianism “justice as fairness” and the Capability Approach, that have been applied in the modern world to conceptualize and pursue social justice. Naturally, the focus is on their applicability and suitability to pursuit of educational justice. Rawls theory of justice as fairness is a macro-justice framework whereas Sen’s Capability Approach is a meso-justice framework. In making a case for adoption of the Capability Approach, this dissertation begins with a critique of Rawlsian justice as fairness and then proceeds to outline the suitability of the CA in pursuing educational justice in development initiatives in developing countries.

Rawls (1971) outlined his theory of justice as fairness in response to the dominance of welfarism in evaluation of the good life up to the late sixties. Rawls theory is an ideal theory that assumes no one is chronically or severely impaired. Rawlsianism is based on social primary goods as an objective currency of justice that can be used to make interpersonal comparisons of advantage, which he defines as social attributes and resources that any individual would want regardless of his or her individual preferences. Rawls (2001) redefines primary goods as those conditions and resources necessary for the development and exercise of the two moral powers, namely the capacity for a conception of good and the capacity for a sense of justice. Rawls concern for the primacy of liberty, equality and efficiency in society led to his development of two principles of justice that are meant to ensure society distributes the highest possible level of primary goods to the worst off individuals (the maximin rule) while ensuring that an acceptable level of liberty is guaranteed to members of the society. Rawls objective currency of justice, which counters with the subjectivity of utility in welfarism, however does not go far in respecting individual preferences since it in essence imposes primary goods as the valuable attributes which are to be valued equally by all individuals, thus ignoring the demands of human diversity. Moreover, it does not take into account the fact that not all individuals can benefit equally from the same set of primary goods. Furthermore, it is clearly evident that even with access to primary goods, individuals can still suffer from various lacks of freedom thus ensuring

justice is not served (Sen, 1992). With regards to educational justice, Rawls theory is silent and in fact does not even define education as one of the primary goods to be distributed fairly. In essence, it is thus unsuitable for conceptualization of educational justice. However, many theorists interested in expanding Rawls theory incorporate education into the list of social primary goods thus considering its role in fostering justice and focusing on the formation and distribution of effective educational opportunities (Daniels, 2005). Gutmann (1980) argues that some level of paternalism is necessary in children's upbringing since they lack a complete conception of the good life. Since children are unable to neither make individual judgments of what the good life is nor make full use of opportunities afforded for pursuit of the good life, they should be prepared through education to develop the two moral capacities whose primacy is championed by Rawls. In this sense, education opportunities would be considered as an input in pursuit of justice. However, children also exhibit the same human diversity as adults and their outcomes would vary widely even with the same level of educational input, especially given the impact of natural differences such as gender among children and especially in non-ideal situations. Moreover, Rawls theory does not offer practical guidance with regards to the actual content of educational opportunities to be offered as inputs, issues which would arise in practical policy and administrative contexts. Thus, adding education to the list of social primary goods does not solve problems of distribution, content and status of children with regards to educational justice (Brighouse & Unterhalter, 2010, p. 198).

The Capability Approach, developed by Amartya Sen and later by Martha Nussbaum, attempts to provide a radical alternative beyond conceptualizing justice based on a specific currency but rather focusing on a basal space of what people are able to be and do. Sen prioritizes individual freedom to pursue valuable lives based on two core concepts (functionings and capabilities) that together constitute the quality of an individual's life, thus the Capability Approach is more sensitive to individual variations than the primary goods approach (Brighouse & Unterhalter, 2010, p. 200). Sen's approach reconciles the subjective currency of justice in welfarism with the objective currency of Rawlsianism. While capabilities and functionings are objective valuable achievements of individuals, Sen leaves definition of actual capabilities to public debate within societies, thus giving room for civic participation and human diversity to be taken into account in definition of capability lists. However, Martha Nussbaum has developed a list of capabilities that in her view are based on human dignity and are irreducible. Whereas Rawls theory in essence relies on inputs as a basis of distributive justice, Sen prefers to view end-states as the relevant attributes of individual advantage. With regards to education, such end-states could be the valuable outcomes of education that an individual obtains from participation in a schooling system such as certificates, test scores, skills and job market qualifications. Thus, the Capability Approach is well suited to conceptualization of educational justice.

2.3. The Capability Approach

2.3.1. Foundations of the Capability Approach

The capability approach is a broad normative framework for the evaluation and assessment of individual well-being and social arrangements, the design of policies, and proposals about social change in society. The approach highlights the difference between substantive freedoms (capabilities) and substantive outcomes (achieved

functionings) (Robeyns, 2005). The Capability Approach (CA) was developed by Amartya Sen and represents a well-grounded approach to capture agency and well-being of individuals as well as to evaluate the provisions of educational processes. The CA takes into account pervasive inter-individual differences in people's abilities to convert capabilities (resources, services and abilities) into functionings (valued beings and doings). Capabilities imply the scale and purview of possibilities for individuals to pursue valued functionings. In pursuing social justice in education, educational institutions and processes should adequately provide fundamental capabilities to participants and also allow the freedom for participants to pursue and convert these capabilities into valued functionings. This promotes social justice and empowers educationally disadvantaged persons such as girls (Sen, 2000; Saito, 2003; Dreze & Sen 2002). The Capability Approach is based upon five basic principles; capability/capabilities, functionings, agency, endowments and conversion factors. Capability refers to the effective opportunities or real substantive freedoms that humans have to choose beings and doings that valuable to them. Nussbaum (2006) distinguishes between basic capabilities (innate equipment of individuals such as hearing and seeing which are necessary for developing advanced capabilities); internal capabilities (traits and abilities that are developed in interaction with social, economic and political environments such as cognitive skills and communication) and combined capabilities (internal capabilities combined with external conditions conducive to exercise of functionings such as free speech). Functionings are actual achievements or outcomes, the valued beings and doings that an individual makes a reasoned choice to exercise. Functionings are the actualization of capabilities, a specific option within a set of real opportunities, also known as a capability set. Sen (1999) notes that although functionings are the actual outcomes of development as freedom, the core evaluative space of development is capabilities, since measurement of development by functionings masks the process of choice and whether a person had freedom of choice in exercising that particular function. Agency is the ability to pursue beings and doings that one has reason to value. Sen (1999, p. 19) argues that individuals should be actively involved in making reasoned choices about their destiny, that they should not be passive recipients. The concept of agency entails participation, empowerment and autonomy. Endowments are resources and commodities that an individual is endowed with such as economic resources and social networks which enable them to achieve the valued beings and doings that they have reason to value. This is in contrast with orthodox economics, which views income as a key determinant of development, Sen values endowments only as a means to achieving human development. And lastly, conversion factors are individual, social and environmental characteristics that impact upon our ability to convert inputs into valuable outcomes. Individual conversion factors encompass age, gender, ethnicity among others. Environmental conversion factors could be infrastructure, urban-rural divides and climate whereas social conversion factors include cultural norms, social habits and institutional rules among others. Conversion rates are thus the combination of various conversion factors that determine the rate at which inputs can be converted into valuable outcomes (Robeyns, 2005).

These five principles interact within an overarching framework of five complementary and mutually reinforcing instrumental freedoms; political freedom, economic facilities, social opportunities, transparency guarantees and protective security. In a sense, the instrumental freedoms are the structure within which the ends of human development (capabilities) are achieved. Thus, the key question in operationalizing the Capability

Approach lies in linking provision of these five instrumental freedoms to expansion of human capabilities. Sen (1999) argues that expansion of freedom is both the principal means and primary end of development. Development is thus defined as the process of removing barriers or “unfreedoms” that stop humans from pursuing lives that they have reason to value. In this process, it is irrelevant whether the unfreedoms are explicitly (legally) or implicitly (due to economic, social or cultural factors) sanctioned. Amartya Sen’s Capability Approach reflects and is reflected in global development orthodoxy, as broadly epitomized in the United Nations human development paradigm and succinctly captured in the MDGs. Sen’s himself has been instrumental in conceptualizing, operationalizing and enriching the human development theory. This paradigm shifts the focus of development from econometrics to translating economic growth into “freedom”. Sen views development as freedom to pursue individual values and functionings that promote fulfillment of personal needs and desires. Thus, development should promote full capability sets (Fukuda-Parr, 2002; UNDP, 2003; Sen 2000). The CA is ideal for this study since it is more inclusive and appropriate to studies of social inequalities than other theories previously employed, such as resources, utility outcomes, and Rawlsianism. As a conceptual framework, it provides an ideal tool to conceptualize and evaluate educational inequality. In assessing equity, the capability approach goes beyond counting numbers in access and addresses the underlying factors that prevent certain individuals from accessing school, and if they do gain access, succeeding in pursuing their educational aspirations. The Capability Approach offers a relevant framework for assessing the development of capabilities and the conversion factors that promote or hinder full freedom (Sen, 2000; Saito, 2003; Robeyns 2005). Furthermore, the CA offers a very good framework to study tensions between structure and agency. It is the most aspirational and optimistic, and despite acknowledging conversion factors, it emphasizes positive potentiality. Thus, the capability approach offers a broad framework for the conceptualization and assessment of government and NGO policies, practices and their implementation; institutions and their functionings as regards gender; and the foundations, processes and outcomes of education (UNDP, 2003; Aikman & Unterhalter, 2007).

Only recently have CA theorists focused on education thus it is very much a work in progress. Moreover, differences in CA evaluation of education stem from differences between Sen and Nussbaum’s approaches. However, despite the significant differences, both approaches overlap and provide different perspectives on different issues within education and schooling. Sen focuses on general discussion of policy and critique of theories regarding education’s role in society and particularly in economic development. This makes Sen’s approach suitable for investigation of social and institutional arrangements concerning education, mostly the design and implementation of international or national educational policies. Nussbaum on the other hand focuses on the content and processes of education and schooling, thus adopting a meso- and micro-perspective on justice in education. This makes her approach suitable for in-depth investigation of educational participation and disadvantage arising from inequalities within the schooling process (Unterhalter, Vaughan & Walker, 2007). The CA is useful in assessing equality and sufficiency in education due to the limitations of previous evaluative and assessment criteria such as resources (a focus on aggregate spending per child without noting what each child actually needs), desire satisfaction (for example what level of education each child is satisfied with, without considering issues such as adaptive preference or conditioned aspirations) or outcomes (focus on test scores and other educational achievements without taking into consideration the effective opportunities or lack of that led to the outcome). The CA offers an evaluative

framework that enables researchers to identify the effective educational opportunities that are available to individuals in achieving valued educational functionings. Moreover, the CA investigates the issue of agency, choice and rationality in educational aspirations and outcomes, that is whether individuals have the opportunity and freedom to pursue valued educational functionings and whether these were their valued aspirations or were they adapted to the social or individual situations they live in. Furthermore, the CA also evaluates the link between resources and capabilities because it considers inter-individuals differences in requirements for resources that are necessary for achieving valued educational outcomes. Thus the CA effectively highlights the role of difference and inequalities in acquisition of educational capabilities and capabilities in education.

2.3.2. The Capability Approach and educational justice

It is essential to note from the outset that the Capability Approach does not claim to be nor is it in reality a complete theory of justice. At best, it is a partial theory that focuses on sufficiency. Rather than being a shortcoming, this in effect suits the capability approach to a discussion of fairness in society, especially in instances where poverty is entrenched. The Senian capability Approach only specifies what should count as a metric for interpersonal comparisons of fairness in social states. Nussbaum's version goes further by offering a universal conceptualization of a minimum standard that all societies are to be held accountable to and that governments should guarantee their citizens, thus presenting a partial and minimal account of social justice. The theory is partial in the sense that although it requires a certain threshold to be met, it does not address what is to be done afterwards (Nussbaum 2006, p. 71). In the current modern world, influenced by globalization and the primacy of knowledge economies, neo-liberalism has an undue influence on educational discourse and practice. Neoliberalism champions the invisible hand of the market and the minimal state. In education, this implies a focus on cost efficiency, standardized testing for input-output measures and marketable skills (Walker, 2010). However Sen (1992, 1999, and 2003) offers an alternative to this human capital approach, which offers a conceptual framework for education as a process that expands human wellbeing and contributes to transformation of social arrangements towards equity and fairness. Sen (2003) considers education to be vital for human freedom and social change as it contributes to intelligent choices between different types of lives that individuals can aspire to. The Capability Approach provides fundamental ideas in structuring education discourses and processes to be just through integration of rights and capabilities. The capability Approach, based as it is on a reasoned choice of a valuable life, considers education to be central to the human development process since our ability to exercise freedom and rational choice is directly dependent upon the type and quality of education we have received. Achieving distributive justice in education therefore entails provision of effective opportunities to all to acquire a quality education (Sen, 2003). For education and schooling to be just, the education provided needs to fulfill seven criteria embedded in the Capability Approach (Walker, 2010). First, the education needs to go beyond the neoliberal fixation on human capital and instead focus not only on the economic returns to education but also on the intrinsic and social value of education. A just education thus value all returns to education, especially the returns that are of importance to human-wellbeing rather than having an exclusive focus on education's contribution to economic growth.

Dreze & Sen (2002) elaborate five functions of education that a just education should bestow to learners; the intrinsic value of education in which acquiring an education is valuable as an end in itself and for effective freedoms; instrumental personal value of education that enables an individual to obtain other valuable opportunities such as a career, further education and other capabilities ensuing from acquiring an income; instrumental social value of education that facilitates public reasoning and civic participation; the instrumental process value of education that ensues when education exposes one to different groups and cultures and thus encourages tolerance and world citizenship; and lastly the empowerment and distributive value of education that enables disadvantaged groups and individuals to resist inequalities and pursue fair social states in and through education. Secondly, education should expand capabilities and functionings since equality and progress in education can only be evaluated in terms of whether the freedoms individuals have are enhanced in and through education. Sen (2002) argues that evaluation of outcome equity must also take into account the actual effective opportunities individuals had in achieving certain functionings. Thus, the freedom to achieve (capability) and a rational choice of a valuable outcome to pursue are just as important as achievement of an outcome (functioning). This implies that focus should not be only on either capabilities or functioning but rather take both into account as they both provide essential information regarding individual and interpersonal advantage. Having freedom is not enough if social or economic conditions prevent an individual from achieving the implicit functioning. Furthermore, functioning can also be used as a proxy for capabilities, as freedom is in essence a difficult attribute to measure (Fleurbaey, 2006; Walker, 2010). In conceptualizing justice in education, certain selected educational capabilities would influence discourse, practice and evaluation of education. Thirdly, a just education should enlarge valuable choices that individuals can make in pursuit of desired lives. This implies that education should foster autonomy in individuals to make rational choices in education and in their future lives. The capability approach and the neoliberal human capital approach converge in this regard but with an important difference. Whereas in the human capital approach choice is based on having the economic or social wherewithal to actually implement the choice, the CA foresees a situation where all individuals are able to make this choice (Fukuda-Parr & Kumar, 2003).

Fourth, a just education should foster democratic social change by forming critical voices in and through education. Anderson (1999) conceptualizes education as a process that enables an individual to fully function as a productive member of a given society. One way of achieving this is by expanding capabilities coupled with fostering public reasoning and civic participation. Nussbaum (2006) sees democracy as vital to a just society and reasoned public discussion as a means of developing and sustaining democracy in societies. Thus, education can contribute to developing democracy by fostering the practice of public reasoning and critical thinking. For this Nussbaum (1997) suggests three capabilities to be focused upon; critical self-examination, world citizenship and narrative imagination. Sen (2006), though not endorsing a single list of capabilities, also argues that capabilities should be chosen by public debates, capabilities which foster the same process that enables review and selection of outcomes to be valued in education. Fifth, a just education should develop a sense of obligation towards the rights and needs of others in society. Given that inequalities and differences exist in society, social justice requires that advantaged individuals should pursue justice on behalf the weaker and disadvantaged (Sen 2003). Bourdieu

and Passeron (1977) explicate how education can be a source of social reproduction of inequalities through symbolic violence and exclusion. The CA demands that education should foster a sense of obligation to consider not only one's own needs and desires but also those of others. Thus, if an individual is in a position to prevent an injustice, they should use their (educational) capabilities to pursue justice. Sixth, a just education should embrace the process aspect of freedom. This would encompass freedom in pedagogical processes within educational discourse and practice. This means that conditions within schooling should respect and foster individual freedoms. And lastly, a just education should foster agency and wellbeing of learners. Agency and wellbeing are the central features of the capability approach and are indispensable for the dignity of the human condition. Agency enables individuals to pursue goals that are of value to them and the ability to set such goals whereas wellbeing directs individuals to consider their personal advantage and is an important aspect in evaluation of distributive justice. From a Capability Approach perspective, education is central to achieving both (Walker, 2010).

2.4. Measuring Educational Justice

2.4.1. The case for essential education outcomes

Education outcomes provide an objective currency of justice since they can be more accurately measured and compared across individuals, unlike other currencies such as utility, freedom, happiness which are subjective and thus essentially incomparable across individuals (Waltenberg, 2010, p. 115). Most educational outcomes are indeed more or less measurable and comparable across individuals such as years of schooling; level of education attained, skills learnt, knowledge acquired and tests scores. And although some educational outcomes do suffer from restricted comparability similar to other subjective currencies of justice such as happiness in welfarism, they do reflect an objective attribute, namely skills or knowledge acquired in schooling. Thus they do not reflect a subjective mental state which can easily change or vary across individuals but rather an objective attribute that enables ranking and aggregation (Waltenberg, 2010, p116). Education outcomes also possess flexibility in their definition. Sen's Capability Approach advocates public reasoning and civic participation in definition of which capabilities and functionings are to be considered valuable in evaluation of fair social states. Valuable education outcomes can thus be those which are essential to competent functioning in a given society. Thus one society might consider learning English as valuable if the national/native language is English whereas another might choose French. This choice is naturally based upon a rational choice process that reflects the relevance of certain skills or knowledge to the society. In this sense, education outcomes as a currency of justice does not restrict itself a priori to designating only specific outcomes as valuable. This gives wide latitude to education policymakers to select which skills and knowledge are to be given priority for fair distribution in an education system (Van Parijs, 2004). Education outcomes as a currency of justice also overcome concerns regarding accommodation of non-welfarism and non-consequentialist concerns. Educational outcomes as relevant functionings widen an individual's capability set, thus it is widely believed that educated people are capable of "being" more and "doing" more than less-educated people. This ties in with Sen's conceptualization of education as a process of widening freedoms and removing

barriers to agency and autonomy (Sen, 1999; Waltenberg 2010). Thus, once a certain threshold of education is achieved, individuals would be able to make more and better choices in pursuit of their desired lives.

Given that Sen's Capability Approach is a meso-justice approach, many critics argue that adoption of the Capability Approach as a justice framework would lead to Pareto inefficiencies in macro-justice due to inefficiencies in distribution of certain valuable attributes across specific social sectors that would ensue in pursuit of segmented justice (Waltenberg, 2010, p. 117). While partly a true assertion, Sen asserts that careful consideration of which attributes are essential in a particular sector such as health or education and pursuit of this as a minimal threshold in each sector would ameliorate this concern. From this perspective, there would need to be established a level of sufficiency that once achieved, then trade-offs between different sectors can be managed to ensure optimal Pareto efficiency. Thus a certain level of education can for example be established as an irreducible minimum that education systems should aspire to provide to children. After this threshold is achieved, policymakers or individuals can establish which trade-offs they would wish to make between sectors to achieve other valuable outcomes. While this is theoretically a difficult decision to make, and also a difficult practical decision in developed countries, the difficulty disappears in developing countries where the concern of justice lies in ensuring very basic levels of provision, so much so that the issue of trade-offs disappear. For example, it is incontestable that children in a developing country should receive basic shelter, education and health, without the issue of trade-offs arising (Sen, 1992). Fleurbaey (1996) indeed asserts that practicality should always be taken into consideration in defining and evaluating just social states. While achieving macro-justice is an ideal state which in theory all societies should aspire to, policymakers and nation-states face various restrictions given which this not always a feasible goal. Meso-justice objectives can thus be reasonable stand-alone objectives that in the long run contribute to macro-justice, especially if distinction is made between non-substitutable and substitutable goods (Waltenberg, 2010).

Making a distinction between substitutable and non-substitutable goods can enable education outcomes to be an acceptable currency of educational justice that takes into account human diversity. The Capability Approach sees human flourishing as a situation where individuals are able to achieve all they can potentially achieve without restrictions caused by unfreedoms. However, it is in reality an unfeasible goal, given that education cannot be a situation where children achieve an ever-widening range of valuable possibilities and outcomes. Achieving certain outcomes precludes pursuit of other equally or even more valuable outcomes due to time and budget constraints and the development and exercise of some capabilities would be in conflict with others. Furthermore, schooling may not be best placed to pursue some capabilities as they would be better placed to be developed within the family, given that parents also have certain rights and responsibilities towards their children that they may or may not choose to exercise, particularly in regard to social norms and economic constraints (Brighouse & Unterhalter, 2010, p. 203). Selection of certain capabilities as an objective attribute as a currency of justice would however theoretically mean that a fixed set of attributes is given value without regard to the preferences of individuals and without taking into account the fact that all individuals would not benefit equally from the same set of advantages, a fate that befalls Rawls' primary goods approach. This would also mean that the individual or agency such as the state which decides which objectives are valuable would be paternalistic. In selecting education outcomes

as a currency of justice, it is possible to avoid this issue by partitioning education outcomes into two sets, one set that is non-substitutable and essential while another set open to choice and substitution. This option would respect human diversity while deflecting accusations of paternalism. Policymakers could select certain essential outcomes that are to be achieved as a minimal threshold that all citizens should acquire, for example in compulsory education, for example literacy, numeracy and other skills essential to full-functioning in that given society. After this threshold is achieved, another set of education outcomes would be available to individuals, the choice of which would depend upon the individual's aspirations and preferences (Fleurbaey, 1996; Waltenberg, 2010). Thus, a potentially infinite set of outcomes would be reduced to a set of essential outcomes which educational policymakers in pursuit of educational justice would focus on to achieve sufficiency in provision of effective educational opportunities and outcomes. The policymakers would then ignore the other set of possible education outcomes, leaving human diversity room to come into play.

Since these essential outcomes would be limited to compulsory schooling that a society deems fit impose upon its citizens, the issue of paternalism would also disappear. Given that children are the ones who attend basic compulsory schooling, a certain amount of leeway is given to policymakers and educationists in restricting their autonomy and freedom of choice. Children are in essence not fully autonomous citizens and thus cannot be assumed to be capable of being fully-informed and fully rational. Their choices and preferences are influenced strongly by their parents, teachers and other people in their lives. Although a contested issue in society and particularly within the Capability Approach, a certain level of paternalism is acceptable in selecting which outcomes are essential for children to achieve, especially with regards to enabling them become fully-informed and rational, thus being able to make rational choices towards their desired lives in the future. Indeed, it would be difficult to assail the necessity of fostering essential outcomes as merit goods since they are the foundation of any future preferences and aspirations that individuals might aim for. The Capability Approach does favor denying children autonomy in the present to ensure that they will develop capabilities and functionings that will help them make fully-informed and autonomous choices in the future (McLeod, 2010; Waltenberg, 2010).

2.4.2. Specifying capabilities in education

Outcomes in international education and development

The previous sections of this chapter focused on a discussion of an acceptable metric of justice that would underpin an account of educational justice and fairness in distribution of educational opportunities and outcomes. This section aims to develop an account of educational capabilities that would be contextually acceptable and relevant to assessment and evaluation of educational justice within an education system. The focus of this section is specifically on educational capabilities within the Kenyan education system, though insights can be drawn to apply to other systems. A discussion of which capabilities are to be selected as essential education outcomes starts from a discussion of the value of education within the Kenyan education system. Brighouse and Unterhalter (2010, p. 208) specify three broad educational goals, namely the instrumental, positional and intrinsic value of education that are applicable within the

Kenyan context. These three goals are only achievable within a framework of instrumental freedoms prescribed by Sen and their achievement enables realization of agency freedom and wellbeing freedom, the key concepts of the Capability Approach that underpin a good life. Using this framework and drawing insights from the Dakar Framework of Action and the GMR 2005 quality education framework, this section will specify a list of capabilities that frame essential outcomes of primary education in Kenya. In current development orthodoxy, there has been a paradigm shift in how education is evaluated. Previous orthodoxy, influenced by human capital theory, conceptualised education in purely economic terms. However, the current swing in favour of the human development approach places the human being at the centre, with a focus on enlarging and sustaining valuable choices that people can make with regards to their lives (UNDP, 1990). Sen further expands on this view by conceptualizing human development as a wider process that while encompassing economic development, goes further and involves expanding real freedoms that people enjoy, express as a function of the capability sets they command and the functionings they can achieve. Thus, real poverty is not merely lack of income but rather deprivation of capabilities (Sen, 1999). As far as education is concerned, the Capability Approach sees it as a complex process that is central to human development. Although development orthodoxy tends to simplify education into metrics of access, persistence and transition, Sen sees education as a foundation for development of other capabilities through provision of access to learning opportunities and a concrete set of both basic and advanced educational outcomes such as literacy, numeracy and cognitive abilities (Sen, 1992; Unterhalter, 2002). It is thus worth noting that learning that only ends at functional literacy and numeracy is not in itself a central capability and is insufficient in addressing capability poverty. For education to be a central capability in expanding substantive freedoms and enhancing real choices, development orthodoxy needs to adopt a broad perspective that encompasses equity, quality and relevance of education practice and outcomes. Education is valuable if it enables children to think critically and creatively, solve problems, make informed decisions, cope with and manage new situations and communicate effectively (Hoffman et. al., 2005).

The idea that the value of education should be measured in terms of outcomes that are relevant for the child's present and future wellbeing is increasingly finding its way into development policy, both global and national. This is congruent with the United Nations Convention on the Rights of Children (UNCRC) which sees the role of education as "development of a child's personality, talents, mental and physical abilities to their fullest potential" (UN 1989). The World Education Forum of 2000 emphasized the role of education in acquisition of relevant skills and the resultant Dakar Framework for Action explores the hitherto ignored issue of quality of education. The Dakar Framework for the first time in development policy issued concrete and global indicators that would measure educational outcomes namely literacy, numeracy and life skills. These are closely related to the emphasis on capabilities prevalent in the human development ad capability approach (Bakhshi et al., 2003). In making a case for selection of specific capabilities to be pursued as a basis for educational justice, the CA tackles five important issues. First, the CA demands that an individual should rationally choose valued beings and doings. This implies the most important normative role of education is to expand individual's capacity to make rational choices about what is valuable, in education and in other dimensions of their lives and not to enforce certain values upon individuals. Secondly, the CA is critical of schooling processes with regards to the actual value of schooling. Though current development orthodoxy

hinges on completing a specific number of years of schooling, the CA focuses on schooling content and processes and whether they are actually beneficial to the learners since sometimes schooling itself might actually be detrimental to expansion of capabilities and wellbeing (Unterhalter, 2003; Walker, 2010). Thirdly, the CA considers the autonomy of children within educational processes, specifically to what extent children be given free choice in deciding what is of value to them, and how schooling can balance between the need to develop children's agency and the need to enable them develop future capabilities that are essential to their lives in the future. In relation to children and freedom, the CA also considers how education processes can develop abstract capabilities in children through practice of functionings. Fourthly, the CA deals with inter-personal differences and the implications for distribution of resources and opportunities in education. The key issue in this regard is individual differences in converting resources and participation into capabilities/functionings, rather than a focus on inputs. Important is how free children are to participate in education, and how schooling arrangements can fairly distribute resources and opportunities to overcome inter-individual disadvantage in participation. And lastly, the CA deals with the issue of sufficiency with regards to justice since it is not realistic or feasible to achieve equal educational outcomes for all. Thus, social arrangements and policies in education require a minimum threshold that is necessary to safeguard justice without being unrealistic or impeding others from achieving their potential. By tackling these considerations, the CA enables choice of capabilities through a process of public reasoning and rational choice that reflect the true nature of a quality education that should be offered to children in schooling processes.

Sen's instrumental freedoms

Sen (1999) outlines five instrumental freedoms (political freedom, economic facilities, social opportunities, transparency guarantees and protective security) that a state should provide to its citizens as its responsibility to ensure justice is achieved in a given society. Though these freedoms have a macro-justice orientation, they are also applicable at the meso- and micro-levels of justice. Political freedoms form the basis of civic participation and democracy and include the right to scrutinize and criticize authorities, enjoy a free press and participate in elections. In the context of education, this entails the right for public discussion of the basis and relevance of educational forms, goals and content, taking into account contextual issues such as historical prejudices, language issues and diversity. This is essential in determination of essential education outcomes to be pursued in a system. Moreover, it also implies the right for learners, teachers, parents and other stakeholders to participate in governance of educational institutions thus ensuring the needs of all stakeholders are taken into account. Economic facilities comprise the effective opportunities of individuals to have and employ material resources and entitlements in pursuit of their valued beings and doings. In the context of educational justice this might entail access to and use of educational material resources such as that enable achievement of essential outcomes by all learners. In particular, in relation to the goal of Education for All, it covers the ability to access a quality education regardless of economic disadvantages learners or their families face. Furthermore, economic facilities involve discussion of financing and expenditure of education and the relevant and efficient mechanisms to be adopted in ensuring access to all. Social opportunities entail the ability of individuals to access and enjoy social goods such as health and education without fear of social repercussions. In educational justice, this might cover access to education for individuals from groups normally excluded from the education system due to social norms, prejudice or

discrimination such as girls or lower caste members. In a micro-justice context, it might also imply ability to participate in social interactions between teachers, learners and peers within the teaching-learning and social contexts of schooling. Transparency guarantees encompass the ability to trust others and know that the information provided is honestly and clearly disclosed. In an educational system, this would imply that the educational goals should be clearly stated and that learners clearly understand what is expected of them with regards to practice, standards and evaluation. The issue of the hidden curriculum, which is apparent to only those privileged to know about it, is addressed by provision of this instrumental freedom. And lastly, protective security provides social protection to traditionally marginalized individuals to prevent them from suffering from deprivation. In an education system, protective security enables learners from such marginalized groups to access effective educational opportunities without fear of harassment, abuse or violence. Unterhalter (2003) provides a relevant example of girls who suffer from sexual abuse and rape while attending school in South Africa. This instrumental freedom is also of relevance to learners attending schools in contexts of emergency or fragility.

The value of education

The instrumental value of education encompasses the external benefits that an individual obtains as a result of having acquired specific educational outcomes. To live a life one has reason to value, an individual requires certain economic and social resources as means. Educational outcomes in form of certification and skill acquisition enable individuals to pursue further education and transition into the labor market which in turn provide the individual with an income stream. However, the types and forms of certification and skills required vary depending on the political economy of the country. Conditions within formal schooling such as quality and relevance of educational content influence the value of the certification and skills acquired. Measurement of such outcomes is usually well-developed and highly standardized in form of indicators such as test scores and certificates (Brighouse & Unterhalter, 2010). The intrinsic value of education refers to the benefits an individual obtains from education which are not merely instrumental for another purpose but are rather an end in themselves. Thus, attaining a certain level of education in itself may be valuable and the education acquired may enable an individual to lead a satisfying mental and social life such as reading literature, appreciating cultural events and socializing with other individuals. The intrinsic value of education is important in that it promotes agency and wellbeing achievement of learners. Measurement of the intrinsic value of education is however not covered in most standard measures of educational outcomes. Moreover, issues of adaptive preference and subjective wellbeing further cloud consideration of achievement of intrinsic outcomes (Gasper, 2003). In specific contexts, girls and learners from low-class families might have low aspirations due to the influence of socio-economic factors rather than personal consideration of what is valuable to them. It is however possible to develop proxy measures of intrinsic value of education through multidimensional evaluations or in-depth ethnographic studies.

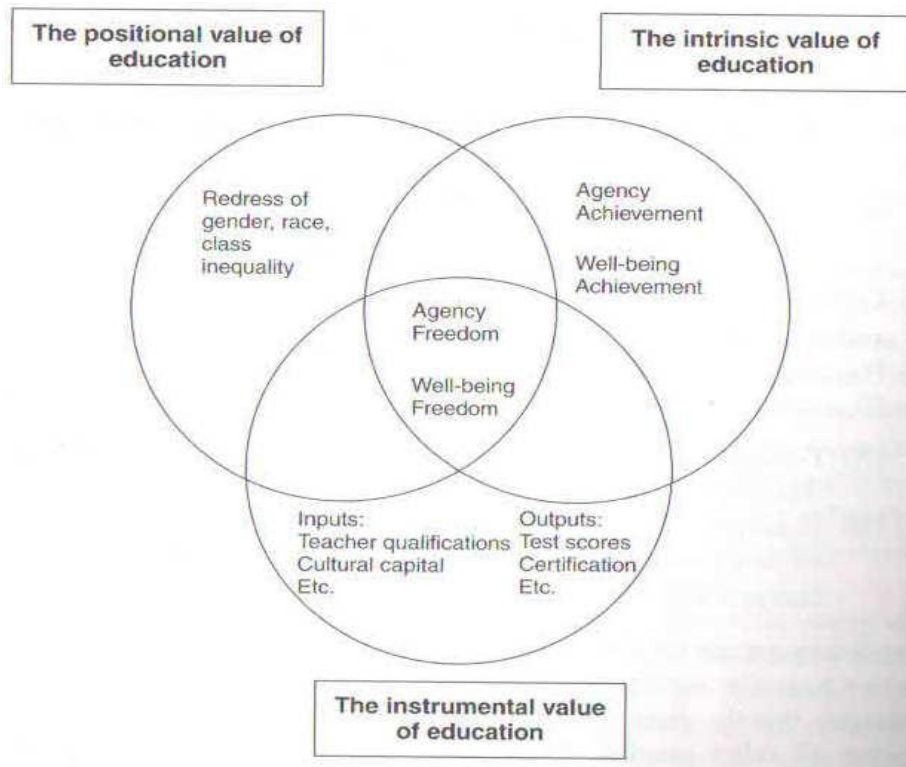


Fig 1: The value of education (Brighouse & Unterhalter 2010 p. 208)

Education is positional insofar as it benefits the individual in relation to the value that others accrue out of being educated for example attending a prestigious school or obtaining a high position in a ranking. Educational qualifications represent the most salient positional value of education. The positional value of education is sometimes even out of touch with the actual value of education, for example in a country with few university graduates, any university graduate will benefit far much more from their education, even if it is mediocre, as compared to a country with far more university graduates. Furthermore, transmission of the dominant cultural capital and of social capital in an is an important factor in the positional value of education, since schools that successfully achieve this, usually in the hidden curriculum, provide more value to the learners, even if the actual education function is the same compared to schools that do this less successfully. The positional value of education is most important in redress of categorical or individual inequalities in interpersonal advantage. Educational policy and practice could thus take advantage of this to promote redress of injustices in the society. This places a huge responsibility upon teachers and educational practitioners to pursue educational justice at the micro-level in tandem with the national goals, or even in opposition to it if the system is unjust (Brighouse & Unterhalter, 2010 p. 204). Proxy measures for this could include scoring for dimensions of inequality in the region such as Gini coefficient, poverty indexes and SES indexes.

The Dakar Framework and the four pillars of learning

The Dakar Framework for Action establishes a standard for what education should provide for children and young adults, namely “the human right to benefit from an education that will meet their basic learning needs in the best and fullest sense of the term, an education that includes learning to know, to do, to live together and to be”. This right is enshrined in the Report of the International Commission on Education for the

Twenty-First Century (Delors et al., 1996) which established four pillars of learning that underpin a quality education. Namely learning to know, learning to be, learning to live together and learning to do. The capabilities can also be conceptualized as capabilities achievable in and through education (Hoffman et al., 2005). Learning to know encompasses the acquisition and use of knowledge and related abilities such as critical thinking, problem solving and decision making. Learning to be focuses on agency and autonomy in negotiating identity, self-esteem and goal-setting. Learning to live together covers group affiliation, cultural understanding and dealing with difference; this includes learning skills such as negotiation, communication, interaction and refusal which necessary for pursuing a harmonious and fulfilling social life. And lastly, learning to do which encompasses practical application of skills learnt through education and manipulation of cultural tools.

The GMR quality framework

The 2005 Global Monitoring Report (UNESCO, 2005) outlines a framework for achieving a quality education in the context of international education and development. This framework emphasises the multidimensional nature of a quality education, with emphasis on the irreducible relationship between inputs, contexts and outcomes.

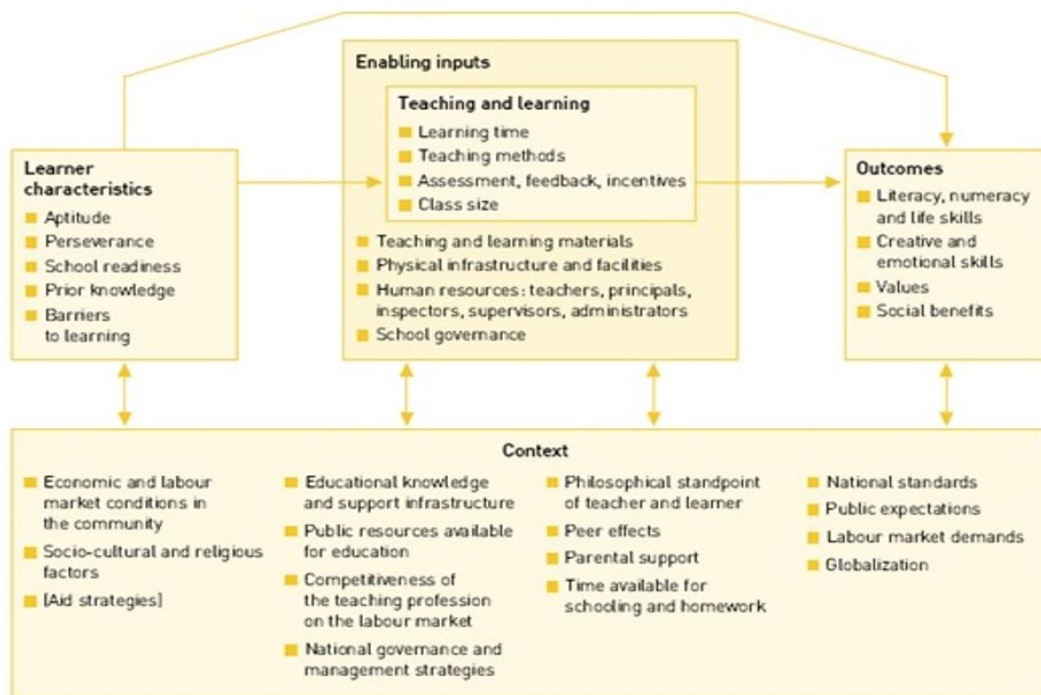


Fig 2: GMR framework for evaluation of a quality education (UNESCO 2005)

Selecting specific capabilities

The four pillars of learning considered together with the three fields of value in education and enriched by the GMR quality framework, are instrumental to developing a list of capabilities in education. In specifying capabilities in education, this dissertation will also draw inspiration from various attempts to operationalize the

CA. Literature has provided various lists (Walker, 2007, p. 189; Reynor, 2007, p. 164; Vaughan, 2007, p. 119; Terzi, 2007, p. 37) that will be explored and adopted to this study. The choice of capabilities is further justified by a pilot study that investigated realities of primary education contextual issues in the specific regions of Kenya included in the study. Furthermore, it is specific to the context of this dissertation, namely pupils who are in the last year of compulsory primary schooling and are poised to transition to high school or the labor market. The list is by no means exhaustive nor universal but simply intended to reflect the local situation and the conditions that need to be achieved as essential outcomes that would reflect a nuanced view of the EFA and MDGs 2 and 3. Any capability list encompassing quality and relevance of education within the CA approach needs to be inherently multidimensional. Rather than a focus on standard quantitative measurement, a mix of various methods is necessary to collect and analyse data that is relevant and of good quality. Various methods have been developed that triangulate various sources and methods thus ensuring a complete picture can be drawn of quality and relevance (Robeyns, 2005). In measuring education quality, CA requires a framework to consider three issues in developing indicators. First, there should be indicators that reflect the context of the education system. A robust framework accounts for the impact of socio-economic and political structures on learners' outcomes. This implies that one should consider the implementation gap between national policies and practice, the outcomes gap between societal expectations and learners' achievements and the learning gap between the curriculum and actual learning. This can be achieved by investigating the reality that learners experience in their home-school-community interaction (Walker & Unterhalter, 2007). Secondly, there should be indicators developed to indicate inputs necessary for the schooling process, and their effectiveness in fostering learning and valuable outcomes. Since requisite inputs vary by context, close engagement with stakeholders is necessary for their identification. Pertinent inputs include suitably trained teachers, effective school management, appropriate educational material, appropriate infrastructure, guidance for learners and mitigation of home-factors such as poor nutrition (Oduru & Bosu, 2010). And lastly, the framework should have indicators that reflect processes within schools. A focus on processes is enhanced by having a system that is built upon democratic debate on the nature of quality, accountability to stakeholders, effective quality assessment mechanisms, a relevant and inclusive curriculum, effective pedagogy and mitigation of inequality among learners (Tikly, 2010).

A perceived shortcoming of CA is that it is underspecified. However, Sen's focus on agency and rational debate on what is of value informs this vagueness (Sen, 1999). It is thus incumbent upon researchers and policymakers to identify relevant capabilities to be incorporated in quality frameworks in consensus with other stakeholders. In primary schooling, it is fairly easy to select very basic capabilities such as numeracy, literacy, life skills and basic scientific knowledge. However, the actual content and pedagogy still depends on their valuation by constituents. Unterhalter (2003) selects capabilities by cross-referencing various components of education with the evaluative aspects of capabilities, namely wellbeing freedom, wellbeing achievement, agency freedom and agency achievement. This enables an in-depth examination of how socio-economic and political conditions influences agency and wellbeing in the context of primary schooling. There also exist various capabilities lists, some closely connected to education that can serve as a starting point (Nussbaum, 2000, p. 78; Vaughan, 2007, p. 119; Terzi, 2007, p. 37). Tao (2010, p. 9) develops a list in relation education quality in Tanzania which can be applied to primary education in Kenya, given the

shared socio-economic, cultural and linguistic contexts. Robeyns (2005, p. 205) develops a four step methodology for selection of a list in a given society or institution;

- 1) Explicit formulation of a list that can be discussed and defended
- 2) Justification and scrutiny of the method that has been used to generate the list
- 3) Differentiation of ideal versus pragmatic capabilities
- 4) Capabilities that cover all relevant dimensions that are not reducible to each other

However, the question of children's maturity and ability to participate in selection of capabilities of value to themselves still remains. Sen (1999) however elaborates that in the case of children, schooling should focus on basic capabilities that enable children to later on make fully-informed choices. Brighthouse (2000) uses to Gasper and Van Staveren's (2003) two-fold classification of capabilities to opine that primary education should focus on developing children's O-capabilities (opportunities) which are essential when children later on need to develop S-capabilities (skills).

3. CAPABILITY DEPRIVATION IN EDUCATION

3.1. The Social Construction of Difference

There exist two broad competing approaches to defining difference in society, namely essentialism and social constructionism. An approach to difference is naturally important to determine as it influences policy and practice meant to ameliorate or extinguish unwanted differences or inequalities arising from this difference. Essentialism perceives difference as either biologically or physically innate, or a result of socialization within social institutions such as family or school. An essentialist perspective argues that apparent differences in behavior, reactions and abilities are due to innate differences and thus remain fairly stable in the course of an individual's lifetime. Difference is thus an essence of an individual that emerges during social interactions. However, essentialism also accepts that certain differences can arise from or be amplified by socialization processes in the family or wider community. Thus, even socially acquired differences are seen as emanating from certain innate properties of the individual. Essentialist perspectives have certain shortcomings that make them unsuitable for studying difference in society. Foremost, they are susceptible to making sweeping generalizations about certain social groups that do not stand to critical analysis. This is due to a tendency to focus on heterogeneity between groups to the extent of ignoring intra-group diversity. Moreover, they tend to see differences between groups as fixed and relatively stable thus discounting dynamic social change processes. This thus reduces the functionality of the essentialist perspective as a conceptual approach to difference in social institutions (Cartwright, 1968).

Social constructionism however sees difference as a process that is produced in social contexts and constructed within discourses of power and knowledge. If essentialism has its roots in psychological discourse, social constructionism traces its antecedents to sociology, specifically Berger & Luckmann's (1967) landmark book "The Social Construction of Reality". Social constructionism considers how social constructs, that is concepts or practices of a particular social group, develop through social processes and contexts. Thus, these social constructs are contingent variables of our social selves rather than an innate quality of an individual. In these instances, it is evident that difference is shaped by interactions in social contexts rather than emanating from innate characteristics. Social constructionism, while acknowledging that some difference is innate, focuses on the way differences between individuals and groups are (re)produced through a process of social differentiation. Thus, this perspective acknowledges that different interactional contexts play a role in producing social difference. An important variable in this construction is the power relationships between the social actors involved, which is a major factor in the production of difference. Power relations determine how people relate and interact in different ways in different contexts based on certain innate or social characteristics such as gender, race, ethnicity and social class. Foucault (1967) argues that the ways individuals think about, classify and categorize experience is influenced by social discourses which reproduce power relationships in a particular society. Thus, a change in social power relationships is also reflected in changing social interactions which in turn lessen or deepen differences. Foucault pursues this in his study of changing categorizations of homosexuality in Europe since the 19th century to the present day thus exposing the dynamic and fluid nature of social categories (Foucault, 1981). With

regards to differences arising from innate characteristics such as race and sex, the Foucauldian approach interrogates the differences and labels assigned to these categories, arguing that the social attributes given to a specific category far outweigh the original innate differences. Thus the social construct of a woman or a Black person goes far beyond the biological difference and encompass attributes that are socially developed. Thus women are “gendered” to reflect women’s position in the social hierarchy of power relations. Foucault (1981) notes that those responsible for categorization usually tend to be those with power, although the oppressed are also complicit through acceptance of the categories. It is thus evident that difference in society, even the difference that emanates from natural or biological factors, is amplified by social categorization. This categorization in turn affects individual’s identities and habitus, leading to categorical and inter-individual inequalities (Hall, 2000). In education, difference arises in access, participation, transition and outcomes and emanates and is amplified mostly within two key social contexts, the family and the school. Difference is not necessarily bad, but does lead to unfair inequalities if educational policy and practice does not ameliorate or extinguish its negative effects. Although primary socialization happens in the family, the school is tasked with a major role to equalize opportunities and outcomes for pupils who arrive in school already with inequalities (Nash, 2003).

In considering the impact of difference and inequalities in individual lives, it is important to note the intersection of differences and their resulting impact on social outcomes. Intersectionality as an analytical framework was developed within the realm of U.S Black feminism and postcolonial theories by legal scholar Kimberle Crenshaw (1995) and sociologist Patricia Hill Collins (1990). Intersectionality moves beyond singular or favored categories of analysis to document how multiple forms of oppression impact on individuals’ identities and life chances (Davis, 2008). Thus, the fundamental assumption of intersectional analysis is that different aspects and dimensions of social life cannot be unwoven into discrete strands and thus allowing simple aggregation of their impact on social experiences and outcomes (Brah & Phoenix, 2004, p. 76). Intersectionality has spread beyond its original gender focus and is adopted across disciplines as a paradigm that seeks to critically analyze the complexities and dynamism of social locations and how these influence individual social experiences and outcomes depending on the situational or historical context (Wilkinson, 2003; Rummens, 2004). Traditionally, social categories were considered to be the static root cause of social experiences and outcome. However, intersectionality approaches social categories as dynamic socially-constructed categories that in turn influence social identities and the inherent behaviors and social outcomes (Staunæs, 2003, p. 104). Intersectionality as a research and policy paradigm aims to alter how social problems are identified and understood by being grounded in lived-in social experiences and providing a theoretical background to analyze and expose trajectories of oppression in pursuit of social justice. However, an intersectional analysis is only wholly achieved when abstract analysis is in conjunction with concrete social advocacy and action that aims to alleviate poverty, social exclusion, marginalization and subordination. (Collins, 1990, p. 29). Intersectional models are differentiated from other research and policy-analysis paradigms by its three underpinnings; its conceptualization of social identities and categories of difference; its placement of power relations and systems of oppression at the center of analysis; and its pursuit of social justice through analysis and social action. Intersectional analysis is thus driven three key pursuits; to identify the meanings that are socially constructed for systems of

inequality such as race, class and gender across social structures and individual lives; to identify and counteract means of reproduction of social inequalities over time, space and institutional domains such as education, health, family, labor and politics; and lastly to develop a clear framework based on our understanding of the intersections that guides us in pursuit of social justice and social change (Weber & Parra-Medina, 2003, p. 184). This dissertation argues that three salient categories of social difference, namely gender, poverty and culture, intertwine in a way that goes far more than simple addition of the categories in determining their impact on the educational trajectories and successes of children within the Kenyan education system. These categories intertwine to create a pervasive form of oppression that further widens the capability deficits experienced by pupils in school. The three categories will be considered within the scope of norms, stereotypes, identities and social institutions (Terzi, 2005).

3.1.1. Family and Socio-Economic Difference

Measures of socio-economic difference are usually comprised of indicators of education, income and occupation in a household and they reflect the position of an individual, family or group within the social structure. Socio-economic status reflects the social privilege and power and is broken down into three categories namely high, middle and low socio-economic status which correlate with class position namely low class, middle class and upper class. Low socio-economic status correlates to disadvantage in social circles such as lower education, poverty, and poor healthcare. Education plays a key role in determining socio-economic status, as an indicator in itself but also a determinant in an individual's occupational attainment and the resulting income streams. Investigation of socio-economic status as a gradient highlights the impact socio-economic status has in creating and perpetuating inequality in access to and distribution of educational advantages. Given rising levels of inequality both within and across countries and social institutions, there is a clear case for increased focus on foundations of difference and inequality in society. Socio-economic differences and their effects in society normally play out in the family arena, which is the primary arena of socialization in society, thus affecting how a family provides short term and long term necessities and advantages for its offspring. Bourdieu and Passeron (1977) offer an explanatory account of the impact of differences on social outcomes of children citing intergenerational transmission of capital as one of the key mechanisms for perpetuation of difference and inequality in social institutions, specifically education. Nash & Harker (1998) conceptualized a family resource network, an expansion of Bourdieu's structure-disposition-practice model that aptly describes the role of socio-economic difference in the family in influencing educational outcomes of learners. The family resource network infuses critical realism into the model to move beyond Bourdieu's theory and develop a model more relevant to empirical investigation. The framework is based on a number of premises; that economic class has a definite influence on social class and thus the position of a family within the social/class structure; that families have access to certain levels of economic, social and cultural resources that they employ in pursuit of their short- and long-term strategic plans for enabling their offspring to maintain or increase their economic, cultural and social position; that schools are incorporated in this process of differentiation since they provide institutional recognition and credentials for skills acquired in socialization (Nash, 2002, p. 284). This framework neatly describes how

differences in social, cultural and economic resources among families lead to differentiation in education outcomes of their offspring.

There are several family-based socio-economic differences which have been recognized in research as having an impact on education outcomes of their offspring. Family access to economic resources plays a large role in educational inequalities. Middle class parents have greater economic and social resources to invest in their children's education such as buying books, providing extra tuition, cultivating skills not taught in school or enhancing ones minimally taught e.g. foreign languages, enabling their children to keep in touch with other middle or upper class children who provide a high-quality peer experience (Lareau, 2001). Lareau (2003) sees this interventionist logic of middle class parents as "concerted cultivation" based on the parental belief in the need to actively enhance their children's educational prospects by investing economic, cultural and social resources towards this strategic goal. Middle class parents practice concerted cultivation to ensure their children obtain similar or higher socio-economic status by taking an active role in their offspring's educational participation and outcomes thus fostering a sense of entitlement and ambition in their children. In contrast working class parents portray a relaxed and even disengaged attitude toward their children's schooling, which might arise from lack of experience with education but also from their limited access to resources. Families with limited access to material resources are unable to provide relevant material resources to support their children's educational development thus limiting possible outcomes. In situations of extreme deprivation, families are even unable to send their children to school, since they are expected to contribute to the family's livelihood through participation in the labor market or family activities such as agriculture (Mareng, 2010). The impact of socio-cultural norms, practices and expectations also largely affect families with low socio-economic status more substantially. In regions where certain socio-cultural practices do not value formal education, children from low-socioeconomic contexts tend to be held back from schooling more often than those with middle or high socioeconomic status. Low class families are more likely to pursue social conformity as a mechanism of survival due to the need to obtain assistance from other members of the community. Thus if the society disapproves of sending girls to school, they would limit their daughters access o schooling some instances where interaction between boys and girls is limited for social reasons, then parents would prefer to keep their daughters out of school for fear of them engaging in disapproved behavior. Moreover, initiation practices which clash with the schedule and demands of formal schooling are preferred and thus interfere with the children's participation in schooling (Wamue-Ngare & Njoroge, 2011). Furthermore, some communities perceive formal education as Western and thus a threat to their traditional values and practices and thus avoid engagement with schooling (Mazonde, 2009).

The educational attainments of the parents also have an effect on children's educational practices and outcomes. Children whose parents achieved higher education are twice as likely to pursue further education as children whose parents did not. Moreover, these children are twice as likely to earn a degree compared to children whose parents did not attain higher education. Literacy and numeracy achievements correspond to a parent's level of education, mostly due to a conducive environment for cognitive development provided by educated parents. These parents cultivate children's dispositions and ability to learn together with an appreciation for the positional and instrumental value of educational outcomes (Pascarella & Terenzini, 2005). Parents with higher levels of educational achievement and occupational

attainment are able to foster higher levels of aspiration and achievement motivation among their children due to their belief in the value of education and the apparent example they set which instills in their children an appreciation of the value of education (Lareau & Weininger, 2003). Highly educated parents are more likely to transmit attitudes and behavior that are conducive to success in an education system that is imbued with predominantly middle-class culture given that they know and have experience with practices which are relevant for success (Bernstein, 1997; Bourdieu, 2006). Parental engagement with schooling is important in fostering educational success of children. Middle class parents are more likely to be actively engaged with their children's schooling through helping with homework, communicating with teachers and schools (Coleman, 1993). Middle class parents engage with schools actively due to a sense of entitlement and are able to approach institutional authorities with more confidence since have prior positive experiences with education and they also perceive the authorities as being at the same social level with them whereas working class parents tend to have a deferential attitude to schooling authorities. Moreover working class parents tend to have a mistrustful attitude to schooling, possible due to their earlier experiences and this attitude of ambivalence, distance and mistrust is transmitted to their children. Furthermore, child-rearing practices prevalent among the middle class are more consistent with school practices than those of lower-class families (Lareau 2001, Lareau 2003).

The home learning environment provided by parents is also essential in the cognitive development and educational flourishing of children. There is a positive relationship between parental education and the learner's cognitive development and related educational outcomes (Wolf & Haveman, 2000). Educated parents provide for their offspring from an early age a home environment and socialization conducive to learning and enriched with cultural and material resources necessary for successful engagement with schooling institutions. Furthermore, educated parents are more likely to assist children with their homework and also follow up performance with the teachers (UNICEF, 2002). Children's reading competence is also correlated to the home literacy environment determined by number of books parents own and parental literacy levels. Parents with low socio-economic status are unlikely to provide a conducive literacy environment due to material constraints and also likely low levels of parental literacy and the resulting lack of engagement with their children's reading habits (Orr, 2003). However, certain family or community-related factors outside of parental control can also influence children's performance. Peer or community influences especially in socially and economically deprived areas can be detrimental to children's performance. In slum areas which have high levels of crime, drug use and poverty, children's participation in schooling can be negatively affected due to exposure to these phenomena. The same can also occur in regions adversely affected by environmental or social conditions such as drought, conflict and other emergency situations (UNESCO, 2011).

3.1.2. The Socio-Economic Gradient in Schooling

Certain primary forms of difference and inequality arise within primary socialization in the family and schooling cannot and should not be expected to reverse them. Rather, it is also important to focus on other measures that can ameliorate this difference and

inequality for example through provision of social services and early childhood education. However, schooling also plays a key role in amplification of family-based inequalities. Schooling is the second most important arena of socialization after the family and contributes to perpetuation of inequalities through its reproduction function in society. A lot of studies link family socio-economic status to levels of educational participation, academic practice and educational outcomes (Bourdieu & Passeron 1977; Nash 2002). This relationship between socio-economic status and education outcomes is known as the socio-economic gradient and it exists across and within schools, regions and countries. This offers evidence that inequality in education outcomes is correlated to the socio-economic status of families and schools (Willms, 2006). The socio-economic gradient is intergenerational in cause and effect, thus parent's socio-economic status determines to an extent the learners' outcomes which in turn define the learners' socio-economic status later in life. The formal education system plays a role on intergenerational transmission of cultural capital by rewarding competencies and practices gained through family socialization. However, the magnitude of this cause and effect differs in different contexts, mostly dependent upon social and political arrangements. It is accepted that schooling expands achievement gaps between different groups and individuals. Development of academic skills begins in the home environment where parental educational attainments affect a child's cognitive development. In families with socioeconomic status, low parental literacy levels are detrimental to children's early development. When they join school, they are usually lagging behind learners from families with higher socioeconomic status. Given the positive correlation between parental education and learners' cognitive development, children from families with higher socio-economic status enter school with a greater capacity to adapt to the school environment than those children from low socio-economic backgrounds. Children from low class families tend to enter the educational system with lower levels of self-regulation, i.e. the ability to maintain attention on educational tasks and suppress educationally deviant behavior. This has a detrimental impact on their participation in school and on their education outcomes, and this effect is multiplied across successive levels of schooling whereas the advantage children from wealthier families have is also multiplied, leading to widening levels of inequalities across years of participation in education. This implies that children from middle or upper class families persist longer in education and achieve better outcomes. Children from families with low socioeconomic status have slower rates of progress in school compared with those from higher socioeconomic status families. They have slower acquisition of language skills, less likely to be proficient in mathematical tasks and have higher dropout rates. Children whose parents achieved higher education are twice as likely to pursue degrees as children whose parents did not. Moreover, these children are twice as likely to earn a degree compared to children whose parents did not attain higher education (Pascarella & Terenzini, 2005).

Differential quality of schooling, schools with better resources tend to offer a conducive atmosphere for study. Also schools with high-achieving students offer good learning environment Schools in communities with low socioeconomic status are also affected and are thus under resourced and offer low quality educational infrastructure, resources and environments. This affects children's learning and eventual outcomes. Teaching staff in communities with low socioeconomic status have teaching staff with inadequate training since the best teachers tend to gravitate towards better schools with better infrastructure and remuneration. A teacher's qualifications and experience

is correlated to pupil's achievements thus teachers with poor qualifications and little experience negatively affect children's learning. Moreover, composition of the learner population has an impact on quality of education outcomes. Schools with learners from predominantly higher socio-economic status families provide a peer environment conducive to high achievements. Research indicates that even learners from low socioeconomic backgrounds perform better when in the same group as students from high socio-economic background (Nash 2003). Since the socio-economic gradient differs across contexts, it is evident that the particular social arrangements within an education system have an impact on reproduction of difference and inequalities. These arrangements encompass not only arrangements within the system but also linkages to job markets, welfare arrangements and socio-cultural norms. Stratification arrangements within education systems, standardization within the system and recognition of credentials (academic or vocational) have the greatest effect on reproduction of inequalities within education systems. Thus highly stratified systems with earlier transition points and multiple streams based on achievement amplify inequalities more than systems with later transition points or comprehensive schools. This thus implies that educational arrangements should take note and ensure that distributional justice and amelioration of disadvantage occurs. Reducing inequality thus depends on good governance and policymaking that takes into account relevant factors that influence difference and inequality (UNICEF, 2002).

3.2. Dimensions of Capability Deprivation in Education

In many economic and social analyses, poverty is defined in monetary terms by use of income measures. However, an analysis of true human deprivation needs to go beyond this singular approach to capture all the multiple aspects that constitute poverty. Analyzing deprivation is fundamental to achieving human development since poverty is multidimensional goes beyond low income to encompass insecure livelihoods, social exclusion, inadequate healthcare, low educational attainments, political oppression and many other dimensions of a fully active life in society. This is important more so because dimensions of deprivation are intertwined and deprivations in one dimension contribute to deprivation in other areas and ignoring this deprives research and policy of a multi-faceted perspective on the multidimensional deprivation that truly affects human lives. From different participatory exercises aimed at assessing poverty, evidence shows that poor people themselves describe their deprivation as multidimensional rather than focusing solely on their income levels. Multidimensional approaches incorporate the whole range of indicators that can effectively capture the complexity of human poverty and thus provide a more effective framework for addressing it since the more relevant information policymakers have, the better able they are to craft policies that address the real issue. Most theories of justice demand equality in the form of egalitarianism, and differ primarily in the metric of individual advantage that is applied in (re)distribution of valuable resources. Human diversity makes this question "equality of what" urgent as they grapple with design of social arrangements that are most fair. The Capability Approach, defining poverty as capability deprivation, makes a case for capabilities as the metric of individual advantage. Inequalities in distribution of capabilities, which lead to deprivation, are considered to arise from human diversity which affects an individual's social location and access to valuable social resources. The Capability Approach makes a case for

conceptualization of poverty as capability deprivation given that while income-based measure only capture the derived instrumental value of resources, capability-based measures capture both instrumental and intrinsic values and thus offer a multidimensional account of human poverty (Sen, 1992; Sen, 1999).

Capabilities comprise of the alternative combinations of functionings that an individual is able to achieve given the freedom of choice and taking into account personal, social and environmental factors. An individual's wellbeing is thus delimited by the freedom of choice an individual has to achieve valuable outcomes from within his or her capability set. Thus, wellbeing is founded upon the choices that lead to achievement of functionings, choices made possible due to the opportunity freedom to choose between different functioning combinations. In analyzing poverty, a focus on capabilities rather than income leads us closer to the informational base demands of social justice by providing interlinked commentary on what actually makes a person poor. Rather than simply assessing on how much money one has, it looks at all factors that can deprive an individual of the life they aspire to having. Real poverty is more than just low income. It is built into the structural inequalities evident in societies and how societies control access to certain resources and functionings related to them. The instrumental relation between resources and capabilities are governed by many social factors such as age, gender and location. Such an approach acknowledges the multidimensional nature of human deprivation, given that poverty does not arise only from income-deficiency but could be affected by other social, personal and environmental reasons such as disability, discrimination, natural disasters and distance. Such heterogeneity of conversion factors lead to variations in the instrumental relation between poverty and income. So, while insufficient entitlements are elementary reasons for deprivation and access to income or resources can shield individuals from capability deprivation, a focus on these exclusively blinds analysis to the role of conversion factors and also to other forms of deprivations that are wholly based on social or legal norms (Robeyns, 2005; Sen, 1992).

Conversion factors capture the relationship between certain valuable resources (goods or services) and valuable beings and doings and represent the degree to which an individual is able to transform a good or service into a functioning. For example, given a bicycle, an individual is only able to transform it into the functioning of increased mobility if he or she has the knowledge to ride a bicycle and is not restricted by any factors such as disability from riding the bicycle. Robeyns (2005, p. 99) identifies three groups of conversion factors based on the sources of the conversion factors. Personal conversion factors are internal to the individual such as sex, literacy, intelligence and physical abilities while social conversion factors originate from the society the individual lives in and are mostly attributable to the social norms and institutional arrangements that regulate peoples access to and benefits from goods and services. Environmental conversion factors emanate from the physical and natural environment in which an individual lives and its aspects which can include climate, natural disasters, transportation, communication links, structural integrity of buildings and pollution. To revert to the bicycle example, it is evident that the functioning of mobility is determined by the individuals physical ability and skills (personal conversion factor), social regulations regarding riding bicycles for example who is allowed to ride bicycles and where (social conversion factors) and also availability of paths and roads upon which an individual can ride a bike (environmental conversion factor). It is thus evident that many conversion factors are intersectional in nature. Since capabilities

refer to opportunities enabled or constrained by conversion factors, it is imperative to investigate which conversion factors come into play when investigating capabilities that individuals and communities possess (Crocker, 2008; Robeyns 2005). In literature on educational and development, various conversion factors are identified explicitly and implicitly, with gender being the most mentioned, followed closely by rural-urban gaps in access and success in education. Other factors of relevance include the impact of poverty on educational access and outcomes and the impact of cultural difference on family decisions regarding their children's education. This also extends to the impact of culture and language in teaching and learning processes. In this dissertation, these four issues are closely investigated to identify their impact on the educational outcomes of the children who were respondents in this study. With regards to participation in society and societal institutions such as education, the CA offers a relevant framework for assessing barriers to participation and the attendant deprivation experienced. When examining such deprivation, the structure and organization of a society has to be accounted for to assess the distribution of not only income but also other social advantages and disadvantages that contribute to achievement of valuable social outcomes.

3.2.1. Gender and education

Gender is social construct that aims at organizing social practice, codified into norms and rules based on patterns of sex-specific relations. Connell (2002) identifies four broad patterns namely power relations, production relations, emotional relations and symbolic relations. Within power relations, the patriarchy that societies have established through years of practice and subjugation of women position men as essentially being more powerful than women and thus deserving control over women. This power is captured in both institutionalized spaces such as government and the military and also in personal, discursive spaces such as the family or sexual relations. Production relations reflect the gendered nature of division of labor in society, with the key difference being men working outside the home and accruing economic benefit from their work whereas women are expected to work within the home mostly without direct monetary compensation. In instances where women gain employment outside the home, they are expected to be restricted to care and feminine professions. Emotional relations mostly relate to the structure of emotions and attachment as practiced in a given society, especially with reference to sexuality and what is considered normal and abnormal practice. Symbolic relations refer to the system of representation of men and women in society, with men being portrayed as powerful and authoritative whereas women are represented as weak, in need of domination and as sexualized objects. This is reflected in art, curriculum, film and fashion, among other areas. These four broad areas work in tandem to develop the overall gender order in a society. Gender is an inherently unstable social construct thus needs constant legitimization through symbolic violence to gloss over its inherent contradictions that cause resistance and crisis tendencies to arise. The gender order prevalent at society level is reflected in gendered regimes in social institutions such as the family and schooling. The gender regimes and the broad gender order have a reciprocal symbiotic relationship with stability or instability arising from practices at the society level or within social institutions. Gendered habitus are constructed within the space of gendered regimes, with schooling legitimizing or destabilizing gendered habitus prescribed within the family. Change in gender orders and regimes can occur due to the impact of crisis tendencies and resistance. However, change is dependent upon the veil of normality in

which gender cloaks itself being lifted and women realizing that gendered oppression is a result of social rather than natural rules. Education offers a powerful mechanism for either reproducing gendered orders or destabilizing them. Education can offer knowledge and skills which in themselves are a symbol of power in society, thus shifting the balance of power between the genders. Moreover, education also affords girls and women empowerment by providing information, access to their own income through employment opportunities and participation in the public sphere through literacy and exposure. Education's role in conditioning gendered habitus thus is a key issue in pursuit of social change that reduces gendered inequalities in society and in schooling. Social oppression is made possible by the inability to the status quo as unjust thus education can enable subjugated girls and women to realize this fact that is essential to empowerment. There is clear evidence of gender disparities in education that arise due to exogenous factors with gender itself acting as either the main cause or as a multiplier (Brighouse & Robeyns, 2010 p. 217).

Many studies of gender inequality in Kenyan education posit women as victims of a patriarchal system that oppresses women. This is underlined by the various disparities between boys and girls schooling and compounded by the regional variations in girls' access to and survival in schooling. The impact of patriarchy has been blamed for consistently poor track record of girls in schooling as evident in gender-disaggregated comparisons and this trend is reflected in many developing countries (Ojiambo, 2009; UNESCO, 2003). Patriarchy is a distinct feature of Kenya's cultural systems with most tribes exhibiting traits of a classical patriarchy that defines women's roles in society, placing emphasis on restricted mobility and chastity. Men are expected to be protectors and breadwinners of the family, representing the family in the public sphere, whereas women are expected to be caregivers in the family, restricted to private sphere duties of reproduction and household tasks (Agarwal, 1988). With regards to education and its expected facilitation of employment and social participation, girls are restricted since it is expected that accessing education would destabilize established gender roles by opening up girls perspectives. Given that in most communities girls become members of their husbands families after marriage, families are unwilling to invest resources in girls education compared to boys education, since any benefits will be enjoyed by the husband and his family whereas investment in a boys education will be felt by the family, since the boy is traditionally expected to take care of his family in his parents old age. Moreover, given limited resources, this strategic planning leads families to prefer investing in a boy's education that is seen as a safeguard for family wellbeing in the future. The impact of HIV/AIDs also plays a role, with increasing numbers of parents dying and girls being left with parental responsibilities over their other siblings as they are seen as best suited to caregiving a household responsibilities. However, boys are also victims of the same system in some instances. Though boys tend to enroll in school more often than girls, there are rising figures of drop outs after four or five years. This is attributed to cultural expectations in some communities that boys will participate in cultural rites, practices and livelihoods which are disrupted by participation in education. Gender intersects with other factors to engender the continued educational deprivation of children (Mareng, 2010).

3.2.2. Poverty and education

Economic poverty is the pronounced inability to satisfy basic needs due to lack of income or access to social services thus leading to deprivation of wellbeing. Poverty

ranges from absolute poverty, namely severe deprivation of basic needs such as food, shelter, sanitation, healthcare and education, to relative poverty which refers to living below a relative income threshold specified in a certain country or context. The United Nations defines poverty as a denial of choices and opportunities thus leading to violation of human dignity and a lack of capacity to participate effectively in society (UN, 2011). The World Bank (2010) sees poverty as a pronounced deprivation in wellbeing across multiple dimensions such as income, access to basic goods and social services and existence without human dignity. In particular, poverty encompasses the inability to effectively make choices to better one's life or pursue the life that an individual values (Sen, 1999). Economic analysis of poverty tends to focus on material needs and deprivation of such. However, poverty can also be viewed from a social dimension, wherein origins of poverty can be traced to inequalities and difference in society which lead to unequal distribution of resources and power. Poverty thus indicates unequal social status and inequitable social relationships which are manifested in social exclusion, dependency, diminished capacity to participate effectively in society and inability to make meaningful social connections with other groups or individuals in society.

There is a clear correlation between poverty and educational performance and access to quality education. This process begins at home due to lack of sufficient educational stimulation in the home environment and is perpetuated by lack of access to a quality education due to financial constraints. Access to effective education opportunities and outcomes is usually linked to the family's economic capital, thus children from contexts afflicted by poverty tend to not have access to school, drop out early or achieve insufficient education outcomes. This arises from a combination of various factors that arise due to poverty such as insecurity, poor healthcare, hunger, exposure to crime and drugs, early pregnancies and inability to cope with school life. This worsens the children's chances on the labor market thus entrenching poverty across generations (UNU, 2010). Poverty is a key issue in both urban and rural areas, but is experienced in both places in differing dimensions and with differing effects. Urban poverty is usually related to life in slums, lack of access to basic services such as sanitation, healthcare and education, high incidence of crime and drug abuse and high levels of pollution and its attendant effects. Rural poverty is linked to livelihood patterns with differences in pastoralist and agricultural communities. Educational access is also limited mostly due to distance to educational institutions (Mazonde, 2009).

3.2.3. Culture and education

Culture is the manifestation of difference between two or more groups and encompasses various aspects of life within a specific group such as language, beliefs, morality, norms, customs, institution and other physical artifacts. Apart from being a marker of inter-group difference, culture also connotes a process of betterment and refinement of the individual for the fulfillment of national/group aspirations and ideals. This is usually through the process of education. According to Simmel, culture thus entails cultivation of the individuals through the agency of external forms that have been objectified through the course of a group's history (Levine 1971, p. 6). In anthropology, culture encompasses all human phenomena that are not directly linked to genetics, thus representing the evolved human ability to symbolically classify and manifest their life experiences. Culture becomes a marker of socio-economic difference since different groups distinctly classify and manifest their experiences in varying ways.

Some perspectives view culture as a static, objective commodity inherited from past generations that is meant to be preserved in its extant form for eternity. This perspective sees culture as a deterministic framework of social behavior, institutionalized over period and field, changes seen as threat. However, culture is a subjective social construct that is dynamic and thus prone to changes as socio-economic and environmental conditions require. In the current period, humanity is experiencing globalization which has an impact on different cultures and exposes groups to other cultures. Cultures are affected by forces encouraging change and others resisting change. These forces have their antecedents in both social structures and natural events. Perpetuation of cultural ideals and practices are ideally carried out within existing social structures, however sometimes the structures are unable to coexist with the ideas and practices thus leading to instability and change (Mazonde, 2009). Changes in the social, cultural or economic structure of a society can thus lead to widespread changes in the culture of the community. Entrance of women into the labor force during the Second World War for example led to changing roles for women in society and spurred the feminist movement, which further led to greater changes. Cultures are also externally affected through contact with other societies thus leading to social shifts and changes in cultural practices. Moreover cultural change may not be so abrupt but rather occur through cultural diffusion and acculturation. The process of colonization represents a prime example of cultural change through external contact, with Western culture slowly traditional African practices (Kroeber & Kluckhohn, 1952).

Education as a social institution has always been related to and reflects the culture of a society thus the politics of knowledge play an integral in any discussion of the quality and relevance of education, especially in relation to development in Africa, which is driven by theories and practices situated in a Western conceptualization of education. The visible and invisible discourses, cultural patterns and assumptions that drive different approaches to education in development need to be interrogated so as to ensure that education is relevant to the realities and contexts of learners. The Capability Approach does indeed require that education be contextualized so as to empower individuals and communities to pursue capabilities that are of value to their lives. Culture is reflected through the normative aspect of education, which encompasses certain values and norms, and also the cognitive dimensions of education, which reflects a society's adaptation of knowledge and understanding as a toolkit for survival in a particular context. Education thus perpetuates a society's culture through transmission to the younger generation. In this process, education is also exposed to forces both promoting and resisting change. As a process of betterment of the individual, culture is expected to promote better ideals and social practices. However, in reality, many cultural practices reflect inequalities and oppression in societies such as gender inequality, social exclusion and discrimination. Educational institutions, in their role as sites of socio-cultural reproduction, are thus in a position to either mitigate or perpetuate the negative impacts of cultural difference and inequality (Brighouse & Unterhalter, 2010, p. 202). In Kenya, the education system aims to foster and promote Kenya's cultural heritage. However, this aim is complicated by the large diversity present, with over 42 different tribal groups each with a distinct culture. Cultural conformity is predominantly manifest in rural areas where societies are still closely-knit and pursue traditional livelihoods. Thus the impact of culture on education is most visible in rural areas, where the dichotomy between a Western education and traditional African livelihoods is apparent (Omwami, 2009).

3.3. Explaining Difference and Inequality in Education

3.3.1. Bourdieu and socio-cultural reproduction

Bourdieu's theory of socio-cultural reproduction offers an insightful framework for analysis of persistent educational inequalities, most of which persist despite efforts to achieve social transformation through education. According to Bourdieu (1986), family-based endowments passed from parents to their children perpetuate structured social inequalities. The transmission of these endowments, termed capital by Bourdieu, are converted by children into educational outcomes and career attainments. Bourdieu further argues that educational systems have a vested interest in reproducing social structures and thus abet or worsen the inequalities by rewarding possession of elite capital with successful outcomes and punishing lack of capital. Inequalities in educational experiences and outcomes thus arise from differences in acquisition or conversion of certain resources and inputs in the framework. Bourdieu & Passeron (1977) identified three forms of capital; economic capital, social capital and cultural capital, all three of which are mutually constitutive in that possession or acquisition of a certain type of capital enables an individual or family to obtain more capital of another form.

Three forms of capital

Cultural capital consists of knowledge, skills and attitudes that an individual has which give them higher status in society and are necessary to success in an educational system. It exists in three forms namely embodied, objectified and institutionalized cultural capital. Embodied cultural capital comprises of long lasting dispositions of the mind and body that are acquired through internalization of cultural competencies and bodies of knowledge in various fields. It is an intangible possession whose transmission takes a long time through a process of socialization that begins in childhood and it accumulates incrementally with a positive correlation to possession of economic capital. Embodied cultural capital is unevenly distributed in society due to its relationship with economic capital, which itself is unevenly distributed. The scarcity of embodied cultural capital contributes to reproduction of cultural and socio-economic advantage for those families already possessing it. Objectified cultural capital comprises of tangible cultural goods that are the material representation of embodied cultural capital and whose ownership bestows esteem within the social hierarchy. Usage of objectified cultural capital is predicated upon possession of embodied cultural capital. Institutionalized cultural capital is in the form of standardized and officially recognized credentials that certify possession of a certain level of cultural capital. Institutionalization of cultural capital determines conversion rates of cultural capital into economic capital as credentials enable individuals to obtain opportunities for acquisition of economic capital such as access to labor market and income streams. However, conversion rates are dynamic and dependent upon supply and demand.

The concept of social capital, developed by Bourdieu (1986) and Coleman (1988), offers a theoretical framework that conceptualizes the interaction between the structure and agency in social actions and organizations. The concept builds upon the work of previous authors who studied how social norms and organization affect functioning of economic activity. Granovetter (1985) in particular attacks economic analysis for its ignorance of the importance of concrete personal relations and networks of relations in generating trust, establishing expectations and enforcing norms,

conditions which are vital components of an effective economic system. Granovetter (1985) terms this “embeddedness” and thus superimposes social and institutional organization on the economic conception of rational action. Bourdieu (1986) and Coleman (1988) however take the concept further by developing a conceptually coherent framework. A coherent theory of social action must of necessity begin with a theory of rational action, with an actor who commands control of or has interest in certain resources and events. Social capital would in this sense be a kind of resource inherent in structure of relations between and among actors and defined by its function as an aspect of social structure that facilitates certain actions of an actor within the structure (Coleman, 1988, p. 98). Whereas social capital is like other capitals productive, it is not necessarily fungible in all areas, and may even be useless or detrimental in other areas. Since social capital provides actors with resources to achieve certain interests, it is evident that social capital can constitute an aid for accounting for differential outcomes at the level of individuals. Furthermore its presence or absence can combine with other resources to influence outcomes in social institutions. Thus, it is evident, even without an analysis of the concept of social capital, that possession of this resource produces something of value to actors dependent upon social organization. Broadly, social capital encompasses expected collective or economic benefits that derive from preferential treatment and cooperation between individuals and groups. Social capital is different from other forms of capital in that it is not depleted by use but rather by non-use. Bourdieu (1986) defines social capital as “the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition”, focusing on the instrumentality of the concept.

In Bourdieu’s thesis, economic capital is at the root of all other types of capital and its propagation across generations is dependent upon transmission of other forms of capital. Bourdieu defines cultural reproduction as the intergenerational transmission of cultural capital from parents to their children, constituting a hidden transmission of power and privilege and thus leading to social reproduction, basically the perpetuation of the socio-economic status quo. Bourdieu (2006, p 271) sees the education system as being fundamental to this process of socio-cultural reproduction and the accompanying inequalities in society. The education system legitimizes social hierarchies by converting them into academic hierarchies in which mobility depends upon possession of socio-cultural advantages. Thus, those without access to these advantages are perpetually left at the bottom of the hierarchy. Education reproduces and legitimizes class structure by transforming class distinctions into educational distinctions which are misrecognized as merit-based. Furthermore, unequal selection and selectedness due to inequalities in possession of social and cultural capital perpetuate social structures due to perceived discrepancies in linguistic capital and degree of selection. Working and middle class learners undergo more stringent selection at lower levels of educational systems where cultural capital is more manifest as an advantage. Due to this constant selection at stages, the structure of selection survivors is constantly changing with respect to criterion governing elimination thus progressively weakening relation between social origin and linguistic competence. In higher levels of the education system, in a population constituted by selection, the middle and working class groups who persist exhibit less of the career characteristics of their class groups having undergone successful acculturation.

Habitus field and practice

Bourdieu's thesis also encompasses three other important concepts, namely habitus field and practice. **The habitus** refers to a set of preferences and dispositions created and shaped by the interaction between objective structures and personal histories thus providing an internalized interpretive framework through which an individual perceives the social world (Thomas, 2002). An individual's habitus is acquired through accumulation of experience and distillation of this into an understanding of reality and one's place in it. Initially acquired through socialization in the family, habitus plays a large role in an individual's participation in social spaces, including educational structures. The experiences in these spaces further modify the habitus, though in less radical ways than in the family. These modifications thus accumulate from a disposition acquired in the earliest stages of socialization in the family into one consolidated by subsequent life choices and experiences (Robbins, 1993, p 159). Though categorized as consisting of norms and values, the habitus is much more than simply these, since it is embedded in everyday actions and permeates an individual's life from the subconscious level to deliberate actions. Bourdieu's concept of the habitus has been criticized for its deterministic nature. However, it is evident that a restructuring of the habitus can and does occur, though gradually and usually only if subsequent life experiences are transformative in nature. Mostly, the habitus produces action that is merely reproductive rather than transformative since the actions is mostly confined to the realms of possibility available to one's particular social class or group (Reay et al., 2001). Bourdieu's concept of habitus is based upon two theses; one, that social groups and classes need to reproduce them and second, that some social groups or classes are dominant in society and thus control access to social opportunities such as education and careers. This dominance arises due to their unequal ownership of social, cultural and economic capital in society. In particular, cultural capital plays an important role in maintenance of the status and power of the dominant group in society. **Field** refers to a social arena of struggle over the appropriation of capital. Fields comprise of formal and informal norms within a social institution such as education and are organized vertically and horizontally around regulative principles that Bourdieu terms "rules of the game", in education reflected in the institutional habitus of a school and the wider school system. Fields are mostly autonomous and provide social spaces of play that are constituted by relational differences. The boundaries of a field are demarcated by where its social effects end. Individual positions in a field are derived from the interaction of their habitus and the capital they bring to or acquire within the field. Thus, individual practice in a specific field is a function of their capital and habitus. **Practice** in this sense refers to the behavioral repertoire of an individual in a given field. Within the field of education, Bourdieu attributes success to mastery of linguistic capital, a form of embodied cultural capital that enables effective communication and self-presentation in a field. Linguistic capital is acquired through socialization in the family and enhanced by engagement with academic practices in the educational field (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977).

Pedagogic communication, linguistic capital and differentials in achievement

For successful practice in the field of education, Bourdieu & Passeron (1977) posit successful mastery of linguistic capital as a key ingredient. Mastery of linguistic capital enables an individual to participate effectively in pedagogic communication which is communication practice in schooling that has a purposeful intention to initiate, modify or change knowledge practice and conduct and is structured by principles of relational power and control between pedagogic agents, recipients, discursive resources and

contexts. Variations in the efficiency of pedagogic communication in relation to social and scholastic characters of the receivers and transmitters lead to Variations in the efficiency of the action of inculcation that is performed through the relation of communication engender and perpetuate inequalities in educational attainments of children from different social classes. Productivity of pedagogic communication can thus be expressed as a function of the distance between mastery of scholarly language inculcated by previous pedagogic work (cognitive habitus) and practical mastery of the native language or language of instruction inculcated by family socialization (family habitus). Using a deductive model of exposition, Bourdieu presents his theory of symbolic power through a materialistic approach, analyzing symbolic capital and different modes of domination evident in French society as expressed through higher education. He develops a theoretical model that inter-relates two systems of relations subsumed under the concepts of linguistic capital and degrees of selection as an explanatory model for differentials in educational attainments. This two-fold interrelation enables the analysis to avoid treating as substantial isolable properties variations which are merely elements in a structure and moments in a process. His model uses systematic verification that aims to confront results of theoretical calculation with findings of empirical measurement. Bourdieu's model aims to acquire praxeological knowledge about interaction of individual actors within objective structures that seek to perpetuate themselves through manipulating social behavior using symbolic violence. With regards to the logic of transformation within educational systems, Bourdieu posits that changes in society lead to transformations in the clientele of education system. Thus two possible states of being for the education system; an organic state where the public perfectly matches implicit demands of the education system and a critical state where the social make-up of the clientele changes radically thus leading to intolerable misunderstandings that engender dislocation and breakdown of pedagogic communication. However, transformation takes place in accordance with the logic of the system thus the structural efficacy of the system which maintains class determinisms of agents is still maintained. Demographic, political or social questions alien to the system can thus only affect the system in accordance with its logic of social order and stability.

3.3.2. Critical realism and Bourdieu's thesis

Contemporary critical realism is founded upon Roy Bhaskar's approach which combines transcendental realism and critical naturalism to conceptualize the interface between the natural and social world. Transcendental realism attempts to prove the premise that if scientific investigation is to occur, the object under investigation should possess real, manipulable internal mechanisms that can be actualized to produce a particular outcome. This is in stark contrast to the empiricist claim that science only observes the relationship between cause and effect and later imposes meaning upon it (Sayer, 2000). Whereas empiricism and positivism locate causal relationships at the level of events critical realism locates them at the level of the generative mechanism based on the reasoning that causal relationships cannot be reduced to constant conjunctions which are neither sufficient nor necessary to establish a cause and effect relationship. Critical realism argues that positivism and its insistence upon falsification errs since a generative mechanism might exist but still go un-activated or unnoticed, which does not signify that it is not capable of generating a specific event (Sayer, 1992). Furthermore critical realism argues that although the transcendental realist model of science is applicable to both physical and social worlds, social scientists study phenomena that

are fundamentally differentiated from those in the physical world and must thus contextualize the scientific method to their area. This is in particular necessary due to the much more dynamic nature of social worlds compared to the physical world and the agency of human beings who are able to consciously reflect upon and change their actions in the social world.

Given the persistence of inequalities and difference in access to effective educational opportunities, sociology of education faces a challenge to construct an explanatory model which captures all the complex social processes that generate inequalities in educational opportunity. Other than mere quantitative expression of inequalities, there is need for an explanatory narrative, thus the need for a numbers and narrative approach to explaining educational inequality (Nash, 2002, p. 397). Bourdieu's structure-disposition-practice model offers a good start but its vagueness and lack of practical operationalization renders it unsuitable for empirical investigation. A robust framework requires provision of an account of mechanism and process that links all three relevant explanatory levels namely system properties, individual dispositions and individual action. Thus, a critical realist approach is needed, one that places the individual at the center of its explanatory framework and seeks to generate realistic accounts of the causes and consequences of social processes (Nash, 2003, p. 398). Studies of educational inequalities have long relied on statistical measurement and representation of attainment and inequalities without focusing on the measurement theory and its reliability and validity in measuring what is to be measured. The overreliance on positivist scientific procedures is mostly to blame for this phenomenon. Coleman (1988) notes that a 0.2 SD increase in student attainment follows a 1 SD increase in teachers' salaries. If the argument is to be pursued based on a positivist approach, a 10 SD increase in teachers' salaries would ensure all children achieve excellent results. However, this is an unrealistic argument in the real world since many intervening variables that are conveniently ignored in statistical measurements would intervene. Thus, it is evident that the prevalent statistical modeling used to provide evidence for policymaking and reform has been a disservice to the study of educational inequalities and led to formulation of inadequate reforms. Furthermore, statistical modeling tends to ignore the individual by lumping them into groups based on perceived differences such as socio-economic status, ethnicity, race, gender among others. Thus individual narratives get lost in the cacophony of numbers and averages. Statistical measurements all depend on certain assumptions being made about the variables their effects and how correlations should be made. This approach ignores the nature of social reality and instead pursues a sanitized version of reality that does not reflect the messy nature of social processes (Nash, 2002). Sayer (1992) remarks on the common sense approach which regardless of its many shortcomings; can feasibly be used to investigate many contexts and situations much more appropriately than many scientific theories. He further states that many new developments in scientific theory are usually refinements of what was previously unqualified common sense and thus argues that science should be more concerned with refining scientific theory to fit real life rather than sanitizing real life to conform to scientific theory. Berka (1983) further questions the validity and reliability of the two legitimating concepts of standard measurement theory in social science, namely validity and reliability which he argues have been confused for repeatability and generalization respectively rather than a measure of feasibility and accuracy, as they should be. He blames this on the technical approach that social scientists have adopted from natural science. Thus, he insists that properties within the structure-disposition.-practice model cannot be feasibly

measured statistically within the confines of conventional measurement theory. However, he argues that statistical measurement is possible if social scientists refined their methods to reflect social reality rather than wholesale adoption of natural science practice. Nash (2002) thus argues that statistical measurement misses the true nature of inequalities by conducting analysis without taking into account the true nature of the social processes which generate them since most statistical analysis try to explain some social facts using other social facts and their correlations. He argues that an integrated realist approach is thus more likely to provide relevant answers and solutions rather than simple statistical analysis. To this end, he calls for a numbers and narratives approach which combines both quantitative analysis with qualitative narratives that shed light on social processes that generate inequalities. Such a framework would incorporate common sense knowledge about social reality and thus adequately explain inequalities. A common sense approach to inequalities would encompass methodical observation at sites where social effects are generated. This can then be complemented with statistical analysis.

A numbers and narratives methodology provides the best means of investigating and modeling these social relations and processes through which the constraining and enabling aspects of economic, socio-cultural and optical structures affect families and instigate a complex and creative set of responses. An effective explanatory account demands recognition of the effective properties of social organizations, the dispositions to certain actions generated by them in actors and the practices adopted by individuals in coming to terms with the social structure. Explaining inequality in education thus requires differentiation between formal causes emanating from social structures such as schools and families, efficient causes emanating from learners educated habitus and final causes emanating from learners academic practices. Social structures bear causality whereas agents are seen as extrinsic cause (Nash, 2002). With regards to Bourdieu's thesis, many critics, while acknowledging Bourdieu's immense contribution to the study of difference and inequality in education, attempt to further expand the usefulness of Bourdieu's thesis for empirical application. Bourdieu is criticized for being vague and broad and thus not lending himself to application in empirical study. No clear definitions, no clear operationalization. Thus critical realists attempt to provide clear and concise conceptualization of Bourdieu's SDP scheme and make it more amenable to empirical studies. Furthermore critical realists attempt to contextualize Bourdieu's thesis, given that it is particularly focused on the French higher education system. However, since Bourdieu's thesis is relevant to socio-cultural reproduction across the whole education system and in many different contexts, there is a need for a clear-cut scheme that is applicable across levels and regions (Swartz, 1998).

Cultural capital

Bourdieu's take on cultural capital is very abstract thus leading to debate on its actual operationalization and usefulness in empirical investigation of its impact on educational opportunities. Two distinct premises are however accepted by consensus; that it comprises of acquisition of and competence in use of highbrow cultural tastes and that it is distinct from other forms of knowledge or competence in the sense that human capital is defined. Lareau & Weininger (2003) however see this as a misinterpretation of Bourdieu that limits his contribution to the study of disadvantage in access to education opportunities and argue that their conceptualization of cultural capital does

justice to Bourdieu with regards to the analytical value of cultural capital. Cultural capital consists of more than just acquisition of highbrow cultural tastes which in the modern world are fast losing their functional value. Cultural capital entails adaptive cultural and social competencies namely familiarity with the regimes, processes, dynamics and demands of social institutions, acquisition of functional social and academic skills and a strategic form of agency in applying these skills to thrive in social institutional contexts. Parents who possess cultural capital are thus able to positively influence their children's educational outcomes by transmitting the skills and competencies to their children and effectively engaging with schools. Moreover they argue that academic and technical skills are as much a part of cultural capital as are cultural tastes and preferences, insisting that the boundaries between technical and social behavioral skills are merely an imposition of socially constructed evaluative standards that are invented by dominant groups to cloak the true ingredients for success in education. Dominant groups use education systems to legitimize the perception that the technical skills they have mastered through the advantages they possess as deriving purely from merit and independent of social status, thus constructing a deficit situation with regards to individuals from disenfranchised groups. This conceals the process of intergenerational transmission of cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986).

By bypassing this constructed bifurcation, Lareau & Weininger (2003, p. 569) include both cognitive and non-cognitive skills in their conceptualization of cultural capital, which they see as vital in enabling individuals to engage with evaluative standards in education. This broad conceptualization is elementary in understanding the impact of socio-economic advantage on education outcomes, how families with higher socio-economic status are able to cultivate skills in their offspring that are rewarded by educational institutions. Swidler (1986, p. 273) describes culture as a toolkit of habits, skills and styles that individuals use in strategic action aimed at succeeding in a given society. The efficacy of this toolkit is determined largely by access to socio-economic resources which locate a family in a particular social location and create conditions that influence their perception of and relation to social reality. This perception of culture as frame of perceiving reality rather than as a marker of social class provides a realist perspective on the usefulness of cultural capital as an adaptive set of cognitive and behavioral skills that underlie successful education outcomes. In this conceptualization academic skills include literacy, numeracy and analytical reasoning whereas behavioral skills range from academic motivation, self-regulation and persistence to general awareness of the social contexts and demands of schooling. Depending on their position in the social structure and the effectiveness of family socialization, individuals possess varying amounts of cultural tools that they use to engage with the rules of the game in a particular field (Farkas, 2003).

The nature of cultural capital as described by Bourdieu and its applicability to other, particularly non-Western cultures is also questioned by some scholars (Kingston, 2001; Lamont, 1992). Bourdieu's conceptualization of cultural capital as highbrow tastes and preferences that mark an individual's social class, while apparent in the French society he described, might not be so relevant in other communities, especially in communities with less focus on individualism. Mazonde (2009) argues that in an African context, there exists the issue of highly diverse ethnic communities that exists within a single education system thus complicating the matter of deciding which culture is dominant. Moreover, in keeping with Bourdieu's perspective on culture and cultural capital as a

source of difference and inequality, Mazonde elaborates on the role of cultural diversity in the African context in limiting access to effective educational opportunities for certain groups and individuals. Certain communities are more suspicious of Western education and see it as threat, thus limiting engagement with formal schooling which is seen as an alien institution. Certain communities have discriminatory gender practices that effectively limit girls' access to education (Mareng, 2010). With regards to the intersection of education and livelihoods, certain communities have livelihood systems that limit education access due to the time requirements which conflict with the scheduling of attendance at school. The Masai in Kenya whose livelihoods depend on pastoralist that requires months in search of pasture are thus a prime example. Moreover, their initiation rites, which takes months at a time and value prowess in such traditional skills such a shunting and being a warrior or a good wife conflict with the requirements of formal schooling, leading to high dropout rates, especially at the key transition time from primary to secondary school (Ole Lerapa, 2006). Post-colonial critiques of cultural dominance vis-à-vis Western versus indigenous culture also resonate in a realist discussion of cultural capital. Dislocation of African indigenous culture and replacement by Western culture in the formal schooling system has led to a dilemma in relevance and quality of education. Since formal schooling is founded on a Westernized model, schooling has become an alien institution divorced from the learners' home life. This is reflected in the lack of relevance of educational content to the immediate lives of learners especially in terms of livelihoods and application. This acts as a barrier to mastery of content and eventual poor performance. Furthermore the language of instruction is a key issue in discussion of quality and relevance of education. Berit-Karseth (2001) discusses the issue of linguistic capital in relation to education in sub-Saharan Africa where the predominant languages of instruction in schooling are English, French and Portuguese, all foreign languages. Learners are thus barely able to comprehend teaching-learning in languages they have barely mastered, thus echoing Bourdieu's discussion of linguistic capital and participation in pedagogic communication as a requisite in educational success. However, in Tanzania, where the native language Swahili is used in schooling, the issue of presenting Western content in a language that does not sufficiently express all the concepts also limits learning.

Social capital

Lin (2001) argues that Bourdieu's conceptualization of social capital is under-theorized, in contrast to his extensive writing on cultural capital. This provides a stumbling block in application of this concept in empirical study, yet it is a vital part of his thesis. Coleman (1988, p. 105) conceptualizes social capital as anything that facilitates individual or collective action and that is generated by networks of relationships, reciprocity, trust and effective social norms. Thus, social capital is a neutral resource whose effect is either positive or negative dependent upon the use it is put to. Coleman's definition is quite extensive and elaborate, and indicates closure of social networks and appropriate social organization as social structures that influence effectiveness of social capital. Coleman (1988) defines social capital as deriving from social action, occurring in multiple forms and facilitating certain social actions with benefits to the individual exercising it. Social capital is a form of resource that exists in relationships between individuals and groups and enables them to gain access to other resources. Coleman implies that social capital is derived from two types of relationships, namely parental relationships with their children and relationships with

other adults. In the field of education, the adults would be those involved in their children's schooling such as teachers and other parents with children in the same school. The main functions of social capital are to facilitate exchange of certain non-monetary favors through creation of social debt in form of expectations and obligations, sharing of valuable information that enables access to other valuable commodities and achievements and sanctioning or reward of certain behavior. These functions relate to the three forms of social capital, namely obligations and expectations, information channels and social norms and networks. Lew (2007) describes how parents use social networks to gain information that is advantageous to the educational prospects of their children. Thus parents with greater access to information channels are able to leverage this and obtain information about educational opportunities and resources that are available. He characterizes this as being a typical component of social networks among middle class parents who share information about information such as good schools, scholarship opportunities and other extra-curricular activities. This goes further to create obligations and expectations among these networks and thus ensure that other parents will share such information in the future.

Social norms and networks are effectively maintained when children are part of peer networks that are exposed to the same values and norms as their parents, thus ensuring a high degree of intergenerational closure. This is particularly evident in contexts where families live in regions or areas dominated by one particular ethnic, racial or linguistic community. In such social networks, parents have close contact with parents of their children's peers and norms regarding educational achievement are thus shared among them (Kao 2004). In social networks with high degree of intergenerational closure, norms are effectively communicated and adhered to, thus having an impact on the children's education. If the norms are supportive of education, as is the case in most families with socio-economic status, they enable increased parental support for children's education. In communities where social norms are not supportive of schooling, for example in communities where girls education is not supported, then effective social norms have a detrimental impact on access to effective educational opportunities (Coleman, 1988, p. 105). Perna and Titus (2005) agree with Coleman's approach, comparing it with Bourdieu's concept of the rules of the game in a field and arguing that communication of norms, trust, authority and social control is essential in and individuals adaptation to a particular field and thus their success in negotiating with the rules of the game in that field. They particularly stress the importance of parental involvement in children's schooling and engagement with the school as a building up social capital essential for educational success. Lin (2001, p. 24) expounds on the similarity between Bourdieu's and Coleman's conceptualization of social capital by focusing on their belief in social capital being embedded in social relations and structures that are put in use when an individual hopes to increase their chances of success in a particular action. Lin however take a more individualistic perspective on social capital, defining social capital as an investment in social relations that promises expected economic and noneconomic returns in a social marketplace. Furthermore, he argues that weak closure can also be effective if it enables parents in networks that are not supportive of education to go outside the network and obtain access to information and other resources that are necessary for education success. Thus, for example, in a network with predominantly negative norms towards girls' education or with restricted access to educational information, access to other networks with positive norms and easy information flows can be essential for successfully navigating the education process.

Habitus

Bourdieu & Passeron (1977) sees habitus as a socialized subjectivity conditioned by structural differences such as gender, poverty, culture, race and ethnicity. Habitus provides individuals with a scheme that influences their perceptions of agency and possibility given their social location. An individual's socio-economic origins influences their perceptual and behavioral disposition leading to certain practices which then contribute to the reinforcement of life chances and opportunities similar to their original conditions. Bourdieu's conceptualization of habitus is broad and dynamic, with differing conceptualizations in his earlier and later works (Bourdieu 1986, Bourdieu 2006). Swartz (1998, p. 108) however gives a clear delimitation of the concept of habitus as master patterns of behavior that encompass cognitive, normative and corporal dimensions of human habit and are expressed through verbal and non-verbal language, tastes, values, perceptions and reasoning. With regard to education, habitus finds its expression through perceptions of future possibilities in and through the value of academic achievement. Individuals perceive what is possible for them to achieve given their socio-economic circumstances and then accordingly calibrate their aspirations and practices. It is thus evident that individuals from different socio-economic backgrounds do not perceive their chances of success in education similarly and thus have differing dispositions towards schooling. Individuals from families with high socio-economic status portray a positive attitude towards schooling and are willing to invest more effort and resources in education given their perceived likelihood of success. In conjunction with greater access to socio-economic resources this enables them to develop academic practices that are conducive to acquisition of social and technical skills necessary for educational success. Students from families with lower socio-economic status however perceive their chances of success as limited, thus have ambivalent or negative dispositions toward schooling, and this coupled with limited access to socio-economic resources is detrimental to their performance according to the prevalent evaluative standards (Bourdieu 2006).

Bourdieu's critics imply that Bourdieu's conceptualization of habitus is highly deterministic and thus discounts the effect of human agency in interaction with social structures. Swartz (1997, p. 212) however contends that habitus can be useful in empirical studies if it is conceptualized as mediating between practices and structures. Rather than a deterministic structure, it is a structure that facilitates interaction of opportunities and constraints of certain fields with the dispositions of an individual. Thus though more or less stable, the habitus is adaptive and modifiable in the face of novel and variant circumstances. The habitus works on a positive feedback loop, with negative feedback reinforcing distance from school and poor achievement whereas positive experiences enable even learners from lower-class backgrounds to develop positive attitudes and practices in school. Jenkins (1992) further divides Bourdieu's generalized conceptualization of habitus into subsets of its manifestation in various fields. Given the differing rules of the game in different fields, it is evident that different forms of habitus become manifest in an individual's interaction with differing fields. Nash (2002, p. 31) identifies the "educated habitus" as the subset that emerges in an individual's interaction in the field of education. Apart from instrumental value of being educated, the educated habitus also encompasses the intrinsic and positional value of being educated and its acquisition entails competence in interacting with the operative schemes and structures in the school context. The educated habitus first develops in the family socialization which fosters acquisition of cognitive and

behavioral skills as part of cultural capital. Cultural capital thus fosters and reinforces the efficacy of the educated habitus. Apart from its cognitive skills component such as numeracy, literacy and abstract/analytical reasoning, the educated habitus also includes such behavioral skills as aspirations for educational attainments, self-discipline, positive academic self-concept and a positive disposition towards the school, teachers and peers. Acquisition of an educated habitus is predicated upon perception of education as relevant and desirable reflecting a habituated willingness to be educated in accordance with the norms, practices and evaluative standards of the education system. Hodkinson and Sparks (1997, p. 33) further elaborate on the impact of habitus on education and occupational aspirations. They contend that an individual's dispositions are subjective but influenced by the objective social reality of their society. Conceptualizing the habitus as a schema, an interpretive framework that enables individuals to process information and understand experiences in their social context, they illustrate how the habitus helps individuals form occupational aspirations within given horizons for action. Horizons of action are fields of play within which the individual has the ability to make pragmatic and rational decisions regarding valuable occupational paths, and they are structured by the opportunity structures of the prevailing labor market. This decision-making process is intertwined with the socio-economic conditions in which individuals find themselves in. It occurs when the individual encounters certain opportunities or restrictions and despite being rational, it is also influenced by emotions and feelings. Thus, the objective availability of a certain occupational choice is irrelevant if the individual does not consider it to be attainable within their horizon of action. Individuals with higher socio-economic status tend to have wider horizons of action given their access to greater levels of socio-economic opportunities.

Institutional Habitus

The term habitus derives from Bourdieu and refers to the norms and practices of particular social classes or groups (Bourdieu & Passeron 1977). In the context of this dissertation, institutional habitus relates to norms and practices in relation to an organization. Institutional habitus can thus be understood as the impact of an organizational milieu on an individual's behavior. The academic experience, including staff attitudes, teaching and learning relations and assessment, and the social experience, encompassing friendship, mutual support and networks, merge to develop a specific organizational milieu which interacts with class, gender, and other socio-demographic variables as a significant factor that impacts upon educational experiences and outcomes. Reay et. al. (2001) describe a school's organizational culture as institutional habitus and calls it the function of processes in which schools and their catchment mutually shape and reshape each other and is marked by the interaction between the organizational culture of the school and the socioeconomic culture in which it is embedded. Individual actions can only be understood in relation to the social structure. Thus, in attempting to decompose the underlying factors for persistent inequalities in education systems, it is evident that the institutional habitus of the school affects individual actions and influences outcomes. Education systems function as the primary institution in which social order is maintained. Thus, schools favor certain knowledge, experiences, values and norms that are dominant in society and are thus to be transmitted to participants. The institutional habitus serves a dual function with regards to the educational outcomes of the pupils by influencing conversion of capital into educational outcomes. It enables the conversion of capital into positive education

outcomes. Or it can ensure reproduction of inequalities by favoring those endowed with cultural and social capital from home while ensuring poor outcomes for those from disadvantaged social groups. Institutional habitus also affects heterogeneous acquisition of cultural and social capital within schooling that learners were unable to acquire at home. School effects are affected by between-school variations in factors such as composition of the student body, quality of educational resources and the schooling environment in terms of discipline regimes, organization of the teaching-learning process, peer interaction and teacher-learner interaction. The academic press theory, which reflects the school's organization and resourcing of the teaching-learning process and corresponding practices such as teacher practice, use of time and resources in the classroom, content and pace of curriculum, feedback on academic and behavioral performance, tries to explain the impact of the institutional habitus on learner outcomes (Plewis, 1991).

With regards to the schooling process, many critics of Bourdieu argue that his conceptualization of evaluative standards within institutions as arbitrary impositions by the dominant class is wrong. Nash (2002, p. 43) contends that even though knowledge is a cultural product, its usefulness cannot simply be invalidated based on that. He argues that the current curriculum and its contents such as literacy, numeracy and other cognitive skills are essentially necessary for engagement with the social and physical world and cannot be dismissed as arbitrarily valued knowledge. This knowledge is beneficial and are vital to social adaptation and both individual and social progress. Furthermore, criticism of academic practices conducive to educational success as being merely arbitrary and only valued due to the advantage they give to middle and upper class learners is misguided. Such practices as hard work, perseverance, ambition, reasoning and self-regulation are evidently valuable intrinsically and in interaction with society and cannot from any perspective be replaced by other supposedly lower-class cultural values in an educational context. From a critical realist perspective, it is apparent that dominant groups are dominant because they have mastered the skills necessary for academic, occupational and social success and instead insist that it is the other way round. Thus, the emphasis on the political and arbitrary nature of knowledge does a disservice to the efficacy of Bourdieu's thesis (Nash, 2002, p. 284).

3.3.3. A Structure-Disposition-Practice model

This section discusses the Structure-Disposition-Practice model that will be employed in this dissertation to explain difference and inequality in the Kenyan education system. Though deriving from Bourdieu's thesis on socio-cultural reproduction, this model is expanded and specified with contributions from other scholars who developed Bourdieu's thesis from a critical realist perspective.

Family habitus

Family habitus based on family location in the social structure and determined by access to social, economic and cultural capital. Family habitus has an impact on the learner's habitus, academic practices and educational outcomes through the process of socialization and the resources invested in the child's education. There is evidence of uneven distribution of these resources across the social spectrum and this translates into differing habitus among learners. The family habitus is operationalized with guidance from the Nash and Harker (1998) family resource network.

Indicators of economic capital depict families' material resources that influence children's participation in schooling;

- parental income
- provision of basic necessities to ensure school attendance is not restricted
- provision of educational resources

Indicators of social capital reflect the networks families build vis-à-vis schooling and comprise of shared norms, values and understandings that facilitate co-operation within or among groups;

- social obligations and expectations
- information channels
- social norms, values and practices
- engagement with school

Indicators of cultural capital are;

- parental educational attainments
- possession of educational and knowledge resources
- parental engagement with children's learning e.g. helping with homework

Institutional habitus

The concept of institutional habitus is derived from Reay et. al. (2004). It encompasses the schooling environment comprising of the socio-economic status of the school, school composition, interaction processes in teaching and learning and other political, social and behavioral aspects of the institutional regime. Over time, an institution develops a culture that in essence emulates the features of habitus, by structuring pupils participation in schooling according to the prevalent socio-economic and political norms of the larger education system as well as the microcosm for the school. The institutional habitus has a direct effect on student academic practices and their eventual outcomes since it can alleviate home based disadvantages and also enhance cognitive and behavioral development.

Indicators of the institutional habitus are;

- educational policy and practice
- teacher-learner interaction
- quality of educational resources and infrastructure
- composition of and interaction among learner population
- facilitation of parental engagement with school
- discipline regimes

-quality of teaching staff

Learner habitus

Habitus is influenced by the family habitus with regards to the parents' and community's role as primary socialization agents. The learner habitus is operationalized using the educated habitus derived from Nash (2002). Habitus has a direct effect on learners' academic practice and their education outcomes

Indicators of the learner's educated habitus are;

- expected level of educational attainment
- disposition towards teachers and school
- disposition towards secondary and further education
- academic self-concept

Academic practice

There are certain academic practices that are consonant with desirable education outcomes. Proficiency in these practices is fostered by the family habitus and further enhanced or circumscribed by institutional habitus.

Indicators of academic practice are;

- participation in the teaching-learning process
- academic persistence and work ethic
- school behavior

4. EDUCATION POLICY AND PRACTICE IN KENYA

The 1948 United Nations Declaration of Human Rights underpins efforts by national governments and international bodies in pursuit of free and universal primary education as fulfillment of the proclamation of education as a fundamental human right. The Declaration requires that all individuals should have access to a basic level of knowledge regardless of socioeconomic and political conditions and international development discourse places this right within the realm of primary education. This declaration is reinforced with recent global compacts such as the Education for All initiative and the Millennium Development Goals which approach basic education as a necessary step towards reduction and elimination of poverty globally (Stromquist, 2007). This role of education in promoting national development, contemporarily couched in terms of reducing human poverty, is well-founded in educational research (Psacharopoulos 1988). In particular, education is expected to define and guide the relevant cultural, economic and political dynamics and generational development imperatives of most societies, and this role is amplified in developing countries (Oketch & Abagi, 1997; Ojiambo, 2009). Achievement of universal education has always been part and parcel of Kenyan education policy since independence, with substantial investments in educational reform and development. From a low of 5.1% in 1980, government spending on education has risen 17.2% of the 2010/2011 budget, an impressive figure in comparison to government spending in other developing countries (World Bank, 2012). Kenya's post-independence educational history is marked by various reforms, which had their successes and failures, with post-independence euphoria replaced by disillusion at slow pace of reform and even retrogression in the education sector. Thus, there is an imperative to critically reflect upon the successes and failures of educational reform and thus avoid pitfalls while developing new paradigms for educational policy and practice to enable achievement of free primary education that can be relevant and responsive to needs of Kenyan learners and society as a whole. Pursuit of free and universal primary education should not only focus on increases in enrolment but also on ensuring quality, a fitting pedagogy, liberation and empowerment of learners to address pressing socioeconomic and political needs.

4.1. Historical Overview of FPE in Kenya

Colonial education in Kenya was characterized primarily by missionary efforts to undo indigenous education systems which were considered uncivilized and thus bring the African savage into a civilized and Christian era. Many missionary schools focused on catechism coupled with basic literacy skills to enable the learners study the Bible. After the First World War the British colonial government showed greater interest in education of Africans, driven by the need to integrate Africans in the colonial administration in junior levels of responsibility, but also by a perceived threat of growing missionary influence which they deemed detrimental to their imperialist designs on the colony. Many missionary- educated Africans were involved in the early resistance to colonial rule and the colonial government perceived this to be a result of Christian ideology that challenged the white man's racial superiority and dominion over the African. Thus, the colonial government established the Department of Education in 1911 that would henceforth control all schooling in the colony. This was

followed by a flurry of educational policies composed by various commissions that tried to balance ideological oppression with the increasing logistical need for educated Africans to help run the colony. This thus ensured that Africans did not have access to an education that was relevant to their needs but rather suited to British interest. (Bogonko, 1992; Oketch & Abagi, 1997). During the struggle for political and ideological independence, the struggle to control education in Kenya was seen as vital to not only achieving independence but also in crafting a pan-Africanist future for the country. Most political activists were in favor of Pan-African ideals in education that had previously been expressed by various leaders such as Marcus Garvey and Kwame Nkrumah. This was seen as an attempt to redress the injustices of education wrought by colonial policy of segregation and provision of substandard education to Africans and it culminated in establishment of African schools that avoided the colonial blueprint in favor of socially just education systems (Bogonko, 1992). The 1961 Addis Ababa Conference of African States on Development of Education outlined a Pan-African ideal and priorities on how to develop education to meet the needs of the newly-independent and soon-to be independent African countries. This was followed up by another conference in Antananarivo in 1962. The resolutions of the conferences served as a blueprint for socially just educational policy that found its way into the political manifestos of parties and governments in many African countries. And prominent in this platform was a requirement to ensure universal access, among other ambitions such as Africanisation of curriculum and teaching staff (Sifuna, 1990).

4.1.1. Free primary education in post-independence Kenya

The education system at independence was characterized by racially segregated schools, each with its own curriculum. Apart from the colonial schools for Europeans, Asians and Africans, there were also many independent African schools and 65 missionary schools. (UNESCO, 2005). This presented a clear challenge to the government, which was expected to integrate all these schools into a post-independence system that called for equality and universal access. In elections prior to independence the Kenya National African Union (KANU) promised in its manifesto to pursue free universal education if elected. After forming the independence government in 1963, the KANU government produced the Sessional Paper 10 of 1965 that conceptualized education mainly as an economic pursuit that should contribute to developing manpower and providing economic opportunities to individuals. Though socio-cultural and political aspects of education were mentioned in passing, the paper, which was to underpin government policy in development, betrayed the ideals agreed upon in 1961 Addis Ababa conference, and in fact ensured the increased Westernization of education Kenya with its human capital approach. This was admittedly informed by the pressing need to reduce poverty, ignorance and disease while positioning the country to benefit from trade and relations with the capitalist West at the height of the Cold War. The ideal of universal primary education was however retained in the Sessional Paper and the government embarked upon a radical restructuring of the education system to achieve this. Segregated schools were dissolved, selection exams targeted only at African in Grade 4 were banned and all pupils were technically allowed to achieve a minimum of seven years basic education. The government also developed policies to increase enrolment in politically marginalized, rural, remote arid and semi-arid areas. This involved reducing user fees and led to increased enrolments, with the Gross Enrolment Ratio (GER) rising from 60% to 79% between 1964 and 1970. However, there were still a large number of

learners locked out of schooling due to prohibitive economic reasons, given the levying of tuition fees by many schools to cover financial costs. After the 1969 elections, the KANU government regained power and embarked upon renewed efforts to achieve the dream of universal access. In 1971, the president issued a decree that abolished user fees for all learners in the rural and geographically remote regions of Garissa, Lamu, Marsabit, Mandera, Samburu, Tana River, Turkana, West Pokot and Wajir. A school feeding program aimed at attracting and retaining children in school was also launched. In 1973, a further decree was issued, abolishing fees for all learners in Standard I to Standard IV while establishing a uniform user fees structure for all learners in Standard V to Standard VII. This decree had an immediate impact, with enrolments in primary schools increasing from 1.8 million in 1973 to 2.8 million in 1974. The 1967 Gacathi Report further recommended abolition of school fees and levies for the full seven years of primary school by 1980, thus leading to a truly free primary school education (Sifuna, 1990; UNICEF & World Bank, 2009).

The problem with implementation of the free primary education scheme however was that the decree caught the educational planners by surprise, thus no preparations had been made to plan for and finance the surge in enrolments, coupled with the decrease in revenues. Stakeholders and planners were not consulted in the making of what was essentially a populist political promise. In particular, the Ministry of Education had already made projected estimates for funding of the 1973/1974 financial year and thus resources were not available to handle the upsurge in enrolments (Ngaroga, 2001). Most school heads thus had no way of dealing with the increased numbers without increased funding. And they gradually introduced building levies that were supposed to develop infrastructure but were simply a guise for raising funds to cater for the abolished fees. These levies varied per region and district and over time, were in a lot of instance higher than the abolished school fees. This had a negative impact upon enrolment, with many parents subsequently withdrawing their children from school due to inability to pay the levies, with an estimated one million children dropping out of school by 1976 (Amutabi, 2003). In 1979, response to this, direct levying of fees from parents was prohibited by the government, which suggested that building costs be borne cooperatively with local communities in the Harambee spirit. However initiative did not work out and despite subsequent political proclamations, user fees were steadily reintroduced. The user fees, whose elimination had been a major impetus for the reforms, ensured that children from poor families were unable to access school again and thus dropped out. The impact was felt in both urban and rural areas. The user fees also had an impact on gendered enrolment. Given preference for education of boys over girls, the drop out figures affected mostly girls, who were withdrawn from school to either leave resources for boys' education or to actually work and thus contribute to boys' education. Moreover, in other cultural instances, girls who had been allowed to go to school were withdrawn since it was simply considered not worth the cost (Action Aid Kenya, 2004; UNICEF, 2005). The quality of education suffered a marked decline with the introduction of FPE. Ballooning enrolment meant that infrastructure was strained, especially given lack of increased spending and the haphazard implementation of the policy which was not planned for. This led to overcrowding in classes, shortage of learning materials in classrooms. Since the centralized Kenya Equipment scheme did not receive extra money for the year 1974, it was unable to supply extra learning equipment and resources to schools and this led to a severe shortage of resources. Even the already purchased material remained mostly undelivered due to a breakdown of supply lines occasioned by the

disorganization of the implementation. Moreover the teaching force was trained by the increased workload. Given that there were already insufficient teachers before FPE, with 56,000 teachers in total by 1973, 13,000 of whom were unqualified and taught through the Untrained Teachers (UT) scheme. This scheme was expanded due to the need for quickly available labor and by 1975, there were 40,000 UTs against 50, 000 certified teachers. Most UTs had no pedagogical training, with the only requirement being a high school certificate, sometimes even a primary school certificate, and this had a marked effect on the pedagogical quality of education offered.

Increasing costs, poor quality and a rising dropout rate did not however stop the increasing (albeit slower) enrolment, which led to more overcrowding in schools and corresponding declines in funding available, quality and resources. In 1985, partly as a response to outcry regarding declining quality, the 8-4-4 curriculum was introduced. It was aimed at improving quality, ensuring greater access and aligning education system to labor market and livelihood demands. Increased focus on technical and arts subjects rather than a purely academic education was included and the system increased the number of primary school years from 7 to 8. However, increased demands of the system led to greater costs, associated with infrastructure, teaching staff and educational resources to cater for expansive syllabus. Noticeable drops in enrolment after this period (Eshiwani 1993). In 1988, at the behest of the World Bank under the auspices of the neoliberal Structural Adjustment Programs (SAPs), user fees were formally reintroduced. The rationale was that government was investing an unsustainable percentage of revenue and spending on social services whereas this was considered vital for investment in the economy to boost productivity and economic growth. Education, along with other social services such as health, sports and welfare, suffered deep cuts in funding as part of the economic reforms and budget streamlining introduced by the SAPs. User costs were in 1988 formally reintroduced in education and health, through a scheme of “cost-sharing” that purported to enable the government pass half of the costs to consumers while financing the other half. However, by 1990, the government had completely divested from funding education, with user fees covering the majority of recurrent expenditure and a sizeable chunk of capital costs on infrastructure and equipment. Primary school GER progressively declined after this, with GER dropping from a peak of 97 in 1981 to 95 in 1990 and 87 in 1995 (Ngaroga, 2001; Action Aid Kenya, 2004).

4.1.2. Free primary education after 2003

In the 2002 General Elections, President Moi was finally retiring and though he was counting on his ruling party KANU to win the elections, the opposition had finally, for the first time since reintroduction of multiparty politics in 1992 gathered together under one banner. A united opposition proved fatal to KANUs ambitions and the new President Kibaki was sworn in in early 2003. A key plank of the election manifesto of the now ruling NARC party was provision of free and universal primary education. Thus, the year saw the revival of the independence dream, this time more massive in scope than the previous policy had dared to achieve. The Free Primary Education program was unveiled in January 2003 with the aim of providing hitherto unavailable advantages to pupils kept out of school due to poverty, gender and cultural inequalities (Otach, 2008). Key planks of the policy was abolition of school fees and levies in public primary schools that had been a major hindrance to access and a key

mechanism in perpetuation of inequalities, since children from poor families were routinely denied access and doomed to low wage menial labor jobs or unemployment due to lack of educational qualifications. Furthermore, girls who had been kept out of school due to parents' unwillingness to pay for their fees, either resulting from cultural prejudice against girls or prioritization of boys' education over girls in face of meager family resources, were finally able to enroll. The FPE policy also allowed enrolment of older children and adults in primary schooling, thus casting the net wide in an effort to boost the literacy rate of the country. The FPE policy had an immediate and considerable impact on the Kenyan education sector, with the GER increasing from 92% in 2002 to 104 % in 2003, with more that 1.5 million children who were previously out of school joining public primary schools countrywide (Robertson et al., 2004; UNESCO, 2005). Political expediency superseded the need to undertake a thorough assessment of the extra challenges brought about by such a large expected increase. This predictably led to overcrowding, lack of infrastructure, lack of teaching staff, shortage of educational resources and general decline in quality. Free Primary Education radically increased student enrolments and enabled Kenya to make strides towards achievement of the MDG 2 and 3. However, it is debatable whether the program has been successful in increasing access to particularly those most excluded. Catchment areas that expanded were mostly among the urban poor and relatively stable rural populations. However, among pastoralists, populations in semi-arid and arid areas and slums, enrolment figures remained at roughly the same levels as before FPE. Furthermore, enrolment of girls did not increase as rapidly as boys, and given subsequent high dropout rates that affected girls more than boys, gender parity is still far from being achieved. Regional and gendered disparities prevalent throughout history of FPE due to cultural reasons against girls' enrolment, political machinations against regions perceived as unfriendly to the government and geographical remoteness of some regions. Moreover, there has been little effort other than rhetoric to reach pupils in special circumstances and who suffer from the most inequality such as in ASALs, rural areas, urban slums and orphans (Colcough & Webb, 2010).

Moreover, the quantitative success has had a downside since it has exacerbated problems that existed in the system and created new ones with regards to insufficiency of school facilities, congestion in schools, quality of teaching and learning, financing and management. Many studies indicated that many good quality public schools which had been performing very well in KCPE showed a massive drop in performance afterwards, attributed to the effects of FPE. School management committees are unable to effectively develop schools as they are unable to charge levies whereas government funding is insufficient and requisition procedures are long, cumbersome and riddled with corruption. Many public primary schools are understaffed due to increased teacher pupil ratios. Given lack of sufficient financial resources, schools are unable to recruit extra teachers through the PTA or Board of Governors, as had previously been the norm. An ironic effect of FPE is an increased dropout rate. At primary school level, this is attributable to initial euphoria of fpe being tempered by reality as many pupils who enrolled face various challenges in school and opt to quit again. Such challenges vary from difficulties in learning, especially regarding those who joined after years out of school or without sufficient educational background to challenges occasioned by lack of facilities, poverty, gender and cultural bias. A lot of girls who initially joined due to the government requirement that all school-age children be sent to school or parents face criminal charges, were withdrawn after a while and since the government had relaxed after an initial period of seriousness,

nothing happened. Mareng (2012) estimates that more than half of the girls enrolled in 2003 in pastoralist areas were later withdrawn over the ensuing two years. Moreover, some were withdrawn since the families considered them (boys and girls) to be vital to the family livelihood thus they could not afford to have them in school. This was more so the case in agricultural areas such as Kakamega where parents relied on their children as a source of labor in both subsistence and cash crop farming (Ojiambo, 2009). Management problems bedeviling the FPE program also lead to inefficiency and ineffectiveness in the implementation. The political nature of the FPE program has also led to complications. FPE was, much like the previous FPE program, a populist policy aimed at capturing votes during the 2002 elections. The Kibaki government was in a rush to implement the program and during the 2007 elections; this was touted as one of the successes of the first Kibaki administration. Thus, implementation of the program was rushed and haphazard, leading to problems resulting from lack of sufficient logistical, financial and educational planning. Moreover, any problems that educational administrators encountered were hushed up, mostly due to political intimidation that aimed at propping up the rhetoric that FPE was highly successful. This has further worsened problems associated with FPE and the quality of education offered since any problems that could actually be easily fixed are glossed over despite all the apparent challenges of the FPE schemes, both governments were apparently satisfied that they had implemented the program and gained political capital without much investment or loss of political capital on their parts. (Sifuna, 2005). The financial sustainability of the FPE program is one of the key issues around which the success or failure of the policy revolves. In the fiscal year 2003/2004 education was allocated KES 79.4 billion or 17.4 % of the budget, with FPE specifically receiving a vote head of KES 7.6 billion. This is by far insufficient to functionally run the program, and the shortfall is plugged largely by donor funding. This further reflects the nature of FPE as political rhetoric rather than a well-planned government policy. Financing options for FPE were not explored and in fact donors as a source of extra funding were only roped in after the program had already started. The program attracted a lot of international goodwill as it was seen as positive commitment to achieving the international agreements underlying its formulation. However, international aid is by nature transient and pegged upon various conditionalities thus cannot be relied upon as a stable source of finance. Moreover, political corruption within the Kenyan government and the Ministry of Education further jeopardizes the continued goodwill and support of donors. Various scandals involving funding or textbooks, allocations to pupils and irregular payments to ghost schools have led to various withholding or cancellation of donor funding. This has also affected delivery mechanisms, with most donors preferring to deliver aid directly to schools or through third party like NGOs rather than through the government. This further destabilizes the funding stream of the FPE program (Ojiambo, 2009; UNICEF & World Bank, 2009).

Another issue with the FPE program is that curriculum reform is lacking. The current curriculum, which focuses on rote learning and passing exams rather than focusing on relevance of learning to the socio-economic needs and livelihoods of learners. This curriculum negates the whole need of universal enrolment. Many of those who enrolled were already in a precarious situation and after class 8, they do not qualify to proceed to high school, thus going through the system is just a waste of time, as they do not benefit anything. Failure by government to support teachers in process. Especially poor remuneration does not motivate teachers who are faced by an increasingly greater workload. This has occasioned many strikes which further harm

education quality (Ojiambo 2009). Teacher pupil ratios have gone through the roof, with many public schools, especially in rural areas and slums having ratios such as 1:70, far above the Ministry of Education recommended maximum of 1:40. Teachers are thus unable to pay attention to learners and support learning (UNESCO 2005). Delays in disbursing funding or the FPE messes with the school level planning, thus making management of schools a difficult job and threatening availability of school supplies. Inadequate physical facilities such as crowded classrooms, lack of lighting, lack of desks. More than 50% of public schools are currently house din temporary facilities, ranging from mud huts to open air spaces. School management overwhelmed. Most had previously no management training and were swamped by the new challenges of FPE, which especially allocated more financial management tasks to the school principal was a recipe for chaos. The FPE has a curious effect on middle class public schools which had mostly been exclusionary in their enrolment practices. Though mostly shielded from the mass crowding that affected lower end public schools by their location in relatively well-off areas that had no children out of school to begin with, the ability of pupils to enroll in any school of their choice made them open up to many pupils. Middle class parents felt pushed to move their children to private schools where they could receive more attention. However, this trend was also visible in poorer regions where low-cost private schools also capitalized on the impression for educed quality in public schools. Thus low cost private schools had originally mushroomed to compensate for the governments neglect of education in slums (Otach, 2008). The significant rise in enrolment has put additional pressure on already insufficient schooling infrastructure, resulting in an atmosphere not conducive for learning. This is worsened by the limited number of schools serving populations in rural, isolated and urban slum areas, areas which witnessed high surges in enrolment after introduction of FPE. The national average classroom pupil ratio is pegged at 1:47 yet substantial spatial variations exist, with schools in poor and isolated areas reporting substantial discrepancies. It is estimated that achieving the national average would require construction of 14,700 new classrooms and renovation of more than half the existing classrooms. This is an impossible task, given the already stretched resources.

4.2. Educational Policy Processes in Kenya

Grindle (1980, p. 6) defines policy as “a broad statement of goals, objectives and means”. Education policy can thus be considered to be directives, texts and legislation that attempt to frame, constitute and change educational practice in a country by initiating favorable actions while retarding negative effects. It can be developed through an explicit process aimed at developing clear-cut directives or through process of bricolage that borrows ideas considered worthwhile from other systems or organizations. Both these processes are nuanced by the complex influences, text production and recreation in contexts of practice (Haddad & Demsyk, 1995; Ball, 1998). While policymaking can largely be a technical and rational process, it is highly influenced by socio-political contexts that add ideological leanings. It is thus necessary to distinguish between policy as text and policy as discourse in any analysis of educational policy. Policy text reflects the encoding of a group of decisions and compromises arrived at in the policymaking process whereas policy discourses incorporate the interests and perspectives of stakeholders in the process (Ball, 1998). When analyzing the educational policy of a country, it is important to make three further distinctions. First, one needs to consider policy that is implicit in practice, which is

the de facto practice within an educational system that exist within educational institutions as influenced by socio-political and economic contexts but are rarely encoded in text or legislation. Secondly, policy as ritual is what is encoded in text and legislation but only as rhetoric, with little or no planning for implementation, either due to lack of political will or lack of resources. These kinds of policy are influenced by political capital to be gained and are usually never meant to be implemented. And lastly, there is the blurred policy that sits between rhetoric and practice, with either non-specific encoding in text or non-implementation. This type of policy is best reflected in international agreements such as the EFA and MDGS which are explicitly stated at the global level but hazily adopted at national or regional levels. With regards to Kenyan educational policy, this dissertation focuses on educational policy in Kenya that is intended to integrate the goals, objectives and plans of the EFA and MDG into Kenyan educational practice. This policy is mostly formulated by the Kenyan government with varying levels of input from stakeholders and international or multilateral education organizations. An attempt is made to identify the antecedents and motivations of the policy, by clearly identifying the actors, ideologies and process that led to development of the policy. The policies can be broadly grouped as addressing demand-side (children's access to schooling and attendant restrictive factors) and supply side issues (political and institutional factors that can enable increased access) in Kenyan education that affect achievement of the EFA and MDGs. Three overarching dimensions of inequality in Kenyan education, namely poverty, gender and culture will be considered and the international dimension of policymaking in Kenya will be interrogated with regards to the relevance of the goals to Kenyan children and their wellbeing and livelihoods (Colclough & Webb 2010).

4.2.1. Educational policy and planning in Kenya

Educational policy and planning revolves around the legislative and political structures that shape education in Kenya with a focus on managing competing demands of equity, efficiency and effectiveness in the allocation of educational resources as the ethnically diverse population of 40 million experiences high incidence of poverty, unemployment and socio-economic inequality. English and Kiswahili are the official languages, with English designated as the language of instruction in schools, though teachers and pupils tend to use their native languages and Kiswahili in the classroom and social situations. The current 8-4-4 education system, introduced in 1984 as a response to perceived quality inadequacies of the previous system, consists of eight years of basic education, four years of secondary education and a minimum of four years in higher education. Pupils sit for the Kenya Certificate of Primary Education (KCPE) exams at the end of the eight years of the first cycle. The system aimed to develop a broad-based curriculum that offered pre-vocational skills and technical education during the first twelve years thus ensuring learners were prepared to be self-reliant by the end of secondary school. Apart from the three core divisions, components of special needs education (SNE), technical, industrial and vocational education (TIVET), Adult and Basic Education (ABE) and Non-Formal Education (NFE) were included in the system (Ministry of Education 2008). At present, the overall policy goal of the Kenyan government is achievement of the MDG and EFA by 2015 in lien with requirements of international commitments it has signed up for. These commitments call for universally accessible quality education that promotes sustainable socio-economic development. This goals are reflected in the mission statement of the Ministry of Education which aims *"to have a globally competitive education, training and research*

for Kenya's sustainable development" and this is to be achieved through "provision, promotion and coordination of quality education, training and research for the empowerment of individuals to become responsible and competent citizens who value education as a lifelong process" Education is thus conceptualized as the "greatest social equalizer" and a "powerful weapon against poverty" (Ministry of Education, 2008, p. 4). Specifically, the Ministry aims to design education policies that guide the inclusion of all children in basic primary education, with particular emphasis on reaching out to children afflicted by poverty, disability, gender discrimination, marginalization and other forms of vulnerability through enhancement of access, relevance, equity and quality.

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| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> i. Provision of free and compulsory primary and free secondary education for all children ii. Development of partnerships with parents , communities, civil societies, private sector and other stakeholders to ensure effectiveness of the provision of quality education iii. Enhancement of participation of children in special circumstances to ensure barrier free primary and secondary education iv. Enhancement of gender parity including the retention of girls in schools v. Enforcement of legislation against the violation of the learners' rights vi. Integration of alternative modes of providing education, including the use of ICT so as to build a foundation for technological and industrial development vii. Enforcement of the implementation of the Children's Act, 2001 as a means of achieving UPE viii. Strengthening of assessment programs to facilitate early identification and placement of learners with special needs ix. Development of desirable social standards, moral and spiritual values x. Development of aesthetic values and appreciation of own and other people's cultures and environment xi. Strengthening respect and love for own country and the need for harmonious co-existence xii. Integration of secondary education as part of basic education xiii. Institutionalization of affirmative action to address the needs of the marginalized children and those with special needs and in special circumstances xiv. Provision of incentives to promote private sector participation in the development of education xv. Recognition and support of gifted and talented learners xvi. Creation of learning environment which is gender and special needs responsive |
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Fig. 3: Goals of the Kenyan education system (Ministry of Education 2008, p. 8).

These goals are built on a constitutional and legislative foundation that rests on several international and national laws that require provision of free and universal basic education. Kenya has ratified and acceded to various international treaties and obligations such as the Universal Declaration on Human Rights of 1948, the Minimum Age Convention of 1973, the Convention on the Elimination of All forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) of 1979, the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) of 1989, the Jomtien World Conference of 1990, the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action of 1995, the Convention on the Elimination of the Worst Forms of Child Labor of 1999, the Dakar Framework of Action on EFA of

2000, the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) of 2000 and the Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities of 2006. These international commitments form the foundation of a moral, ethical and political imperative to provide education and redress socio-economic inequalities in educational spaces and have been domesticated in Kenyan legislation and educational policy. National legislation relevant to basic educational and universal access include the Constitution of Kenya (1961), the Education Act (1968), Children's Act (2001), Persons with Disabilities Act (2003), Sessional Paper No. 1 of 2005 on a Policy Framework for Education and Training, Sessional Paper No. 5 of 2005 on a Policy Framework for Gender Equality and Development, Constitution of Kenya (2010) and the Basic Education Act (2013). The legislation calls for the government's commitment to expansion of universal access while providing policy direction for development of the education sector through curriculum reform, teacher training, quality assurance and investment in technology. The Education Act (1968) established policy guidelines for the foundation, development, management and administration of educational institutions, curricula and teacher training in Kenya and with various amendments over the years, continues to function as the blueprint for the Kenyan education sector. The Children's Act (2001) in particular calls for a minimum of 12 years of free, compulsory and continuous schooling for all Kenyan children and was the first piece of legislation to domesticate the Millennium Declaration and the EFA goals and set the stage for the initiation of the FPE program in 2003. Given both national and international concern that legislation underpinning education is not harmonized and that it is unresponsive to current challenges and development commitments, the Kenyan Parliament introduced the Basic Education Act (2013) to streamline all international commitments and national legislation with regards to achievement of universal basic education. This Act thus functions as a one-stop clearinghouse while providing legislative backing to the government's efforts to pursue FPE. The Ministry of Education is in charge of the implementation of this legislation and is accountable to both the President of Kenya, who appoints the Cabinet Secretary for Education and the Parliament of Kenya which represents the interests of Kenyan citizens in the education sector. As a member of the Kenyan Cabinet, the Secretary for Education provides regular reports to the President on implementation of both the legislative agenda and the President's own political manifesto whereas the Parliamentary Committee on Education has oversight over allocations of resources and policy directions in the Ministry and can summon the Cabinet Secretary to provide reports on matters of interest as raised by the members of parliament themselves or citizens.

4.2.2. Policy reform and educational justice in Kenya

The Kenyan Ministry of Education has adopted the Sector-Wide Approach to Programme Planning (SWAP) as the main tool for achievement of universal primary education and redress of socio-economic imbalances in the education sector. SWAP is an approach aimed at coordinating policies and planning between government, donors and other stakeholders within a system and entails a set of principles that guide policy formulation and implementation through broadening policy dialogue to include all relevant stakeholders, develop a consolidated sector policy framework that aligns educational policy to national objectives, enhance coordination between government and external donors, develop a coherent and realistic expenditure budget, effective monitoring and evaluation tools and pool fragmented government and donor resources. The international commitments backed by donor funding

necessitated adoption of the approach, since the Paris Declaration of 2005 sees SWAPs as an effective tool in managing donor funding and reducing misappropriation and wastage of funds. The SWAP, guided by the principles of harmonization of funding and simplification of aid modalities, is composed of the Kenyan government and a consortium of donors namely the Asian Development Bank (ADB), Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA), Department for International Development (DFID), Governments of Belgium, Italy and Japan, Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC), UNICEF, United States Agency for International Development (USAID), World Bank/International Development Association (WB/IDA) and World Food Programme (WFP). UNICEF contributes about 50 percent of funding. Although the Kenyan government provides majority funding for regular education programmes and teachers' salaries, the bulk of funding for special investment projects in the SWAP, those aimed at addressing areas with worst track records, are largely funded by donors. Thus external support plays significant role in meeting the expenditure needs of the neglected sectors and sub-sectors (Ministry of Education, 2008).

The Kenya Education Sector Support Programme (KESSP) was developed as the flagship project of the SWAP process and is the first stage of educational reform in Kenya as influenced by the EFA and MDGs. KESSP draws its foundations also on a number of other key documents that had been prepared by the Kenyan government in collaboration with international and bilateral partners and which aimed to develop a comprehensive overview of main issues, challenges and reform priorities in the Kenyan education sector. These documents included the Education Sector Review of 2003, the Education Sector Strategic Plan of 2003, the Report of the National Conference on Education and Training of 2004 and the Sessional Paper No. 1 of 2005. KESSP is a five year plan that ran from 2005 to 2010 and comprised of three investment programs fits within the broad national framework outlined in the Economic Recovery Strategy. It is also embedded in the Medium Term Expenditure Framework (MTEF) to harmonize its funding with the government's budget cycle and economic planning. The five guiding values of the KESSP program were transparency, decentralization, teamwork and performance-based management and accountability, values that were expected to achieve efficiency and effectiveness of the investments through the program. KESSP was run by a Steering Committee that consisted of the Education Secretary seconded from the Ministry of Education, five directors of KESSP's five directorates, directors of relevant government agencies and senior managers from the Ministry of Education. The KESSP Reform Secretariat was in charge of policy direction for reform implementation, monitoring and impact evaluation.

The main goals of the KESSP programme were;

- Attainment of the Millennium Development Goals
- Pursuing appropriate policy and strategies
- Government leadership and national ownership
- Appropriate financing modalities and public expenditure management
- Co-ordination and partnership
- Harmonized procurement system

These goals are expected to be evaluated against the following objectives;

- Attainment of UPE and EFA by 2015;

- Achievement of a transition rate of 70 percent, from primary to secondary school from the current rate of 47 percent, paying special attention to girls' education by 2008;
- Enhancement and sustainability of access, equity and quality in primary and secondary school education.
- Capacity building for 45,000 education managers by the end of 2005;
- Construction/renovation of physical facilities/equipment in public learning institutions in disadvantaged areas, particularly in Arid and Semi-Arid Lands (ASALs) and urban slums by 2008;
- Development of a national training strategy for TIVET in 2005, and ensure that TIVET institutions are appropriately funded and equipped by 2008;
- Achievement of 50 percent improvement of levels of adult literacy by 2010; and
- Expansion of public universities to have a capacity of at least 5,000 students each by 2015 and increased proportion of all students studying science related courses to 50 percent, with at least one third of these being women by the year 2010.

KESSP outlined a program of inclusive education that is aimed at addressing high poverty levels; regional and gender disparities; and inadequate policy guidelines on inclusion. KESSP in particular focused on pro-poor programming that aimed to combat inequalities in the education sector attributable to poverty, gender and cultural difference. Areas attracting the highest levels of investment included teacher training, primary school infrastructure, school feeding programmes, provision of schooling in ASALs and urban slums, mitigation of gender inequalities, reform of curricula to reflect realities of children and integration of HIV/AIDS awareness and prevention in schooling. The programme specifically singled out Children in Difficult Circumstances (CDC) and out-of-school children. CDCs include street children, children in ASALs, disabled children, children involved in the worst forms of child labor, orphans, adolescent mothers and sibling minders, children affected or infected by HIV/AIDS, refugees, juvenile offender, victims of violence and children avoiding harmful cultural practices such as female genital mutilation. Girls are identified as those facing double discrimination due to intersection of multiple inequalities. The cross-cutting issues identified by the programme reflect this focus; ECD, ASALs, gender, special needs and HIV/AIDS. The Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper 2001/2003 identified these issues as key contributors to poverty in Kenya while Sessional Paper No. 1 of 2005 posits educational as a key route out of intergenerational poverty for children, thus stressing the need to focus on CDCs. Moreover, the relevance of the curriculum was called into question, as the programme also focused on the relevance of education to the lives of children and recognized that access and equity alone do not suffice for poverty alleviation. In this regards, the programme aimed to reform curricula to streamline it to realities and cultural expectations of Kenyan families while ensuring children were able to obtain qualifications relevant for participation in the labor market. The 8-4-4 curriculum has been variously criticized for being too rigid, out of touch with learners' realities due to Westernization and its discrimination against children with disabilities. Moreover, the systems focus on examinations limited learning opportunities as children who failed the terminal exams were kicked out of the system without any useful skills, especially at primary level.

At primary school level, KESSP proposed a number of reforms that aimed at mitigating these difficulties and enhancing access, equity, quality and relevance.

- ✓ FPE to be enhanced and introduction of free secondary education (FSE) to complement the FPE. This was introduced in 2008, albeit limited in scope.
- ✓ Provision of bursaries and scholarships to children from economically and culturally disadvantaged regions for pursuit of secondary and higher education, with emphasis on girls' education
- ✓ Research into curriculum reforms that would address quality and relevance.
- ✓ Expansion of pre-service and in-service teacher training to ensure more teachers are available and that they have proper pedagogical skills to guide children in their learning and handle the challenges of FPE and inclusive education.
- ✓ Provision of school feeding programmes for children from economically disadvantaged families to ensure their participation in schooling.
- ✓ Expansion of boarding facilities for girls who have been denied access schooling by parents and in ASALs where they are unable to attend school due to distances.
- ✓ Provision of sanitation facilities for girls in schooling to boost participation
- ✓ Curriculum review to make it gender-friendly
- ✓ Sensitization campaigns to ensure families do not let cultural norms and practices deny children access to education, particularly girls.

5. METHODOLOGY

5.1. Research Design

Building on section 4 which outlined the conceptual background that informed the study, this section elaborates on the methodological procedures of this study. This is expected to provide readers with an explicit account of the researcher's preferences and how these shaped the study's perspective on the social phenomena under investigation and how a credible account of the social worlds portrayed was generated (Miles & Huberman, 1998). This study employed a qualitative approach to examine the impact of difference and inequality in achievement of the MDGs and EFA in Kenya, specifically the extent to which gender, poverty and culture affect outcomes of learners in Kenyan primary schools. This study pursued a critical realist exploration of how these factors affect learning and outcomes using the conceptual basis of Bourdieu's socio-cultural reproduction model enriched by critical realistic perspectives on institutional habitus, learner habitus, family habitus and learners' academic practice. The qualitative approach is well-suited to explore the aims of this study, which is to investigate complexities of how family, individual and institutional habitus interact to impact on schooling experiences and outcomes of children. Richness of data lies in collecting information from individuals who are involved in these mechanisms while constructing and inhabiting their social realities and how they mediate the interface between these phenomenological experiences and the social structure. This is not reducible to statistical analysis but rather requires qualitative approaches as investigating social factors and the attendant sense-making processes and behavior can only be accomplished by qualitative data (Lareau, 2001)

The study is composed of three case studies of schools in three different regions of Kenya. A case study strategy entails a descriptive and explanatory investigation of social phenomenon within its real life context that aims to explore causation of social events by identifying underlying principles of social interaction. A case-study approach is particularly relevant when the boundaries between the context and phenomenon are not clearly evident and is particularly useful for triangulation of multiple data sources and perspectives which help shape the research process and provides a complete picture of the social phenomenon being investigated (Hakim, 1992; Yin, 2002). The social phenomenon explored in this study was individuals located within the social structures of schools, families and their wider communities. The case study strategy adopted in this particular study included multiple case studies and relied on multiple sources of evidence. The purposes of the case study were developed through exploratory literature review, after which the theory to be tested was developed in a conceptual framework. A deviant case approach was adopted in the case selection. Given that an average or typical case does not necessarily provide the richest source of evidence, it is necessary for researchers to select cases that have interesting or remarkable qualities or that are situated within a revealing the of circumstances thus enabling easier identification of lines of causation (Patton, 2002). This approach relies on information-oriented sampling to identify outlier cases which are extreme, deviant or atypical and which potentially would reveal richer evidence than the typical representative case. The outlier cases in this regards were underperforming schools that were situated in regions afflicted by poverty, spatial exclusion or cultural oppression thus engendering low academic achievement and aspirations among the

learners but with certain learners exhibiting educational success in a context where they would be expected to fail. The main objective was to obtain a perspective on the social reality that motivates success in contexts of deprivation. To avoid generalization of social class, the study approached the cases as a group of individuals sharing the same attributes but with a mixture of dispositions that are dynamic and lived experiences in individuals' daily interactions. This is best investigating from an ethnographic perspective (Reay, 1998). In a study of interactions between structure and agency, explicating the interactions between manifestations embedded in the social structure and individual practices and dispositions as individuals indulge in micro level processes within contexts delimited by certain available opportunities, conflicts and constraints. While many studies focus on one particular actor (the school, the family or children) this study is informed by the understanding that these processes and actors are all interlinked and their actions are interwoven into the fabric of social reality. Thus it is impossible to gain a clear understanding of the social situation and its outcomes without taking all the actors into consideration. All actors play an active role in contributing to, reproducing or contesting structural forces and negotiate their own space in the social structure. The CA provides a framework to assess the socio-economic, political and cultural contexts of schooling and the inherent processes and practices that affect children's participation and outcomes. Bourdieu's theory is on the other hand important in investigating micro and meso-level processes and relationships that structure the reproduction of social advantage. Bourdieu's framework provides a window to how agency is framed through practice within social structures such as culture, poverty and gender.

Three main techniques were employed for data collection namely textual analysis of policy documents, a questionnaire for school principals and in-depth unstructured interviews with parents, teachers and children. The data collection process began initially with extensive reading and literature review to familiarize the researcher with the context and the state of research. The search for contextualizing background data on education in Kenya and particularly with regards to the three regions and the three factors of education, gender and culture was complex and long, involving extensive literature searches online and complemented by various visits to Kenyan universities, consultation with Kenyan and international scholars who were willing to help and the archives of the Ministry of Education offices in Kenya. One key issue was that empirical data was hard to obtain and the government archives, which were the most extensive, were difficult to access due to bureaucratic procedures which entailed making fixed-time appointments for each visit in advance. However, after obtaining a research permit for the project, access to the data was smoother and many more officials were willing to cooperate. Familiarization tours in the regions were also easier after obtaining the research permit, though many school heads were hesitant to discuss their schools as they were worried about negative portrayals of their schools or blowbacks from the government if they somehow released confidential information that the researcher was not supposed to be privy to. Fieldwork was conducted in two phases spanning two years between August 2011 and October 2012 and incorporating two cohorts of Standard Eight (terminal class in primary school) pupils. The first phase was the pilot project lasting one month in August 2011 and the main data collection phase lasting two months from August to October 2012. However, many familiarization visits were conducted before both data collection phases. A pilot project was conducted in three schools in the target regions. However, the schools were different from the schools involved in the final data collection process and were selected in consultation with the researcher's supervisor and educationalists in Kenya who had insights and

knowledge of the context. The aim of the pilot project was to validate the feasibility of the study project and testing the theoretical and analytical framework of the project. A key output of the pilot project was the widening of the scope of the project. Originally, the project had aimed to study the impact of gender on educational participation and outcomes. However, the results of the pilot project indicated that the issues under investigation were interwoven in a complex web of social, economic and political factors that could not be extricated and studied only as gender issues. Moreover initial findings of the pilot project indicated that poverty and culture played a role in the impact of gender on children's outcomes thus studying only gender alone would be a disservice to the validity of the project. The framework of intersectionality was introduced to the project to enable closer examination of the interaction of gender, poverty and culture as determinant factors in children's education and outcomes. The pilot project was also very informative in terms of developing the analytical framework and an initial coding framework that helped in development of the final data collection instruments. Focus group interviews and individual interviews with pupils in the school were quite informative about the main themes that structured children's experiences in school. These themes were then developed further into categories of analysis. The main data collection phase began in mid-August 2012 and lasted for two months, given the complexities of visiting three different geographical regions and coordinating appointments. The schools had been contacted up to two months in advance and with the researcher having obtained a research permit and also letters of introduction for local education officials, school head teachers were willing to assist in contacting parents, teachers and pupils who in turn were also very willing to help. The process was generally smooth without delays and problems.

5.2. Sampling

5.2.1. Selection of regions

This study was particularly interested in the impact of gender, poverty and culture as factors particularly relevant to study of family, institutional and learner habitus and thus having an influence on learners' outcomes in school. This was informed by the study's framework which relies on Bourdieu's conceptualization of habitus and capital and further refinements adopted from critical realist perspectives on Bourdieu. Literature review on educational justice in Kenyan education identified gender, poverty and culture as the key challenges to achievement of social justice through education. Three regions were selected for data collection, namely Kakamega, Loitokitok and Mombasa. The three regions were selected on the basis of their socio-economic profile, namely rural agricultural, rural pastoralist and urban slum. This was informed by the fact that these three profiles represented the three major categories of regions afflicted by poverty in Kenya. These proved to be deviant cases that offered rich grounds for investigation since they had highly unusual manifestations of the phenomena of interest to the researcher. The choice was thus influenced by a hypothesis developed through literature review and review of government socio-economic data (KNBS, 1999; KNBS, 2009), which theorized that low educational achievements were expected in three particular regions of Kenya;

1. Rural agricultural regions with a dominant culture, relatively high poverty incidence and somewhat high socially-influenced gender bias.

2. Rural pastoralist regions with a dominant culture, high poverty incidence and strong socially-influenced gender bias.
3. Urban slum regions with high incidence of poverty

Kakamega is a densely populated region located in Western Kenya that is ethnically homogenous, populated by the Luhya community. Levels of absolute poverty are relatively low in the region, given the intensive subsistence and cash crop farming prevalent in the region. However, the presence of material inequalities has a substantive effect on the quality of lives within the region and communities. Moreover, gender inequalities resulting from cultural norms and practices also have an impact on the lives of individuals. Lives of individuals are also marked by a strong adherence to Luhya linguistic and cultural norms and practices. Education is firmly established in the region, with a long history of access to schooling dating back to missionary schools in the late 19th century.

Loitokitok is a sparsely populated semi-arid region located in Southern Kenya that is ethnically homogenous, mostly populated by the Masai community. The region has very high levels of absolute poverty due to the semi-arid nature of the region coupled with scarcity of water and food. The inhabitants rely on pastoralism as the main socio-economic activity. Masai cultural norms and practices are prevalent throughout the region. Material inequalities thus have a detrimental impact on the quality of lives in the community, worsened by prolonged marginalization of the region by successive political regimes. However, agriculture is rapidly growing, driven by increasing socio-economic developments and connection to the rest of the country through better transportation infrastructure. Education access is restricted in the region, but government efforts to increase access are being felt through rising enrolments and survival rates

Mombasa is Kenya's second biggest city located at the North Coast. The particular region covered in the study is an urban slum area within Mombasa City. The region is densely populated and ethnically diverse, but Swahili is spoken throughout as the main lingua franca. The slum area has very high incidence of absolute poverty, with restricted access to material resources and social services such as health, sanitation, education and leisure. Moreover, employment opportunities within the slum are mostly restricted to casual labor in the nearby Bamburi cement factory, thus implying minimum economic capital. Relatively expanded educational access, but most schools within the slum are of poor quality.

5.2.2. Selection of schools and respondents

In selecting the sample of schools, purposive sampling was employed based on available knowledge of the characteristics of the sample and their suitability to the research objectives of the study. Purposive sampling is particularly suited to qualitative research as it is mostly interested in case study analysis of social phenomenon rather than central tendency among large groups. This preference is embedded in the perception that an individual and their location in a social group are unique rather than the quantitative approach where individuals are essentially interchangeable (Frank & Wallen, 2000). The selection of schools was conducted on the basis of convenience, once the particular regions where that fitted the research profile had been identified. The researcher had already developed contacts with various schools

during the pilot research project and this enabled quick contact with school principals who were also important in the final selection of families and pupils to be respondents. The researcher approached various schools and after an initial discussion with the school principals, they were requested to fill out a questionnaire that outlined relevant factors of the school that were of importance to the study. The schools were expected to be publicly funded schools that were involved in the free primary education scheme. They were mid-tier day schools (as opposed to boarding schools) that had their catchment area in the regions being investigated. In particular, they were expected to have a varied population of pupils from different socio-economic background within the school. Three schools in the three regions were eventually identified as satisfactory, namely Emulole School in Kakamega, Loitokitok School in Loitokitok and Kongowea School in Mombasa. Once schools that fit this profile were identified, the principal was requested to fill in the school questionnaire. The schools are identified by the name of the area where they are located rather than their actual names. The principals were instrumental in putting the researcher in touch with the Class 8 class teacher, who all agreed to participate in the study as respondents for the teacher interviews.

In selecting the family and pupils to be interviewed, deviant case sampling was employed. This entails selection of cases that represent highly unusual characteristics of the phenomenon being studied. The respondents were thus selected because they represented the most clear cut instance of the phenomenon under investigation (Silverman, 2011). Given that the study was focused on capability deprivation in education, and specifically the role of poverty, culture and gender in constraining children's wellbeing in Kenyan educational spaces, pupils who performed very well in school despite coming from regions whose profiles indicated poor education outcomes were selected. These pupils were thus outliers and appeared to be exceptions to the rule emerging from the Structure-Disposition-Practice model, which theorized that children from poor families and social norms incompatible with educational cultures would obtain poor education outcomes. At the sampling stage of the research, educational success was defined as high scores in the Mock exams ¹ and consistently good performance over the year in Class 8. The study intended to identify the factors that enable them overcome the constraints embedded in their habitus and still achieve essential education outcomes. After initial contact through the school principal, the researcher followed up with initial exploratory contact with a pool of selected learners and their parents to obtain further background information, and consent, if they were found to be suitable for the research purposes. In each school, the top performing boy and girl from the Class 8 cohort were eventually selected as respondents, based on the teacher's advice and access to the pupil's evaluation records. The class teacher and principals then provided an introduction to the children's families, who were requested to participate in the study. All children selected and their families agreed to participate. The final sample consisted of 18 participants from the three regions. . This included two pupils, two parents, one teacher and a school principal from each school. All the participants were requested to select a pseudonym that would then be used to identify them in the data management, analysis and reporting processes.

¹. Mock exams are exams held by schools or school districts as a rehearsal for the main KCPE exams held at the end of the year. The exams fully replicate the format and content of the KCPE exams and are graded either at school or district level.

5.3. Sample

5.3.1. Families

Wambasi's family consisted of the father, the mother and three younger siblings, a boy and two girls. The family resides on a farm in Emulole village, which they own and have a brick house with iron-sheet roofing. The family is of Luhya ethnicity and identify with their community's culture. Wambasi's father attended primary and high school until Form 6 and then college, where he undertook a Diploma in Accounting before working for ten years in Nairobi as an accountant in a medium-sized firm. He however lost his job over ten years ago when the firm closed down and has never had another job, a situation that forced him to relocate from Nairobi back to his rural home in Kakamega. Wambasi's mother attended school up to Class Eight before dropping out as her family was unable to support her schooling financially. Both parents are engaged in subsistence farming for a livelihood and the father is occasionally called upon by businesses in the area to do some accounting work, although this occurs too seldom to be a reliable source of income. Wambasi, aged 16 years old, has been a pupil at Emulole Primary School since Class One. The school is located two kilometers from his parents' home. He has been a good pupil since Class One but had to repeat Class Eight as his grades were not good enough to gain entry into a "good" high school, according to the mother. However, the mother later explained that they had insufficient money to pay his school fees and hoped to have saved enough within a year. Wambasi's siblings attend the same school in Class Seven, Class Three and Class One.

Nafula's family consisted of Nafula and her younger five year old sister, the mother and the father. They reside in Emulole village in a mud-walled house with a grass-thatched roof which is roughly four kilometers away from Emulole Primary School which Nafula attends. The family is of Luhya ethnicity and identify closely with their culture. Both her parents are unemployed and the family derives their livelihood from subsistence farming on a small piece of land that Nafula's father inherited from his father, with both parents occasionally undertaking paid labor on other peoples farms. The father only attended primary schooling, dropping out after six years while the mother transitioned to high school but dropped out after the first year due to her pregnancy with Nafula. She was unable to go back to school afterwards as her parents refused to support her and her husband was unable to support both the family and her schooling. Nafula's mother is insistent upon her daughter attending school as she is aware of the opportunities she lost by dropping out of school and wishes to offer her daughter all the chances she missed out on.

Metito comes from a large polygamous family, with his father having three wives and eleven children in total. Metito is the first born son of the third wife, but has four other older brothers; three from the other wives and one from his mother. The family resides roughly ten kilometers away from Nkama Primary School which Metito attends and Metito has to walk the whole distance every day. The family lives in a traditional Masai settlement (enkang), which is a basic Masai social unit that comprises 6 families (all closely related) living in 16 Masai huts within a circular thorn bush stockade that serves to keep out animals that prey on cattle. Both of Metito's parents never attended school and secure a livelihood through livestock herding. Metito's father owns a large herd of roughly a hundred cows which his sons take care of. They are of Masai

ethnicity and the family is deeply steeped in the traditions and cultural practices of the Masai community. Metito attends school primarily due to his mother insistence who wanted to have at least one educated child and his father allows him to go to school because he has many other older sons who are committed to taking care of the livestock. Metito's family is nominally "rich" due to having a large herd of cattle.

Naipanoi comes from a polygamous family, her father having two wives and nine children. Naipanoi is the last born child of the first wife who has five children, among them two sons. The family resides roughly eight kilometers away from Naipanoi's school, Nkama Primary School. The family reside in a traditional Masai settlement (enkang) with two other families. Her father attended primary school intermittently for a total of five years before dropping out so as to participate in Masai cultural initiation rites while her mother never attended school. They derive their livelihood from a large herd of cattle whose number her father refused to state, but by the researcher's estimation could be about fifty head of cattle. In Naipanoi's family, the sons take care of the cattle commonly with the sons from the other two families while daughters are expected to undertake all household chores including building the huts and searching for water, a process that takes a long time due to the seasonal streams being far away. Naipanoi's mother is insistent upon her daughter obtaining an education while trying to balance this with a commitment to Masai traditional expectations such as female circumcision and marriage. The father nominally supports her schooling but insists it should not interfere with the cultural expectations of a Masai girl.

Hassan's family is a single parent family consisting of the mother and her three sons and living in Mombasa's Kongowea slum. At the time of the interview, only the mother and two sons lived in the household, the eldest son having moved out. The children all had different fathers who were not in contact with the family and offered no support. The family is of Luo ethnicity but has lived in Mombasa for a long time and identifies more with the Mijikenda culture that is prevalent at the Coast. The mother had never attended school and was currently employed as a casual laborer at the Bamburi Cement factory. This meant she had no regular source of income and was dependent upon availability of jobs at the factory, where she would go every morning and wait to see if work was available for that day. She supplemented her income with selling vegetables on the street in the evening or occasional housework from the residents of the nearby Nyali estate. Of the three children, the last born son Hassan was interviewed. The eldest brother had dropped out of school in Class Six after poor grades and was a dock worker at the Mombasa Port while the second-born son also dropped out but after repeating Class Eight due to failing the KCPE exams the year before and failing to get a place in secondary school and worked as a casual laborer at the cement factory. Hassan, aged 14 years at the time of the interview, was a pupil at Kongowea Primary School, located in the slum. He joined the school in 2009 after transferring from a low-cost private school in the slum. He had since then been consistently at the top of his class and had passed the Mock exams with an A grade. Kongowea Slums is located on the north coast of Mombasa next to Nyali, which is the richest and best section of the city to live in. The family resides in a rented traditional Swahili house, with mud walls and makuti thatched roofs. The house has one communal hallway, bathroom and toilet with residents having only one room to themselves. The family shares a small one-roomed house among the three residents. The house has an electricity connection, but it is sporadic and the residents speculate that it is from an illegal connection that the landlord installed.

Amina's family consists of the father, the mother and three children, of whom Amina is the second child with an older brother who is in a low-cost private secondary school and a younger sister who attends the same school as Amina. The family lives in a three-roomed traditional Swahili house in Kongowea slum, with mud walls, makuti thatched roof, electricity, piped water and communal sanitary facilities. The family resides quite close to Hassan's family (the next building) and the two families are acquainted, mostly on account of Amina and Hassan being the best students in Kongowea Primary School. The family is Mijikenda and originates from Kilifi but moved to Mombasa as the father got a full-time job as a lathe-operator at the Bamburi Cement factory. The father attended school up to Class 8 and then attended a technical training course at a polytechnic in Kilifi while the mother attended school until Class Seven when she dropped out due to pregnancy. With the mother unemployed and economically inactive, the whole family depends on the father's income for a livelihood, educational resources and school fees for the first-born son. Amina, aged 13 years at the time of the interview, has been in Kongowea Primary School since Class One and is one of the best pupils in her cohort, and was second best in the Mock exams.

5.3.2. Schools

Emulole School is a day school, with Classes One to Eight in two streams. The school is located in Emulole village in Kakamega which has less than 3000 inhabitants and four primary schools, all public, are located within a five kilometer radius, with pupils generally choosing to attend schools closest to them. As of August 2012, the school had a total enrolment of 710 pupils, with 343 boys and 367 girls. There were 82 pupils enrolled in the two Class 8 streams, with one Class 8 Blue having 40 pupils and Class 8 Green having 42 pupils. The school has 17 teachers in total, with 15 full time and 2 part-time teachers; all certified as qualified teachers by the Teachers Service Commission (TSC), which regulates the teaching profession in Kenya. The school infrastructure is generally of good quality, with brick buildings housing the classes, a staffroom for the teachers, a large field for children's recreation and sports. Toilet facilities are available in the form of separate pit latrines for girls, boys and teachers. The school lacks piped water though it has an electricity connection. Children are thus required to fetch water from the nearest river when required by the school. Although nominally owned by the Church of God Emulole, which founded the school, it is a public school that is funded by the government through provision of teachers from the Teachers Service Commission and funding for FPE. The government provides 91% of funding, with 4% deriving from charges paid by parents and 5% from the church. Occasionally, the school receives marked funding or certain projects through donors, benefactors and fundraising. Officially, tuition fees are abolished though pupils have to pay certain fees for development of the school and also cater for certain educational resources and items such as school uniforms. A Board of Governors oversees all governance and administrative issues, with the school headmaster and deputy headmaster having control over day-to-day running of the school. Emulole village, where the school is located, is characterized by the culture of the dominant Luhya ethnic community which inhabits the area. Majority of the residents are Luhya, with a few Kikuyu and Somalis, who are mostly involved in retail and small scale business. Most of the children within the school are thus Luhya. Christianity is the dominant religion, with a few Muslims in the area and three teachers are Muslim. While economic difference exists among the families and is evident in the family

possessions and labor patterns, there is very little classed divisions in the community, given to the close communal bounds and norms of kinship. Majority of the families in the village are subsistence farmers, with a few also engaged in growing tea as a cash crop. A few members of the community also engage in public sphere employment, with majority of the employed being teachers in the primary or secondary schools in the area. Health services are widely available with a major hospital, Mwiwila Mission Hospital, is located quite close to the school and affiliated with the church that founded the school while a government hospital is located roughly five kilometers away in Khwisero town, which is a small urban center that connects all villages in the area and serves as the district headquarters. The main road near the city is a major connection from Kakamega (the county headquarters) to Khwisero town and passes right next to the school. It is an unpaved murrum road that is regularly impassable when it rains, which is quite frequent due to the hot and wet tropical climate of the region. The teacher interviewed, Beatrice, is the Class 8 Blue class teacher, where both Nafula and Wambasi study. She is a middle-aged woman with 20 years teaching experience, having taught in five different schools across the country and eventually coming back to Emulole School, which is located in her home village and thus she is quite conversant with the socio-cultural norms and practices. She attended the Teacher Training College and has undertaken various professional development courses (in-service training) and is a senior member of the teaching staff. She has been a class teacher for the past five years and teaches English and Social Science.

Loitokitok School is a day school, with Classes One to Eight in one stream. The school is located roughly five kilometers from Loitokitok town and surrounded by various Masai villages. While relatively close to the urban center of Loitokitok town, many of the schools pupils are from rural areas. In the immediate area, there are two other primary schools, though all are widely dispersed from each other. However, many schools, both public and private are in the larger area, with most of the private schools concentrated in the urban areas. As of August 2012, the school had a total enrolment of 622 pupils, with 282 girls and 340 boys. There were 54 pupils enrolled in Class 8. The school has 13 teachers in total, all seconded by TSC. The school has insufficient buildings for the student population, but many are of stone buildings. The school lacks piped water though it has an electricity connection. It is a public school that is funded by the government through provision of teachers from the Teachers Service Commission and funding for FPE. The government provides roughly 98% of funding. The school also occasionally benefits from funding for certain projects from Non-Governmental organizations (NGOs). A Board of Governors oversees all governance and administrative issues, with the school headmaster and deputy headmaster having control over day-to-day running of the school. The school is located along the Loitokitok-Rombo Rd, which is currently being tarmacked and is a major connection to the Tanzanian border. While the area was traditionally occupied by the Masai community, the increasing urbanization of Loitokitok town, which is the district headquarters, has led to the influx of residents from various communities. However, many of the non-Masai residents are located in the urban centers and are mostly employed in retail, small businesses and in the tourism sector due to the proximity of Mt. Kilimanjaro and the Amboseli National Park. The rural areas are however mostly Masai, with a few Kikuyu and Kamba residents who are mostly engaged in farming. Majority of the Masai are pastoralist and live in the far flung areas of the regions, but are also increasingly engaging in farming. Social services such as healthcare are widely available in the urban areas but rural areas are underserved and access to healthcare is limited, particularly by the long distances to the urban areas. The climate

of the regions is mostly dry, leading to a dusty environment and scarce vegetation. However heavy rainfall is experienced October to December. The teacher interviewed, Kasaine, is the Class 8 class teacher, where both Metito and Naipanoi study. He has attended the Teacher Training College and is currently pursuing a Bachelor's degree in Education through the school holiday program, where teachers can attend university during school holidays to pursue further qualification at their own expense. Being a Masai, he is quite conversant with Masai socio-cultural norms and practices of the area, although he hails from a different region of the country. He has been a teacher for ten years but has only attended one in-service training course in 2010. He teaches Mathematics and Science.

Kongowea School is a day school, with Classes One to Eight in three streams. The school is located within the Kongowea slum on the mainland of Mombasa City north of Mombasa Island. The school was established in the post-independence era as a church school and operates as a public school, thus being eligible for the FPE programme. As of August 2012, the school had a total enrolment of 1964 pupils, with 1113 boys and 851 girls. There were 442 pupils enrolled in Class 8. The school has 26 teachers seconded by TSC and 8 teachers paid employed by the Board of Governors and funded by support from non-governmental benefactors. The school has inadequate buildings to contain all its enrolled pupils, thus the available buildings are crowded. Thanks to support from donors, the school has a piped water connection and electricity. 79% of funding is provided by the government, while non-governmental partners provide 16% and the church associated with the school provides 5% of funding. A Board of Governors oversees all governance and administrative issues, with the school headmaster and deputy headmaster having control over day-to-day running of the school. Kongowea slum is inhabited by residents from many different ethnic groups, thus no particular culture is dominant. Swahili is the dominant language spoken in the slum and more than half of the residents are Muslim, a feature of the Coastal region in Kenya where Islam is dominant. While majority of the community in the slum is poor, socioeconomic divisions are quite evident in the slum, mostly in the form of housing occupied and in the income of the families. Many of the residents are engaged in casual labor at the Bamburi cement factory; though this is not guaranteed thus many pursue employment in the tourism industry and in income-generating activities such as making and selling souvenirs to tourists. The slum has limited access to infrastructure, with unpaved roads, poor sanitation, lack of sewage and garbage collection facilities and insecurity. The teacher interviewed, Atieno, is the Class 8 class teacher, where both Amina and Hassan study. She is a new teacher at the school, having completed her training at the Teacher Training College just two years ago in 2010 and this is her first posting as a teacher. She hails from another the Western part of Kenya and is thus a stranger to the region in general and the slum in particular. However, she lives quite close to the slum and thus knows the area reasonably well. She teaches Social Science and Mathematics.

The FPE program distributes capitation grants to all public primary schools in Kenya, with KES 1020 per child per annum distributed to the schools. 36 per cent of the funding goes to the school's General Purpose Account, which caters for repairs, maintenance, wages of support staff and other expenses, while 64 per cent is allocated to the Instructional materials Account which covers purchase of instructional material. School Management Committees are tasked with management of the allocated funds and compose of the school head teacher, deputy head teacher, chairperson of the Parents-Teachers Association, two parents elected by the school's

parent body and a teacher each to represent eth schools grades. While the FPE program bans tuitions fees, parents are expected to contribute to the maintenance and refurbishment of the schools infrastructure, thus schools are allowed to charge certain levies but only if the express permission of the Ministry of Education and after consensus among parents. Responsibility for hiring, firing, remuneration and disciplinary action of teachers lies with the TSC, in conjunction with some input from the school board although the Board of Governors could hire extra teachers if the need is perceived and financial means are available. While schools receive majority of their funding from the government, any extra funding from other sources is to be allocated according to the schools priorities as determined by the Board of Governors. The Kenya Certificate of Primary Education (KCPE) is the national assessment scheme administered by the Kenya National Examination Council (KNEC) while schools or associations of schools in the district were responsible for mock exams and schools themselves were in charge of development and administration of continuous assessment tests and end-of-term exams. Rules and regulations governing pupil participation and behavior are determined by the school in line with broad Ministry of Education guidelines. The primary school curriculum in public school is set by the Kenya Institute of Education (KIE), which also decided course books to be used and offers a predefined range of options for textbooks considered suitable for teaching and learning. The language of instruction in all Kenyan public schools is English, although a majority of pupils speak their ethnic language (Luhya in Kakamega and Masai in Loitokitok) as their first language at home and in school. In Mombasa, Swahili was the predominant language although most families in the slum were from various ethnic groups and was also predominantly spoken in the school. Subjects taught are English, Kiswahili, Mathematics, Science and Social Studies (History, Civics, Geography and Religion) and these are tested in the KCPE exams at the end of Class 8, with each subject carrying a maximum of 100 marks for a total score of 500 marks. Other subjects are taught, varying from school to school but are not tested in the exams, such as Music, Arts and Crafts and Agriculture. The schools teaching structures are all organized according to government guidelines with children arriving in school between 6 and 7 pm and Classes beginning at 8.40 am, mostly after parades where the school administration provided pertinent information. There are two breaks, a 30 minute break at 10 am and a longer two hour break at 12 noon for lunch. The lessons generally end at 4 pm, after which children have a Games time for an hour before either going home or returning to Class for preps, which are compulsory for pupils from Class Six to Class Eight. Textbooks provide the framework for instruction and learning, and are provided by the school, though in all the three schools, most textbooks were insufficient and in poor condition after years of re-use by successive classes. Extra-curricular activities are not scheduled in the timetable in all schools, and were quite rare due to the demands of the curriculum, as many teachers were of the opinion that it wa shard enough to cover the curriculum in the allocated time, necessitating holiday tuition during the April and August school holidays.

5.4. Data Collection

5.4.1. School questionnaire

The school principals of the three schools involved in this study were engaged in a long discussion about the institutional practices, norms and organizational arrangements.

They were then asked to complete a questionnaire to help identify the institutional structures and processes that structured teaching and learning processes in the school. The principals were informed of the aims and objectives of the study and were requested to sign a consent form. The information from the questionnaire was employed to map the institutional habitus and thus establish a context for comparison of its effects on pupils' educational outcomes. In particular, the questionnaire was intended to interrogate the implementation of FPE in the schools and how this affected the institutional habitus. Given the complexities of designing a new questionnaire vis-à-vis the relative limited significance of the data to be obtained, the researcher adopted a previous questionnaire from another study, namely the Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA) 2009 School Questionnaire. The selection of a questionnaire was informed by the researcher's previous knowledge of the PISA study. Moreover, the PISA questionnaire was structured so as to elicit information relevant to this study and thus required no modification so as to be employed in collecting school background information relevant to this study namely regarding the structure and organization of the school, the student and teacher body, the school's resources, the school's instruction, curriculum and assessment, the school climate and the school policies and practices. Before using the questionnaire, the researcher consulted the OECD's PISA Products Licence to determine the legal and ethical implications of adopting the questionnaire insofar as copyright issues were concerned. The PISA Products Licence allows integration of PISA Products, or parts thereof, without modification, in other research as long as it is for non-commercial purposes and with attribution of original copyright belonging to the OECD. This thus sufficiently justified adoption of the PISA 2009 School Questionnaire for this dissertation.

5.4.2. Interviews

The strategy employed for conducting the interviews entailed recording of "structured conversations" rather than the stimulus-response image connoted in popular understanding of the term "interview" (Davies, 1997, p.134). An important question in selecting interviews as a data collection strategy arose as to whether the interview responses were in essence access to direct experiences or actively constructed narratives was considered (Riessmann, 2008). Interviews are usually used to elicit responses to specific responses to a certain phenomenon, but there arises the question of the multiple meanings associated with a particular phenomenon, meanings that vary according to circumstance. The researcher settled on presenting the interview data as descriptive of a clear social problem (Silverman, 2011). Three semi-structured interview protocols were developed to collect data from the teachers, parents and pupils. Broad domains consistent with the pre-identified themes were developed and questions were grouped in these domains that reflected family habitus (parent and children interviews), institutional habitus (teacher and children interviews) and learner habitus (children interviews). A review of literature had identified no suitable instruments having been developed for the same or a similar purpose, thus this necessitated development of new interview instruments. The Structure-Disposition-Practice model informed the operationalization habitus that helped in the development of the interview protocols. The questions were worded in clear, concrete every-day language to avoid leading questions so as to enable the researcher to hear about "implicit theories" from the interviewees (Carspecken, 1996, p. 156). The use of a semi-structured protocol enabled flexibility while keeping the interview founded on the main themes of interest. Each section of the interview protocols had a lead-off question that introduced the theme and several follow-up questions for eliciting

additional information in case the interviewee did not provide it on their own. For each thematic area, a series of questions and potential follow-up questions were developed.

Interviews with the class teachers were conducted first because the class teachers were the main point of contact between the researcher and the families and it was thus more convenient to do the interviews with them during the process of organizing a meeting with the family's. They were carried out in private, in two instances at the teachers' homes and in one instance at the teachers business premise. This was to enable the teacher be informal and be able to discuss the school and processes frankly without having to worry about school administration and being in a professional setting that might limit the discussions. Interviews with parents were carried out at home in Swahili, in contrast to the interviews with teachers which were carried out in English. This was also expected to make the process more informal and thus enable the respondents to be carried out in a relaxed free flowing atmosphere. Interviews were carried out in private, with the mother first and then the child. Out of six families, four interviews were carried out with only the mother present whereas in two interviews both the father and mother were present. In one of these, the father and mother both participated whereas in one only the mother responded, with the father preferring not to speak, but only adding a few comments. For the interviews with learners, the interview protocol was developed with maximum flexibility to allow the learners to express themselves freely. Narrative interviews were originally envisaged as the main data collection tool for interviews with the learners. This was seen as the best tool for conducting exhaustive in-depth interviews. However, during the pilot project, it was identified that the tool was not suitable for interviews with young children due to the fact that they were unable to express themselves extensively especially in English. Thus the design was changed to a semi-structured protocol in Swahili that enabled the researcher to direct the learners' responses to a specific theme while allowing them to express themselves sufficiently. In the interviews, the researcher reviewed the consent forms with the respondents and discussed the conditions of participating in the study. Moreover, the actual process of interviews and aims of the study were discussed. The researcher also took handwritten notes of interesting comments or observations. These notes were subsequently typed up and guided the process of data analysis by providing valuable background information. After the interview, participants were requested to express themselves freely, off the record if they so requested. Many chose to further discuss. Then the participants were thanked for their participation and given a small gift as a token of appreciation. All the interviews lasted roughly an average of 40 minutes, with the pupils' interviews being the longest.

5.4.3. Policy documents

The process of policy analysis entailed critical analysis of the goals and targets outlined in the policies and engaging with the text in a process of interpretation and creation of meaning. This process enabled a mapping of the chronological and paradigmatic changes in educational reform over time. Policy documents from international development commitments were reviewed in the initial literature search, particularly the Millennium Declaration of 2000 and its resulting **Millennium Development Goals** (focusing on MDG 2 on universal primary education and MDG 3 on gender equality in education), the World Declaration on Education for All and its resulting **Framework for Action to Meet the Basic Learning Needs** and the Dakar Framework for Action and its resulting six **Education for All goals** (focusing on Goal 2

to Provide free and compulsory primary education for all, Goal 3 to promote learning and life skills for young people and adults, Goal 5 to achieve gender parity by 2005, gender equality by 2015 and Goal 6 to Improve the quality of education). These policies were selected on the basis of them forming the principal framework for international education and development programmes and thus the underlying fundament of Kenyan educational reform, particularly the implementation of the Free Primary Education programme.

Three key policy documents that underpin the pursuit of free primary education in Kenya were analyzed as the main policy documents in this paper. The three were selected as they explicitly outlined the Kenyan government's engagement with international commitments and the implementation processes of these commitments, namely the Free Primary Education programme. These policy documents were available in the public domain thus did not present a challenge in as far as access to them was concerned. However, various other documents were consulted that required approved access form government authorities such as the Ministry of Education and the Kenya National Bureau of Statistics. These documents mainly consisted of progress reports and government notes on the policy making and implementation process. The analysis of the policy documents entailed application of the projects research questions in pursuit of answers and possibilities as to how educational justice in Kenya can be achieved through implementation of the free primary education. Furthermore, a critical analysis of the policies from a Capability Approach perspective was undertaken to elaborate possibilities on achievement of educational justice in the design and implementation of education policy in Kenya. The analysis focused on the political processes and involved stakeholders in Kenya's education sector and how political processes affect the achievement of educational justice and the good life for children in Kenyan educational spaces. The analysis focused extensively on the antecedents of the policy papers, especially the influences and theoretical perspectives that underlie their development and the roles various stakeholders played in this process. The role of global agreements such as MDGS and EFA and multilateral organizations such as the World Bank was closely examined. The analysis, particularly in the case of KESSP, also interrogated the implementation of the policy, with a keen focus on the policy-implementation gap to attempt to explain the discrepancies between the rosy language of the policies and the discrepancies on the ground and in educational practice. And last, the analysis attempted to apply a Capability Approach perspective to address the shortcomings of the policy.

The Sessional Paper No. 1 of 2005 was developed from the presentations and proceedings of the National Conference on Education held in November 2003 and was developed as a framework to guide the development of the entire Kenyan education sector. The papers broad overview adopted various recommendations form policy reports that had been issued in Kenya over the years but never implemented such as the Ominde Report of 1964 and the Kamunge Report of 1988. The paper emphasizes the role of historical and emerging inequalities in structuring access, participation and outcomes of learners in Kenya's education systems and integrates this approach with a commitment to achieving the Education for All compact and the Millennium Development Goals. The policy paper for the first time focused on the role of education in human development, moving away from previous instrumentalist approaches that has pervaded most education policy. In addition, it recognizes the

role of political processes in the many failures that have bedeviled the Kenyan education system.

The Kenya Education Sector Support Program is a policy document that outlines 23 investment programs undertaken by the Kenyan government and various foreign donors, chiefly the World Bank, that aimed to provide basic education and improve the quality of education for all children by 2010 in relation to the Kenyan government's commitments to provide universal access and improve education quality. KESSP was particularly focused on issues of social justice as the programme concentrated on widening access to sections of society that had been left out of education, particularly marginalized areas, girls and children from the poorest families. The investment programs were grouped in four categories namely ensuring equity of access to basic education, enhancing quality and learning achievement, providing opportunities for further education and training (TIVET) and strengthening education sector management. This project focuses on the first two categories, though analysis is also undertaken of the other two categories as they tie in to the concept of an inclusive education sector that caters for the needs of educational justice.

The Basic Education Act No. 14 of 2013 is the culmination of years of educational and legal reform in the Kenyan education system. The document was produced to comply with the requirements of the Constitution of Kenya (2010) which enshrined children's right to free and universal basic education and decentralization of education planning. The document was designed to incorporate all aspects of the MDGs and EFA in a legal capacity in Kenyan legislation. The document builds upon the values outlined in sessional paper 1 and the lessons learnt from the KESSP (2005-2010). As such it is the ultimate reform policy of basic education in pursuit of educational justice in Kenya.

5.4. Data Analysis

5.4.1. Data management

After the data collection process, the resulting raw data was collated into one package, with each data file receiving a code that reflected the particular respondent who had provided the information. Each respondent received a pseudonym that was used in the transcription and reporting. Only the schools and regions were identified by name, after receiving explicit permission by the school principals to identify the school by name. The peer debriefer consulted in calculating inter-rater reliability accessed only transcripts with pseudonyms. The data was then processed to enable analysis. The information from the school questionnaires was compressed into notes that described the structure and organization of the school, the student and teacher body, the school's resources, the school's instruction, curriculum and assessment, the school climate and the school policies and practices. The interviews recordings were transcribed verbatim using the F4 transcription software and each resulting transcript was assigned a code that reflected the particular respondent. The transcription phase was particularly useful for the preliminary analysis of the data and inductive development of codes. The transcripts were then uploaded to Atlas.ti, qualitative data analysis software that was intended to assist in the management and coding of the data. Atlas.ti is preferred for qualitative analysis since it can intelligently and easily facilitate analysis of large quantities of data while leaving ultimate control in the

researchers hands (Muhr & Friese, 2004). The researcher was very familiar with the software, having used it many times previously and having also attended a training seminar regarding use of the software.

5.4.2. Code book

A codebook is a tool that enables sorting, organization and categorization of qualitative data into meaningful hermeneutic units that correspond to the analytical framework of a research project. The codes contained in the book are names and symbols representing a grouping of concrete data items, ideas or phenomenon that are well differentiated and have clear boundaries (LeCompte & Schensul, 1999). After the interview transcripts were uploaded and categorized in Atlas.ti, the development of the code book took place. Atlas.ti was particularly useful in preliminary coding as it enabled easy and fast identification and categorization of large volumes of qualitative data. Although some codes were developed inductively, most coding adopted deductive coding strategies were employed to identify, describe and explain patterns of relationships that formed legitimate paths to the theoretical concepts outlined by the theoretical and analytical frameworks. This was informed by the fact that the analytical framework provided by the Structure-Disposition-Practice model was well-defined and already provided majority of the categories of analysis (Miles & Huberman, 1998). Inductive coding was driven by the data itself through identification of patterns of meaning and relationships whereas deductive coding was driven by the main categories of the Structure-Disposition-Practice model. The theoretical framework was examined for potential codes, focusing on the nature and constitutive aspects of family, institutional and learner habitus and academic practice. This helped in the identification of broad themes to be analyzed. Inductive coding was particularly useful in developing sub-themes that merited independent investigation and further helped in refinement of the codebook. After the codebook was developed, two transcripts were selected randomly and coded by both the researcher and a peer debriefer independently. The peer debriefer was a fellow PhD student at the university, also well versed in qualitative research and the theoretical approaches of the researcher's project. Peer debriefing is vital in ensuring the validity and reliability of the code book developed. Afterwards, the debriefer met with the researcher to compare the results, discussing similarities and differences and agreeing on codes to retain and which to refine or discard. This enabled development of a single code book upon which both coders were in agreement. After agreement on a final codebook, the inter-rater reliability was calculated. The peer debriefer and the researcher independently coded a randomly selected transcript and inter-rater reliability was calculated at 84%, which was considered sufficient. The codebook was then used to code the whole data set by selection and labeling of sections of text that best reflected the idea and themes of the code. This was done in Atlas.ti.

5.4.3. Qualitative content analysis

Qualitative content analysis is a framework that pursues empirical, methodological-controlled analysis of texts within their contexts of communication and provides an alternative to the traditional quantitative content analysis procedure. It pursues an interpretive and naturalistic paradigm in identification of important themes and categories within a body of content. Through this, it enables rich description of social

reality as lived and experienced within a particular social setting and thus contributing to validation of existing theory. Content analysis pursue the analysis of both manifest and latent content of data (transcripts of interviews, discourses, protocols, video tapes etc.) to make specific inferences. Manifest or primary content includes the main ideas and themes of the text while latent content is the contextual information (Krippendorff, 1969; Mayring 2000). The data was analyzed step-by step following rules aimed at transforming the raw data into smallest possible units of analysis. The research questions were transformed into categories of analysis using the analytical framework and then revised in the process of analysis forming a feedback loop.

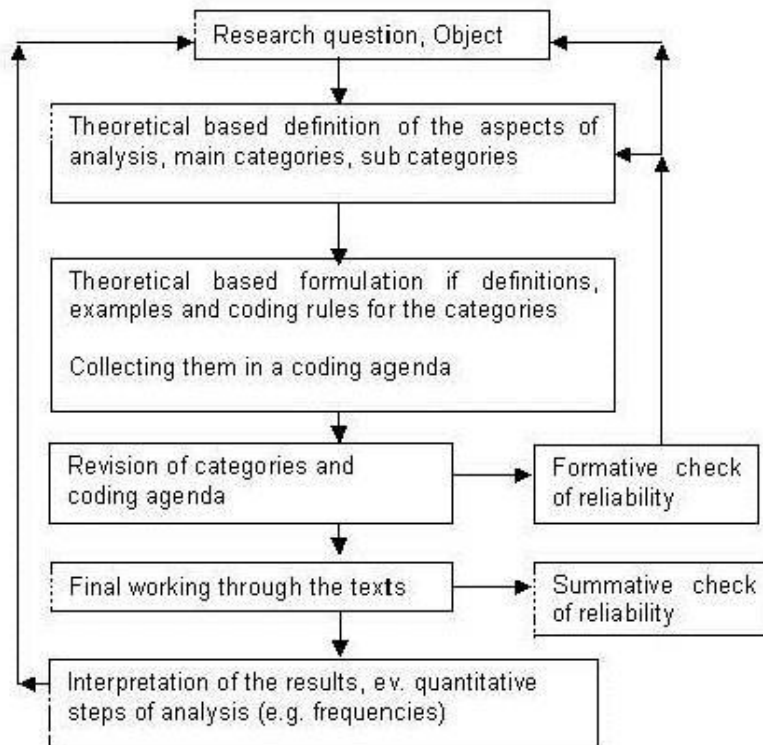


Fig 4: Process of deductive qualitative content analysis (Mayring, 2000, p. 5)

Criteria of reliability and validity were adhered to ensure that the process of analysis and resulting conclusions were intersubjectively comprehensible. This was ensured through triangulation of data sources and calculation of inter-rater reliability. Deductive coding strategies are informed by categories of analysis that were formulated prior to the analysis process and informed by theory. Each category of analysis was assigned explicit definitions, examples and coding rules to enable identification of relevant data. Analysis of qualitative data involves various activities, running the gamut from familiarizing oneself with the data, sorting out data according to relevance, categorizing data according to pre-defined or developing plans to synthesizing information (Chism, 1999). A hermeneutic reconstructive method was employed to analyze the data, enabling the researcher identify implicit meanings contained in the narratives of the respondents and make them explicit (Carspecken, 2003). Data analysis was iterative during the whole research process, with data being simultaneously collected ordered and analyzed for correlations and bits of interest. Huberman & Miles (1998) warn against potential biases and assumptions that arise in

data analysis, thus advice on explicit details about researchers' preferences. During the data collection process, field notes were thus maintained to monitor any impressions or biases to the data that might arise. These field notes were later summarized and constantly reviewed during the process of analysis to guard against assumptions or bias. Transcripts were initially interrogated to identify themes that spanned multiple interviews, thus enabling the researcher to immerse himself in the respondents' worlds and then identify and reconstruct the structures they employ to interpret their worlds. The researcher then re-read the study questions and analytical framework while reading the transcripts to familiarize him with the content. The codebook was instrumental in identifying which themes were to be pursued in the coding and analysis.

Textual segments that best corresponded to the themes were identified in Atlas.ti and corroborated with textual segments in other transcripts. This thematic analysis across several transcripts enabled the researcher to identify emergent patterns from the data that supported or rejected the theoretical hypothesis developed previously. Patterns were identified from multiple sources such as respondents' assertions that the pattern does exist, frequency of respondents assertions of the same pattern, similarity in respondents' descriptions and congruence of data with prior hypotheses. Analysis was repeated iteratively until clear patterns emerged with strong conclusive evidence in the data. Given the tension inherent in cross-case analysis, the researcher pursued reconciliation of the universal with the particular, attempting to blend each individual respondent's uniqueness with the generic processes and structures that were emergent. The coding agenda was particularly relevant to the organization and retrieval of data for thematic analysis. Data was then reviewed for content and coded for agreement with or exemplification of the categories. The process of analysis thus occurred in seven steps;

1. Preparation of data through data management procedures i.e. organization and transcription. Since the interviews were all conducted in Swahili (apart from the teacher interviews) the interviews were transcribed in full and then translated to English.
2. The units of analysis were determined. Thematic analysis was carried out, with the themes correlating to main themes identified through the analytical framework. The themes represented issues of relevance to the research. The units of analysis had already been deduced from theory (see codebook)
3. Categories were generated deductively from the model theory and helped in the development of a coding agenda
4. The coding scheme was then tested on a sample text and inter-rater reliability was tested for
5. After a final codebook was developed, the whole data set was coded
6. Afterwards, the consistency of the coding was rechecked.
7. The analysis then proceeded to develop conclusions from the coded data

Category	Definition	Example	Coding Rule
Language spoken at home	Which language is predominantly spoken among family members	“My mother and I talk in Luhya because it’s what we have always done. I try to speak English sometimes but she doesn’t understand very well and my friends say it is stupid to speak “school language” at home”	Explicit

Fig 5: Sample of the coding agenda (derived from Mayring, 2000, p. 5)

5.5. Methodological Reflections

The researcher followed the Ethical Guidelines for Educational Research of the British Educational Research Association (BERA, 2011). The choice of the BERA guidelines was necessitated by the lack of a unified code of guidelines available at Bielefeld University other than general research guidelines which were however adhered to. The BERA guidelines require due diligence with specific regards to ensuring respect for the individual respondents, academic freedom and the quality of educational research. The researcher ensured that all the respondents offered their voluntary and informed consent by explicitly presenting the project and its objectives to all participants and requesting their informed consent while protecting their confidentiality if requested or necessary. They were also offered an option to withdraw from the study at any point. The research also complied with Articles 3 of the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child which require that in research with children, the best interests of the children should be the primary consideration. Article 12 further requires children should be granted the right to freely express themselves in all issues of concern to them with regards to the age and maturity. In particular, given that the research involved children, various ethical and research guidelines on research with children were consulted and adhered to (Green & Hogan, 2005; Grieg, Taylor & Mackay, 2007; Alderson & Morrow, 2011). The researcher strove to ensure that children’s interviews were conducted in such a manner that enabled the children to articulate their own views without undue influence from either the researcher or adults involved in the process such as parents and teachers. The interviews were held at home in the absence of parents to enable the children avoid the all-pervading power of parents and teachers who wielded a lot of influence particularly in the rural communities. The researcher was interested in enabling and observing children’s participation and their expression of the own views as this was in essence reflective of the requirements of the Capability Approach in ensuring agency of children is respected in social institutions and also in assessing the children’s own ability to contribute to positive social change in their families and communities by exercising their agency. This participatory research approach recognized the children as active participants in the research process and social actors who have a right to be involved in research on issues of concern to them as this improves the validity of the research. The research further ensured that the quality of the work was not brought into disrepute by any actions that brought the quality of educational research and academic freedom into disrepute. Thus the study

strove to avoid any falsification or modification of data to suit the research objectives or any actions that might clash with the principles of academic freedom, in particular with regards to portrayal of data in a light favorable or unfavorable to certain parties based on personal bias or incentives offered by the party.

The study was inspired by practical and personal concerns about the state of the education system in Kenya and a desire to contribute to the development of not only education systems but also Kenyan society. As a Kenyan, I had a particularly privileged position in my research, being an “insider” with access to various social and political resources that greatly enhanced my ability to conduct the research through extensive consultations with practitioners and academics in Kenya, access to Kenyan literature and official documentation and easier access to individuals in the education system. In particular, being able to speak Swahili greatly enhanced access and was of great help in conducting the interviews. However, this position was intertwined with my position as a doctoral student in a foreign university and this was a cause of access problems. As some government officials were wary of providing me with information, even in informal contexts as soon as they knew I was affiliated to a foreign university, citing confidentiality requirements of their job and some even making exaggerated (in the researcher perception) allegations of students being spies of foreign government. However, after receiving an official research permit from the government, this problem was sufficiently overcome that it posed no great problem.

The language to be used in conducting the interviews posed a challenge, as the original research design called for the interviews to be conducted in English. However, after the pilot project, it was evident that English would prove to be difficult as a means of communication given the lack of fluency in the language exhibited by both the parents and the children. Although the teachers were very comfortable with expressing themselves in English, and had indeed mastered the language, many of the parents interviewed preferred to express themselves in Swahili and the researcher acquiesced to this request, as it would serve to enable the respondents express themselves exhaustively and provide adequate descriptions of their social reality (Silverman, 2011). One of the major methodological challenges was operationalizing what were essentially “Western” concepts of habitus and capital in an African context. Bourdieu’s extensive writings on capital and habitus focused solely on the French context and many researchers have indeed found it difficult to transport to other European countries such as Germany. This challenge was however overcome through careful operationalization of the concepts using insights garnered from review of literature on critical realist perspectives on Bourdieu’s theory.

To ensure the credibility of the research, various strategies were employed to minimize the impact of biases and assumptions while also checking on the veracity of the respondents’ assertions, as qualitative research is subject to the dependency on the honest and accuracy of respondent’s narratives. Credibility encompasses the accurate representation of data in the reconstruction of a social phenomenon. This was achieved through triangulation, peer debriefing and transparency in the data collection and analysis process (Carspecken, 1996). The main issue for the researcher was to be able to present an accurate and unvarnished account while not attributing more than was contained in respondents narratives thus altering the reality contained in the data. The BERA guidelines on credibility were followed, in particular ensuring that the data collection procedures, which themselves were dependent upon the self-reporting of the respondents were above reproach. This necessitated triangulation of data sources and

informed the study's selection of parents, teachers, principals and pupils as information sources. Data collected from each source was compared against data from other sources to establish its credibility and any discrepancies were interrogated in the context of the analysis. The researcher furthermore attempted to minimize any bias or inaccuracies in analysis by being aware of the researchers own position and interrogating his own assumptions and previous knowledge of the issue. This enabled the researcher to present the respondents own narratives without inserting any alterations, false recollections or personal bias. The notes taken during the interviews were particularly helpful in negotiating this problem as they alerted the researcher to any issues that arose during the interviews that might influence his reporting. Moreover, leading interview questions were avoided during the development of the interview protocols to ensure that the data collected reflected the respondents own views and reflections rather than narratives influenced by the researchers own perspectives and expectations. This was supported by use of clear, concrete, everyday language to avoid abstract terms and concepts that could be misinterpreted by the researcher or the respondents. Peer debriefing was employed to assure the validity of the research findings and conclusions. The peer debriefer was an experienced researcher familiar with the study and its theoretical antecedents and helped the researcher to develop and refine coding strategies that were inter-subjective and consistent with the aims of the research study. The peer debriefer was also highly supportive in enabling the researcher to identify issues of importance that the researcher should consider in analysis.

6. LEARNER HABITUS

Schooling is a central part of the lives of many children, one that to a large degree determines their present and future wellbeing in form of educational outcomes. With the family, the school is one of the most important institutions of socialization in which most children's formative years are shaped, in part by the curriculum but also by macro- and micro-level processes of interaction with other pupils, teachers and the wider community. Through various mechanisms of the schooling system, individuals learn how to find their place in society, how to avoid deviant social behavior and how to achieve socio-economic credentials that enable upward social mobility. Schooling is a fundamentally optimistic social institution that pursues progress in society through betterment of individuals through distribution of valuable social and economic attributes. Moreover, education is meant to enable individual overcome handicaps that hold them back in pursuit of desirable lives (Brighouse & Unterhalter, 2010). Thus, the purpose of education can be described as enabling individuals to develop their full potential as human beings and fully functional members of society. Schooling is deemed to have a positive impact on children's wellbeing. Many children thus participate in school with awareness that participation in academic and non-academic pursuits at school is important, forming positive attitudes towards their schooling. However some children do not share the same sense of participation and belonging, leading to disaffection from school. Disaffection can cause drop-outs, disruptive behavior and negative attitudes to school and teachers (Jenkins, 1995). In this context, engagement refers to the dispositions children display towards learning, working positively with other learners and teachers and functioning in a social institution. This disposition is expressed by the extent to which children identify with their schooling in form of participation in school activities and valuation of schooling norms and outcomes. Various factors have been attributed as being responsible for variation in levels of student engagement including discipline regimes (Finn & Voekl, 1993), composition of the learners population (Johnson et al., 2001), contextual effects within a classroom (Willms, 2001) and socio-economic status of the school (Rumberger, 1995).

Engagement comprises a psychological component that entails a child's sense of belonging at school, and a behavioral component that pertains to participation in school activities (Voekl, 1995; Finn & Rock, 1997). The psychological component is related to a pupil's sense of belonging to the school which is influenced by acceptance and valuation by peers, teachers and other actors in the school and also the children's own valuation of the importance of educational outcomes in their lives, that is whether success in school can help them achieve a life they value, Children who do not develop a sense of belonging suffer from alienation and disaffection in school (Reid, 1986). The participation component on the other hand entails school attendance, attending lessons, completing homework, active participation in the teaching and learning process, involvement in student representation and participation in extra-curricular activities such as sports and clubs. This component is largely influenced by the psychological component, as disaffected children withdraw from school activities and do not pursue academic success whereas children who have a sense of belonging actively pursue involvement in activities and academic success as an instrumental path to their future goals. Engagement is thus largely tied in to children wellbeing in school with regards to children's agential interaction with schooling systems in pursuit of lives

they value. This is reflected in schoolings role in enabling children to develop self-acceptance, positive relations with other individuals, autonomy, mastery, purpose in life and personal growth. Participation in schooling is however a prerequisite for actuation of these and disaffected children are thus deprived of a chance to develop these capabilities. Given that engagement is a set of attitudes and behaviors that can be changed, it is thus incumbent upon schools to pursue organization policy and practice that enables children develop greater sense of belonging and open up more avenues for children's participation in school (Ryff, 1989; Unterhalter, 2007).

6.1. Children's Aspirations and Realities

Children's aspirations and practices in Kenya are shaped by the socio-economic and political structures of Kenyan society. Traditional socialization and livelihood activities are an inescapable reality of daily life as children are required to participate in the daily socio-economic activities that form the fabric of livelihoods in this community. Unquestioned obedience and adherence to the routines of life in the community is expected and indeed participation in family and community activities takes precedence over all else as this is an integral part of growing up and attaining citizenship in the community. This is particularly important in Kakamega and Loitokitok, whereas the exigencies of livelihoods require that the children in the slum areas participate in economic activities to support the family.

I have to do all that... because it is part of my life. It's what I have done since I was born. Cows are life and if you want life you have to take care of the cows, find grass for them, go out to pasture. To be a good Masai boy, that is what you have to learn (Metito).

Moreover, this participation is part and parcel of obtaining a livelihood, as families in disadvantaged socio-economic locations rely upon the participation of all family members in obtaining food, shelter and survival. Such realities thus affect children's aspirations to participate in formal schooling. This is more so given that formal schooling is time-intensive and requires full-time participation five days a week while traditional socialization and livelihood practices are also quite time-intensive, particularly initiation rites among the Masai which can last up to a month.

I wake up, fetch water and make food before going to school... These things are always there for girls to do.... Going to the farm is difficult, but if I don't go then we will not manage to have a good harvest. Then I will be hungry and can't go to school (Nafula)

"During dry times, we have to go far away to find water and grass. Then I can't go to school for up to a month or more. Last year was so dry; we walked four kilometers every morning just to get water. After that, I am too tired to go to school (Metito)

Despite this compliance to traditional means of livelihood, there is also a strong narrative among the children of formal education as key to success in modernity. This narrative is prevalent among the children, who see formal schooling as a chance to break free of poverty, a ticket out of the village or slums to high school and college later, with dreams of taking up paid employment in the city abounding. All the children indicated a strong desire to participate in the education system as a pathway to a

better future outside the community through access to university and paid employment. This was based on the pragmatic appraisal that traditional livelihood systems were no longer viable in a changing society where education plays a key role in accessing social and economic capital. This indicates children's reason perception that education is a key ingredient for a good life as it widens their economic and social opportunities.

I want to go on to university and get a good job...If I stay here, we do not have enough land and I don't want to remain in the village doing nothing or the rest of my life. Being a farmer is just not good enough to have a good life (Wambasi)

One of the key attributes of the Kenyan education system was the academic pipeline, where educational success was largely focused on transitions through all levels to college and then paid employment. Educational success was largely viewed as achievement of instrumental education outcomes. In basic education, families and pupils were concerned that KCPE certificates in themselves did not count as success. Thus, the major focus was on transitions to good high schools that would ensure children study well and proceed to university or college, which was seen as the entry ticket to paid employment. In essence, a good score in KCPE that ensured transition to a national or provincial high school was thus the real educational aspiration of pupils.

Nobody wants to just have a KCPE certificate. WE all know that is useless. I want to go to Kenya High or Starehe Girls. Then from there college. Without this, education is not so important... because you learn a lot but cannot use it later if you don't go to college (Nafula)

The reality that obtaining a good job was only based on access to further education was the foremost consideration for aspirations to further education and their high expectations of educational attainment. In particular, attaining further qualifications was considered the only important goal in education as attending only primary or high school certificates were not considered worthwhile. The pupils argued that going to school introduced one to a modernity which without further qualifications would be out of reach. Yet having achieved this knowledge, the future adult would be left to live in the village or slum with all their knowledge but no real opportunities to acquire access to the coveted labor market and its attendant privileges of life in the modern Kenya.

I sometimes think maybe going to school and then not finishing them all (the educational levels to college) is a bad thing... Because you learn about all the nice things you can get. Then if you drop out, you have to live in the village knowing all those things are there but you can't afford them. I think it is worse than for the children who chose to stay in the village and live the normal Masai life (Metito)

In pursuit of this goal, pupils had many factors that motivated them. Teachers, family and relatives were all in a way motivating actors. However, for most pupils, it was evident that the families played the key role in their educational pursuit. Having realized the importance of schooling, particularly the instrumental benefits of further education, family ambitions to have their children pursue schooling to the highest possible levels served as the foundation of the children's aspirations for further schooling. This was predicated on the parents' valuation of education and formal schooling as a gateway to a better life for the children, as opposed to the current socio-economic status of the families.

My family is the most important motivation. My mother encourages me to study as far as I can. She makes a lot of effort to keep me in school and I appreciate that, so I will never let her down. I will do my best to go to university (Hassan)

I have to pass all the exams and go to high school. If I want to help my parents, that is the only option... We don't have much land anymore, so I can't stay at home and be a farmer. And my parents are on the land and we are still poor. So school is the only option (Wambasi)

The pupils' opinions about their own performance at school were a major motivating factor in aspirations to further schooling. The pupils involved in this study all had outstanding success at school and this in turn motivated them to aspire to further schooling.

If I can pass my exams with all my problems, maybe I can also succeed in high school and university. I just need the chance, because I have proven I can do it (Naipano)

The pupils were aware that given their families socio-economic constraints, financing or further schooling would only be forthcoming if they achieved academic success. In this sense, pragmatic aspirations of the pupils were based on the hope that if they passed the KCPE exams very well, their parents would sacrifice more to send them to high school as they would have proven they have the ability to proceed further and obtain well-paying employment in the near future and thus repay their parents efforts

The only way I can show my mother that I am serious about school is to pass. If I don't then I will have wasted all her money. And she will need a good reason to spend even more money in high school (Hassan)

Moreover, another option for further schooling was obtaining a bursary or scholarship, or access to schools which provided such. Thus any expectation of further schooling was predicated on results good enough to obtain such funding as prestigious schools such as Starehe Boys and Alliance and some organizations such as Equity Bank offered scholarships to needy students who had obtained high grades in primary school. Obtaining backing in the form of a scholarship or bursary was one of the main forms of motivation to the children, if they were to realistically achieve their goals of higher education

To get into a good school, like a national school, my only chance is to get a scholarship. A friend of mine got an Equity Bank scholarship and now he is at Starehe. That is my goal also. That is the only way I can make it to Starehe (Hassan)

Children's educational aspirations were also linked to their desire to participate effectively in the community, thus linking educational aspirations to intrinsic and positional motivations. The major goal of most of the children was to be able to contribute towards development in their communities through participation in politics and civil society. This participation was also based on the expectation that they would have sufficient financial means to not only lift their parents out of poverty, but also relatives. This reflected the strong connections children still held for their communal values and norms, even in the face of the adoption of modernity in and through schooling

I want to make a difference. Not just my family, but also all the girls here. There are just no chances for them so they just stay in the village, get married early. Maybe I can become an MP or something... (Naipano)

Thus it is clear that access to education engenders very high aspirations among the children. This clearly reflects the success of the government and development orthodoxy in portraying education as an essential pathway to achieving real success in life, typified as paid employment in an urban area. However, despite these high aspirations, which are also shared by the families, the children are still not able to focus solely on schooling, as is foreseen in development agendas, since despite free primary education, there were still other direct and indirect costs that parents have to pay for including books, school uniforms and the opportunity costs of attending school vis-a-vis participating in earning a livelihood.

Sometimes I don't go to school because I have to help my mother go to the market and buy vegetables. If she gets a job at the factory, I have to take over and bring the supplies to sell in the evening. I don't like missing school but I have no other choice. My mother's business is necessary, if she has to buy me books and kerosene to read at night (Hassan).

In instances where child labor is vital to family, many families cannot afford to lose children's economic contributions in favor of formal schooling especially given that contextually, it is clear very few students will make it to higher levels of education and thus paid employment. Thus in reality, children's aspirations tend to be pragmatic about the possibilities of success in the education system, hence the choice to also participate in the community's economic activities are seen as being the quickest and contextually relevant way to earn a living. As the children grow older and the structural pressure to contribute to their family's livelihood as a full member rather than as a dependent child grows, children begin to adapt their aspirations to the reality. Thus the dreams of being achieving paid employment are adjusted to the possibility of lack of success. This is particularly linked to their performance but also to the demands of family and perceivable opportunity costs of staying in school vis-à-vis going out into the real world. In reality, formal education is seen as providing overall poor preparation and foundation for responsible and self-sufficient adulthood. As the children get older, they begin to evaluate the usefulness of their education in terms of its present and future utility and also with regards to the knowledge they need in everyday life. The contextual poverty also makes it hard for realization of educational aspirations and thus makes even those who aimed for or could pursue higher education change their plans. Distance to schools is also an issue as although primary schools are relatively close and easier to change when migratory patterns necessitate, secondary schools are more difficult to get to in the first place, and they are mostly far away from home and involve high costs of boarding at school. Familial factors play a big role in children's calculations and pragmatism. The older they grow, children begin to factor in familial and cultural factors into their aspirations and this introduces a sense of pragmatism and sometimes resignation in the face of structural factors they consider to be insurmountable or taboo to break. This is particularly relevant for girls, who have less leeway in decisions regarding their futures, given cultural expectations that expect girls to be married and have families.

It is possible that I might not go to high school. Then I would have to find another way. If I could even get training after primary school to become a

tailor or something. But even that is difficult... If I stay in the village, I will have to go to the ceremony (circumcision) and then get married (Naipanoi)

If I don't go to high school, I don't know what else I will do... I have friends who dropped out in Class 7 and now most of them are married. There is nothing for a girl to do just sitting at home. Without school, getting married is the only option (Amina).

Children's aspirations are also affected by the perceived lack of relevance of formal education to present livelihoods. While traditional socialization and livelihood arrangements are seen as inadequate for future wellbeing, they address children's present wellbeing and offer contextually meaningful capabilities while formal schooling is seen as detached from reality, coming only with an unguaranteed promise of future success. However, children were also able to perceive that schooling is relevant due to the precariousness of traditional livelihood arrangements in a changing society

It makes sense to learn to take care of cows. We get everything from cows. Meat, milk, blood. For a Masai this is everything. For many of my friends, school is just sitting in a room and talking a lot...Of course nobody is sure if they will get a good job after school. That is a big problem. But soon maybe these cows won't be so important. When it is so dry and all the cows die like last year, then you need something else to run to (Metito)

Parental and pupils ambitions for educational success to a large degree negated the expectation that children form a family habitus that had little experience with formal schooling would not receive encouragement from their families. In essence, it shows the dynamic nature of habitus. While the families were to a large degree located in social milieu that had no contact with the modernity associated with schooling and educational success, and in some cases such as the Masai actively restricted children's participation in schooling, the families in this study showed insightful knowledge of the benefits of schooling and actively supported their children in pursuit of the benefits. As much as these benefits were largely couched in instrumental terms, the parents also recognized the positional and intrinsic value of education. However, structural limitations were still evident in the children's narratives of struggle to attain educational success, and thus highlighted the nature of socio-economic disadvantage and the role it plays in perpetuation of inter-generational inequality. This was particularly poignant in the pragmatic and reduced aspirations of children when faced by financial difficulties in education.

It is nice to dream of going to university. But the reality of my life makes it a difficult dream. It is what I want, but I am afraid that it is impossible for me. So I just want to finish KCPE and try to finish high school also. Then, maybe I can do some kind of training to do some job that will get me money. That is a more manageable dream (Naipanoi).

Vocational education as an alternative is partly available and arises as a viable alternative in conversation with many children, thus indicating reduced aspirations and realistic goal setting as the youth negotiate dynamic life conditions. This also indicates that they still are pursuing the dream of modernity, albeit in reduced circumstances. Given that education is valued for its instrumental benefits, vocational education and training is thus seen as an appropriate alternative that would still enable the children

to pursue careers that take them out of their socio-economic circumstances by providing paid employment, albeit with reduced social status compared to college graduates. Moreover, some children viewed vocational training as a stop gap measure, one that would enable them to later on continue with their formal education.

I really want to go to high school. But if I don't make it, I will try to find training in a good course. My cousin did a course in mechanics and now has his own business. Maybe I can train at his workshop for a short time and start working... Besides, I am not sure if I will get a good job after schooling, so this is better. At least I don't have to stay in the village when I am a mechanic (Wambasi)

Yes, maybe I can train in something. Get a good job at the dock or in the factory. I don't want to be a casual worker. So I would definitely try to train so as to get a permanent job. And then maybe I can continue with schooling while working. I know people who do KCSE when they are old (Hassan)

Thus most of the children had conflicted aspirations regarding their continued pursuit of education. They were on one hand confident of their continued participation and success in primary schooling due to their excellent track records so far and the continued support from their parents

Even before the mock results, I know I would pass. In the selection I chose only nationals schools, no provincials... I can go on and do a good course at (University of) Nairobi... My father has promised me he will sell a cow if I get into a national school (Wambasi)

Going to high school and getting out of here. That is my dream... My mother is happy that I passed the mock (exams). Now if I pass KCPE, everything is great and she can help me go to high school (Amina)

However, despite the expected success at KCPE and familial support, the children are unsure if they will manage to continue to high school and university, as they are aware of their families' disadvantaged socio-economic positions, coupled with certain traditional norms which militate against continued education.

Depends... On a lot of things. I want to be in school, but I also know that my mother might not be able to pay for the school fees in high school. I hope I get a bursary so that she doesn't have to suffer so much to pay. But I don't know if I will get any (Hassan)

My mother is going to help me if I get really good results. But I am still not sure if my father will agree for me to go. He still wants me to stay in the village and go for the (circumcision) ceremony (Naipanoi)

Thus, for the children, there is a clear cut conflict between the demands of formal schooling and the livelihood and socialization activities. This conflict is exemplified in the paths to present and future livelihoods of children which are caught between traditional cultural values and the modernization project embodied in education. Cultural values structure children's everyday lives and emphasize traditional socialization practices as a path into integration in society and full citizenship. In particular, these cultural values embody conservative social and gender roles that

children are expected to learn to fit in. On the other hand, formal schooling posits education as a path to paid employment and social inclusion in the new modern society.

The headmaster makes speeches about finishing school and getting good jobs and offices...They teach you how to be a mzungu (white person). How to speak like them, eat like them and behave like them. It's OK for me but my mother doesn't like it. She says I should ignore all that stuff and only focus on passing exams (Naipano)

Particularly among the rural communities, livelihoods are built around the pastoralist economy. Thus all children are intricately involved in economic activities from an early age. Children are brought up to respect the traditional system and to know their place in the system. Contrary to a Western view of childhood as a time of innocence and play, children are considered miniature adults, who are in essence expected to earn their keep to the best of their abilities while garnering knowledge and skills that would enable them to be self-dependent adults. Formal schooling is on the other hand aimed at providing youth with skills, knowledge and attitudes that enable them to maximize on available opportunities for securing a livelihood in their globalized economy. Thus formal schooling emphasizes individuality and pursuit of instrumental benefits whereas traditional livelihoods are based on communal rights and subservience of the individual to the perceived greater good of the family and community. The idea of what it means to be a child is quite pertinent to this issue. The individual rights espoused by formal schooling are at odds with the traditional norms of children rights and responsibilities in the community, a paradox captured in the argument about children as being or becoming. Notions of being position the child as a social actor who co-constructs his or her childhood and are linked to rights of individuality prevalent in modern educational discourse while traditional notions of becoming see the child as an adult in the making who lacks certain social competencies and is thus dependent upon the society to instill them in him or her through socialization processes (Uprichard, 2008). However, both notions appear to be problematic in both contexts of schooling and traditional society as there appear to be elements of both approaches embedded in the modern or traditional socialization. This is particularly indicative of the paradoxical nature of the children's life, living between two worlds of tradition and modernity. Thus it is evident that the structural limitations of socioeconomic disadvantage can be overcome if high family and learner ambitions are matched by redistributive and recognition social justice. In light of Kenyan educational reforms, it is evident that the introduction of FPE has been a foundation or widening access to education among disadvantaged families and region and has served to enable families and children recognize the opportunities available. The awareness campaigns carried out by the government and civil society have thus been particularly effective in targeting underserved and marginalized social groups. However, it is still evident that there remains a lot to be done if social inequality is to be effectively tackled through education. A major obstacle remains the duality of tradition and modernity in Kenyan society. For the children, there was a clash between societal expectations of a good childhood and transition to adulthood and educational aspirations for a life in modernity. This issue was quite pronounced in Loitokitok, where traditional socialization practices were quite relevant to children's social participation in the community. The children in Loitokitok thus had a difficult problem conceptualizing their future as an educated person yet still a full member of community life. Among the Luhya and in the slum, children had more freedom in choice of future livelihoods, but a recurrent theme for girls was on girls and women adhering to traditional conceptualizations of gender roles and relations. Thus girls felt that their

high ambitions were considered unbecoming behavior in a woman. Although the parents were quite supportive of their ambition, they felt that this was implicitly implied in many contexts and by relatives quite explicitly. For boys in all contexts, there were also social norms and expectations to be considered, as adulthood and manhood were entwined with socio-cultural norms that clashed with the new modernity espoused by schooling.

6.2. Academic Practice

Academic practice entails children's participation in the school and how this fits in with the institutional expectations and structures. The practice of pupils is to a large extent influenced by the psychological and behavioral components of engagement. While many schools professed to promote positive academic practice, this was to a large degree also affected by family and community factors that either promoted or discouraged the children's engagement in schooling. Academic practice in school encompassed various diverse activities including participation in formal organizational aspects such as learning, participation in social and extra-curricular activities to simply being present in school. There were various fixed activities in school that required pupil participation, apart from formal learning in class, and these included cleaning classrooms, an activity that was mostly reserved for girls although the school in Mombasa had instituted change that required boys to also participate. While the schools in this study were largely focused on providing opportunities for teaching and learning, pupils' expectations indicated the need for schools to offer a broad range of curricular and extra-curricular activities. For the pupils, academic activities alone were not sufficient to enhance their psychosocial wellbeing at school, as their attitudes towards and perceptions of schooling and teachers were also influenced by myriad factors that only had a tenuous connection to formal classroom teaching. This highlights the need for schools to offer a broad range of opportunities for pupils to participate in schooling rather than a concentration on teaching and academic activities. Pupils' participation in schooling was located within both the academic and social structures of the school, as well as influenced by home-based and personal factors which largely determined the time children could allocate to schooling. School should thus structure participation in a format that accounts for pupils' socialization and livelihood activities while also accounting for such personal characteristic such as disability, gender and pupil interests. Gender was seen as a key determinant of children participation since gendered division of labor meant that boys and girls had differing levels of responsibilities to attend to. While in Kakamega boys were largely favored by the division of labor, in Loitokitok boys had more time-consuming duties that led to irregular attendance. The requirement protection of girls' virtue also influenced participation in classroom and extracurricular activities, where Muslim girls in Mombasa were not allowed to take part in sports or sit next to boys in classroom to protect their perceived decency and virtue. Pupils' personal ambitions also influenced their participation, as children who expected to achieve certain benefits from schooling were more likely to adhere to school rules while pupils who did not perform so well in school were more likely to disengage from schooling.

6.2.1. Teaching-learning processes

Regular attendance and participation in classroom was key to successful academic practice and participation in the teaching and learning process. Pupils' daily routines also affected their participation in the teaching learning process. Time allocation for schooling vis-à-vis household, livelihood activities and leisure was a dilemmatic balance for pupils, as many out-of-school activities had potential to interrupt participation in schooling. The perceived ability to participate in the teaching learning process without constriction influenced participation. Many children implied that they would regularly contribute their ideas, thoughts and answers in class if they felt that the teacher welcomed their contributions. While some teachers were perceived as favoring teacher-centered pedagogies, some were seen as more receptive of children's contributions, and this enabled pupils to raise questions and request clarifications. In particular, the teachers' reactions towards the contributions were important. If pupils felt that their ideas were dismissed out of hand by the teachers, they would then be less willing to talk in class

Some teachers will just humiliate you if you are wrong instead of simply explaining. In Class 6, my Math teacher even said I was just trying to show off in class when I answered many questions while other pupils were quiet. So I did not want to talk anymore. But my Math teacher now is better. He always asks me to solve problems and if I am wrong, he explains properly (Amina).

Participation in class was also influenced by the pupils' subject preferences. Thus pupils would be more willing to take part in the class if the subject was their favorite while their least favorite subjects would see them sitting quietly in class. When asked if participation in class would help improve their liking of subject, pupils showed awareness that although they wanted to perform well in the subject and were willing to put effort into improving, various factors rather than subject had influenced their preference for the subjects. In particular, attitudes towards teachers and lack of resources were quite influential rather than simple dislike of the subject. This pointed to the insidious nature of pupils' perceptions toward schooling as a key factor in children's achievements at school.

I never liked Math before. The teacher we had was so harsh and always gave punishments for any mistake. It was so bad, I sometimes missed class when I did not do my homework. But our current teacher is better and really tries to help us understand, so I am always there and make sure I understand. If I miss something, I can at least ask without being afraid (Amina)

In some cases, pupils expressed despair that the subject content was too difficult yet they did not receive sufficient support from the school and families to overcome their learning difficulties. However, it was evident that the lack of support was related to lack of resources or skill rather than outright ignorance of pupils needs. It was apparent that many of the teachers were unable to offer sufficient guidance and help due to the large number of pupils in the classroom, as most pupils expressed the desire to have extra personalized assistance rather than simply attending the classroom lectures and homework. Moreover, some teachers pedagogical practice was considered to be insufficient by the pupils, but many felt they were in no position to communicate this to teachers, as they felt that teachers would receive it as an insult and thus punish them. Pupils' experiences with homework outlined the difficult balancing

tasks pupils had in managing the demands of schooling, socialization and livelihoods. Even for the pupils interviewed in this study, who were excellent pupils and strived to complete all allocated tasks, they indicated that they were mostly unable to complete their homework due to lack of time and lack of support in dealing with difficult content. Pupils were unable to dedicate more time to their homework as teachers handed out a lot of homework so as to cover delays in completing the syllabus on time. Another issue in homework was that most of the homework handed out was later then rarely referred to in classroom or corrected, thus pupils were unable to receive feedback on their performance. This also led pupils to lose motivation in completing the homework, as it was apparent to them that the homework did not matter

It doesn't help me, because ethane I never know what I got wrong and what I got right ... If the teacher is not going to look at it, and then it doesn't matter much. I try to do all, but sometimes I am too tired after working on the farm or going to the river, so I just ignore it. After all, the teacher never knows (Nafula)

Relations between teachers and the pupils played a key role in children's wellbeing. The children identified various aspects of pupil-teacher interaction that has a positive influence on their wellbeing in school. Most importantly, children indicated that they liked it when teachers interacted with pupils as equals, relations that elevated the children's self-esteem and worth since they showed that teachers considered them to be individuals with feelings and maturity rather than small children to be given orders and controlled. This theme was considered important for children in Class 8 who considered themselves mature and thus expected that the respect they showed to their teachers should be reciprocated in an egalitarian relationship that considered the needs and feelings of both parties.

It is much better if they treat you like a real person and care about what you think, what you feel... My parents treat me like an adult, so it is stupid when I come here and some teachers think I am a small child... My class teacher is really nice and I respect him because he always shows respect to all pupils. Like we are all grown-ups (Metito).

Pupils also wanted teachers to act less formally with them as this enabled them to relax in school and have a better atmosphere in the classroom that was conducive to learning. Having fun, making jokes and generally being relaxed in classroom was considered important for school, because most teachers were very serious and strict in classroom, but this only made pupils nervous and tense whereas teachers who promoted an informal atmosphere in the classroom and school were well liked and encouraged children to participate in the classroom.

It is much nicer in class when he (the teacher) makes a joke and we all laugh. And then get back to learning. In his class, I can even ask questions and talk and when I don't understand, I just say "excuse me, I didn't get it". The others are so strict, I am afraid to talk, so I just shut up and agree with everything (Nafula).

Teachers concern for pupils' wellbeing and achievements was also considered important. Children expected teachers to give time and attention to the pupils, their learning and their problems; thus showing that they cared about the pupils valued

them. Many teachers did not take the time to inquire about the pupils concerns, lives and opinions, thus those who did were seen as particularly good and children were pleased about being in their classes.

She even asks me about how my day is going, and she really means it. And if you have a problem with the reading and pronunciation of a text in class, she really tries to help you as much as she can. I really think she is the best teacher I have ever had I wish she also taught Mathematics, and then maybe my grades would be much better (Wambasi).

Children were also concerned about teachers' approachability outside of the classroom. Children wanted to have more meaningful relations with their teachers than simply in classroom and being able to talk to them normally outside the classroom was seen as important. Moreover, many had problems in school that did not necessarily arise from learning in the classroom and liked it when they had teachers who they could go to and have their problems solved if possible.

I guess I just want to feel that they are nice and normal people. Not always just someone standing in front of the class. That if I meet them outside, I can just say hallo and talk a bit about anything, my problems or just football. Mr. Kamau is really nice, he tells me about football scores all the time. I wish he taught my class (Wambasi).

The English class in Mombasa was particularly liked by many students because pupils felt that it was an interesting subject, and many connected enjoying a subject with doing well in it. English class was liked for the literature sessions where students had a lot of freedom of expression and had opportunities to do small plays within the class. Children felt that other subjects could also be presented in a more interactive format that was relaxed and involved social interaction without necessarily detracting from actual learning. Children were interested in not only enjoying class but also in the long-term goal of passing their examinations and gaining entrance to high school. Thus they expected that teachers and the school administration should provide a caring and supportive environment that enabled them to get the best possible achievements. Other pupils mentioned that apart from passing examinations, they were also interested in other achievements such as literacy and numeracy that could be useful in their lives and not just as a qualification for high school. This was tied to pupils' realizations that given limited opportunities to go to high school, they might end their education in primary school and were thus interested in being prepared to pursue a livelihood after primary school. Pupils recognized that their school was playing a part in preparing them for the future with regards to careers and livelihoods, a means to escape from poverty. They appreciated it when teachers made the future less abstract, by pointing out how what they learnt in school was of use. This offered them motivation to participate in class and get better grades.

I do not know if I will make it to high school. My grades are good, but my parents probably can't afford fees in even the cheap day schools. So I want to learn something that can help me get a job or do something after this. If I learn good English then maybe I can at least go work on the beach or in a hotel with tourists. So I try to even speak English out of class with the English teacher (Hassan)

Children were also pleased with recognition of their achievements and liked it when teacher commented positively on their efforts and shared the same with the parents. They indicated that it boosted their self-esteem and provided motivation to work harder if teacher noticed an improvement or a particularly good piece of work.

When I got a good mark in the mock exam, he (the Mathematics teacher) came to class and teased me a lot about how I had improved and asked if I had copied. But he also congratulated me and told everyone they should work hard like me. And he offered any extra help I needed. It was a really good day and encouraged me to work harder on sums in class and homework (Naipanoi)

Pupils thus focused on teacher–pupil relationships as one of the key factors that influenced their participation in classroom. Pupils complained that some teachers did not take pupils lives seriously, and did not recognize that pupils had other issues to deal with apart from what the teachers expected. On one hand, pupils were aware that teachers were limited in the attention they could bestow upon individual children. However, they expected that teachers should be able to take an interest in children’s lives, experiences and thoughts, as these impacted upon their ability to attend school and concentrate on learning. This perceived lack of interest in children’s lives made children have conflicting emotions about the role of the teachers and the help they expected to receive from them. The situation was worsened by the favoritism pupils blamed on the teacher, where pupils perceived as being very bright were given extra attention since they were expected to get very high marks in KCPE and thus push up the schools mean grade.

It feels sometimes so difficult to be here, and know nobody cares whether you pass or not... We all know the teachers care about the good pupils. But if you even fail in some subjects, nobody tries to find out what the problem is. They just label you as a failure and leave you alone, even if there were other problems that made you fail. Not that you are stupid (Amina)

This categorization of pupils as “clever” and “others” was demotivational for many pupils, given that it reinforced pupils’ lack of interest in schooling or certain subjects.

I am not very good in Math, so I always sit with the other pupils in the back and nobody bothers. I really try hard to ask and answer questions, but sometimes the teacher just ignores me, or says I can’t understand and moves on (Wambasi)

For many pupils, this perceived lack of care was evident in their characterizations of teachers’ behavior towards pupils, in and out of the classroom. Pupils indicated that many teachers lacked respect and courtesy for pupils and that many committed actions that belittled or insulted pupils in front of their peers. This was mostly on account of teachers giving out humiliating punishments, shouting at pupils or showing bad grades and poorly done assignments in front of other pupils. In this regard, pupils developed positive dispositions towards teachers who showed respect and care for pupils, while teachers who disrespected pupils were feared or hated, affecting children’s interaction with them in pedagogical processes.

Another key issue in the teaching learning process was the availability of adequate infrastructure and educational resources to support children's learning. This was considered one of the major setbacks of attending school in resource-deprived regions, as the children's efforts to participate effectively in schooling were hampered by circumstances beyond their control. Although the FPE program had enabled greater access to educational resources, which in many cases had previously been non-existent, and also contributed to a rapid upswing in infrastructure development, children still lacked a lot of basic amenities and resources such as textbooks, classrooms and libraries. However, despite all the insufficiencies, children still noted great improvements in infrastructure, funding and educational resources, without which they would have been unable to achieve their current performance. Pupils were thus appreciative of facilities that enabled them study better or enjoy being in school. All the three schools had inadequate infrastructure and resources to support the learning needs of all the pupils and the available facilities and resources were insufficient and in a rundown state. Although the government had dedicated funding streams to renovation and expansion of public schools as part of the FPE program, the disbursement was insufficient and the effects were yet to be felt in the three schools visited. However, interventions by non-state actors had enabled the school in Mombasa to enhance its available infrastructure. A charity organization had recently donated computers and desks to the school and pupils felt that these new additions made their lives in school better and had a positive contribution to their learning. The Class 8 classroom had also been renovated with a new roof and paint from funding allocated by the government and this made the learning experience more pleasant. The computers in particular had a positive impact on the pupils learning and wellbeing, as they felt that they were truly learning skills that were relevant to life in the modern age and could help them even outside school in connecting with friends and finding employment. It was also seen as a boost to the pupils' self-esteem among their peers at home, as most children in the slum did not have access to computers.

It is much better. Now we don't have to sit five people on one desk. I can at least be comfortable in class and even when it rains, we don't have to suffer from the leaking roof. And the computer is very cool. I had never used a computer before in my whole life. Now I am learning how to write e-mails to my pen pal in the United Kingdom. It is amazing. And my friends at home are jealous because I get to use a computer at least every day.

6.2.2. Academic stress

Pupils complained about the stress associated with participation in schooling, particularly due to the demand for success if one had good grades. From the pupils' accounts, it was apparent that many schools focused on the pupils with the greatest chances to succeed and thus pushed them to succeed at KCPE. Given that most of the pupils in this study were all high achievers, their accounts converged towards a point where all had extra requirements imposed upon them by teachers to succeed. This supports other observations that the Kenyan education system is designed for the elite rather than regular children (Kremer, 2003). The competitive nature of the KCPE exams meant that many schools were focused on raising the schools mean grade in the national exams. While it was more difficult to raise the scores of the whole candidate class, many schools focused on certain pupils who already were excelling and thus concentrated their teaching on them to the detriment of other pupils. For teachers,

there was sufficient motivation to pursue this course, as teachers whose pupils attained high scores of A or B in KCPE was rewarded with financial gifts and recognition. This focus was evident in the extra homework and participation in classroom that was imposed upon the pupils. The pupils had to complete extra homework and were frequently called upon in the classroom to explain certain tasks to other pupils while other pupils were ignored.

It is sometimes too much. I am called to answer many questions, and the teacher always gives me more homework than the others... It is nice because it helps me focus on my studies, but sometimes it is too much (Naipanoi).

Although the pupils were grateful for extra attention, the focus was not entirely positive for them, as teachers high expectations were based on teachers' expectations rather than the pupils' needs. Pupils were aware of the competitive nature of the Kenyan education system, where schools were ranked nationally based on their mean score in KCPE, thus leading pupils to conclude that the extra attention was based on teachers efforts to fulfill their personal or the schools ambitions to achieve high mean scores rather than any real concern about the pupils academic success. This conclusion was more poignant, given that pupils were aware some schools and teachers received benefits if their schools achieved better scores.

Other pupils joke that I am studying for the teacher, so that he can get some money when the BoG gives awards.... Because I am expected to get an A, and if I fail to answer any question or get something wrong in my homework, then I have to do it over and over again. Until I am just tired (Hassan).

Teachers' pedagogical styles were also problematic if they did not suit pupils learning abilities and thus added to pupils stress in class. In particular, some teachers focused on intimidating pupils into completing assignments or participating in class and this further added stress to the classroom context and homework. Many pupils simply attempted to not be noticed and completed homework without much regard for learning but rather avoiding the teachers rage.

I don't know mathematics so well, so I really have problems with some sums. But I always just try to finish the homework any way I can otherwise I know that I will have problems when the teacher checks the homework. Sometimes he does not even see how it is done, just as long as it is finished (Nafula)

The paradox of academic success was that pupils were constantly expected to keep getting better and better grades without much support. Pupils were of the opinion that such expectations were unreasonable, as they did not receive the help to fulfill such expectations. These frustrations were also blamed on the parents. In as much as the pupils were aware of their families' economic situations, they felt that too much hope was being pinned on their success yet they did not receive the commensurate support to achieve the projected success. In particular, pupils were worried that their parents had unrealistic expectations about what they could achieve through education, given the state of the labor market, and the long academic pipeline they would have to go through if the expectations were to be met.

When our family meets everyone asks me if I want to become a doctor or a lawyer and jokes about what I will do for them in the future. Buy a cow or a goat or something... Sometimes I am afraid that I will let them all down. Everyone thinks it is automatic that I will go to university and get a good job, but I am not sure. I still need a lot of help to get there (Wambasi)

Due to the academic stress at school, pupils developed various strategies that were aimed at overcoming the demand for sustained academic excellence. Most of these strategies were quite demanding, particularly in light of the need to also participate in household chores, socialization processes and family economic activities. This highlighted the double challenges facing pupils and in the end they impacted upon both the children's participation in schooling, leading to emotional stress and alienation from their culture.

I always have to study so much outside of school. Just going to school is not enough to get good grades...But then it means I have no time to meet my friends or go to many events. So the boys say I am becoming a white man, just thinking of books, instead of a true Masai (Metito)

All the pupils interviewed had strict study schedules that they attempted to adhere to. The most surprising fact was that they had personally develop their schedules without much input from families and teachers, apart from a little support from class teachers regarding recommendations for and access to books. However, these schedules naturally had to take their other activities in account and required the children to wake up even earlier and go to bed late at night.

I wake up very early at 4am, at least an hour before I even have to. If we have kerosene, then I can use the lamp. If not, then I go to school. The school guard allows me to sit outside the headmaster's office and read using the security lamp outside... The only problem is if have to go to the farm, then I have to make up for it in the evening (Wambasi).

This stress was also in part linked to the large curriculum that is already included in the Kenyan education system, where pupils have to cover a lot of content in short time. Given the crowded timetables the pupils had to deal with from their household chores, livelihood activities and personal study timetables, leading to a greater disconnect between children's lives at home and at school as for many of the pupils, it was impossible to cut back on either family duties or schoolwork. The academic stress experienced by the children thus had implications for their ability to manage the demands of schooling and traditional socialization. .Though there were regional variations in the out-of-school activities children had to complete, all the children acknowledged that they had to struggle to balance these time demands. In addition, children barely had any time left for play and leisure, which they considered to be a vital part of childhood and that availability of time and resources to engage in play and other valuable leisure activities enhanced their wellbeing. Children had very little time to engage in leisure as they had to contribute to the families' livelihoods and there were rarely any time left after household chores, school and livelihood activities.

It would be better if I could have at least the same schoolwork as other children. I can work at home and also at school. But I get too much homework and my

father still expects me to do other things at home. So it becomes too much work (Metito).

Leisure was considered an integral part of a good childhood and it was structured around pastoralist tasks. When the boys were out herding livestock, they were able to engage in traditional pursuits of leisure such as hunting and games with other boys. However, the demands of schooling occupied so much time. The girls, who were mostly in charge of domestic chores and fetching water, were however unanimous that they were deprived of leisure, noting that from an early age they were expected to be well behaved and responsible, leaving little room for enjoyment of their childhood. The girls were however happy with schooling, as it enabled them to have some time away from traditional structures, enabling them to have fun with other girls in the school and participate in sports. Thus in a sense, schooling improved leisure opportunities for girls, but increased academic stress deprived them of this opportunity.

At home if I sit down and meet my friends, my mother always immediately calls and asks why I am being lazy and if I have nothing better to do. Or asks if we are talking about boys. In school I have break time and games time to just relax and be with my friends. I like that a lot. But now my teachers are becoming like my mother, they just want me to study. I am even sometimes asked to stay in class (Nafula).

6.2.3. Social relations and identities

The children also indicated that social relations were a key domain in pursuit of wellbeing. Children's behavior, family relations, participation in community, image in community, societal norms and expectations were relevant to children's having good social relations. In Loitokitok, there was emphasis on close communal bonds and strict hierarchies in social interaction. Children indicated that they were expected to know the norms, values and rule of the society and strictly adhere and deviance was punished by ostracism in socio-cultural events and rites of passage. Among the Masai, participation in socio-cultural events such as circumcision, group hunting and foraging for water and pasture was an essential part of growing and being a productive member of society and ostracism jeopardized one's standing in society and livelihood, as well as the ability to request help from others. Among the boys, circumcision and communal hunts provided belonging in an age set group that was honor-bound to provide protection and assistance while adherence to social codes of womanhood enabled girls to project a good image in the community and thus gain acceptance as good daughters and wives. Female circumcision was a major rites of passage and girls who opted out facing ostracism from their families. Social norms and values were considered equally important in Kakamega and both boys and girls were expected to maintain decorum and good standing in the community, with their elders able to mete out sanctions on any children who were considered errant. Girls were subject to greater expectations than boys and were expected to maintain a good image that would attract a higher dowry and honor for their families. Ethnic diversity in the slum meant that there were no defined cultural norms prevalent but there was greater emphasis on maintaining friendly relations between families given that in contexts of deprivation, they always required some form of assistance from friends or neighbors, be it borrowing salt or paraffin oil for their lamps. Moreover, the balance of

assistance obtained always needed to be kept in equilibrium thus children were often required to constantly help out other families so as to build up social capital. However, this delicate balance of social standing was to a large degree interrupted by the demands and organization of schooling. For the pupils, having positive social relations and expressing their identity was a key component of their participation in schooling. Schools that allowed pupils free rein in this thus enabled pupils to develop a sense of belonging in the school. Cultural identities, gender and social relations played a key role in children's participation in schooling. While in Kakamega most children were from the same ethnic group, thus there was little ethnic diversity, the schools in Loitokitok and Mombasa had pupils from different ethnicities and this played a role in children's engagement at school and relations to other teachers and pupils, particularly with regards to ethnic stereotypes and language. Free expression was also an issue as children felt that being able to express their ideas, opinions and cultural norms was relevant. Again, this was a major issue in Loitokitok and Mombasa due to the mix of different ethnicities and thus multicultural mix of pupils. However in Kakamega, this was also an issue for children in terms of ideas considered taboo

While teachers' pedagogy in classroom was considered the most important role of teacher in school, pupils also indicated that relations with teacher outside of class were important in their wellbeing at school. Pupils expected that teachers should show care for the pupils outside of school. This in turn influenced pupils' perceptions of and attitudes towards teachers. This had implications for teacher pupil relations in the sense that pupils' perceptions of teachers formed in interaction out of class also influenced children's participations in these teachers' classrooms. Children's social relations in school were quite important, and friendship with other pupils, encompassing the basis of friendships with other pupils. Children cited friendships as an important part of their school lives, with many children indicating that friendships with other children offered them social support and friendly social spaces that promoted their positive wellbeing. The companionship that friends provided enabled children to feel a sense of inclusion and belonging that made them feel good about being in school and made the whole experience of being in school more pleasant.

Just talking to my friends, spending time with them... It makes me feel good, no matter what else happened at school or at home. I could sit around with them for hours (Amina).

Moreover, the friendships that children had were many times instrumental to not only feeling good but also in solving problems that pupils encountered at home or with other people or simply finding out information.

I really can't talk much with my mother. All the things I want to share with someone, I talk about with Nasieku. She knows a lot more about these things. Boys and friendships with them. Or when I have a problem with my mother, at least I have someone I can share it with (Naipanoi).

This instrumental aspect also extended to academic assistance, when some pupils relied on their friends to help them with difficult tasks that they could not handle or that they felt the teacher did not explain satisfactorily

James is smart, he always knows everything. When the teacher just rushes through the class to finish it, I wait and ask James afterwards. He always explains it really well until I understand (Wambasi).

This support was even more important in the classroom which had 46 pupils thus the teacher could not offer individual attention to each pupil. The impact of friendships on academic participation and success was more marked in instances of children whose friends were high performing pupils who influenced their friends to take their learning more seriously.

I didn't like school much before. But then he made me take it seriously. I started doing homework with him, because we are neighbors at home... After a while, I realized Math is not so hard, I just need to be serious and listen in class like he does (Hassan).

Friendships in school were important in defining social spaces that children belonged in or were excluded from. These social spaces were usually outside the classroom spaces and involved joint activities that friends pursued together, particularly during break time and sports time. The social spaces were regulated by who someone knew and thus offered opportunities to develop personal and meaningful relations with others. Break time afforded children a pleasant time to play, relax and exercise autonomy through self-directed behavior outside of the confines of the classroom. This merged well with pursuit of pleasant activities with friends.

Break time is my favorite time. I can just go out and not have to worry about sitting straight, avoiding the teacher's questions... Just be out and free and for a short time do what makes me happy rather than what the teacher wants me to do. Then I play with my friends (Hassan).

Break time was particularly relevant in enforcing social hierarchies within the school. Friends always stayed together, and if they had money, would buy some snacks to eat. Most pupils felt that it was very important to have friendships, because otherwise one would be excluded from all the activities that made break so pleasant. Games time was also another opportunity to participate in social spaces, with a focus on group activities that also gave opportunities for social interaction and friendships. Participation in sports and games was noticeably gender-specific, with boys generally playing football in the only playground available in the school while older girls mostly sat in groups talking and younger girls playing games such as *kati*. Most girls voiced the opinion that they would like to participate in more sports and thus enjoy games time more, but facilities and space were not available, with only a small dusty field that served as a football field for boys.

*Games time is good. I like being outside and playing with my friends. But we don't really have much space here. So the young girls play *kalongolongo* and *kati* and we sit and talk to our friends (Nafula)*

6.2.4. Insecurity, abuse and school discipline

In Kakamega and Loitokitok, most children felt relatively secure in their community, with very little incidence of crime or affront to personal dignity as the close-knit nature of the community afforded children security even away from home given that almost everyone in the village knew one another and adults in the community were customarily tasked with ensuring all children's welfare. Parents were in general more protective of their daughters and this was reflected in their approach to having girls always close to home while boys had much greater freedom of movement and association. Thus, parents preferred to have their daughters participation in schooling limited to clearly defined participation routines. In particular, the focus on reputational safety was a major issue for parents in Kakamega

It is safe here. I have no worries about going to school or coming home, even if it is dark. But my mother always wants me to be home early and to only go to school when it is light. She says it is not nice for girls to be out alone in the dark. Bad things can happen (Nafula)

Living in a slum where violent crime, drug abuse and sexual abuse were prevalent, the children were worried about their safety and bodily integrity not only in school but also outside school, as this impacted upon their learning and school attendance. In Mombasa, security was considered very important by the children, given the high levels of crime experienced within the slum and surrounding areas. Although violent crime was rarely experienced by the children, the children indicated that muggings and robbery occurred frequently thus children were concerned about their safety, particularly at night. The children attributed the insecurity to lax policing by the authorities and also the deprivation pervasive in the slum, which led many youth to participate in crime to obtain basic necessities. Furthermore, an increasing upsurge of cocaine and heroin usage in the slum was blamed for the crime, with many addicts resorting to crime to fuel their addiction. For girls, sexual abuse and rape were a major issue, with some of the children interviewed indicating that they had been victim to instances of improper sexual advances from men within the slum. The girls mentioned the rampant prostitution at the Kenyan coast as responsible for this insecurity, with many sex tourists from abroad and within the country coming to the Coast thus occasioning a rise in prostitution rings that specialized in young girls. They stated that most parents were worried that their young daughters would be lured into prostitution through gifts of money or drugs and thus made sure their girls were always at home or in the company of trusted adults. The older boys also indicated that frequent police raids in the slums in search of drug dealers and criminals who preyed on tourists were a danger to them, as some had been arrested on multiple occasions by the police who according to them, would simply arrive and arrest many youth even without evidence of wrongdoing

The police just pick up young boys and take them to jail. They don't even want to know what you are doing outside. One time I was coming from school and they arrested me. But luckily I had my school books. But they still took me to the police station where the chief saw my books and let me go (Hassan)

School discipline was also considered to be an issue that impacted upon the children's sense of safety and security and was linked to concerns about punishment, punishment, safety, individuality, hypocrisy and inconsistency. School life was regulated by various rules that pupils were required to adhere to. The main issue about punishments meted out by the teachers was the severity of the punishments. The common consensus among the pupils was that school discipline was necessary as otherwise the institution would not function. Moreover, discipline was seen as necessary to protect pupils from other pupils who were aggressive, violent or would steal from them. However, there were other times when the form that the discipline took could put pupils' safety at risk. Corporal punishment, though officially banned, regularly took place in the school. The ban on corporal punishment had been initiated after many cases of pupils being injured or dying after being punished by teachers. However, while officially banned, the practice persisted, mostly in rural schools where teachers were more powerful and less likely to be interdicted (FAWE, 2001). While many teachers insisted that caning was a necessary punishment to deal with difficult children, it was apparent that it was a negative part of schooling which affected children's physical, emotional and social wellbeing in school, as it affected their comfort in school and also their social relations with other pupils.

I am completely afraid of being caned. Nowadays I am considered a good pupil so teachers are nicer to me, but before I got caned a lot. It was so bad, I would cry all day and sometimes even leave school and go home. I don't understand why such punishments should be there. They don't help me to learn or know my mistakes. It just seems violent (Nafula).

The idea of schooling rules as an imposition of alien rules that did not reflect social norms and practices common to the children was a key narrative in Loitokitok where it was a particularly major issue that had led to problematic relations between schools and local communities. Among the Masai, children were considered to be adults after circumcision, thus any corporal punishment was considered to be assault by the pupils and had in many instances led to children fighting with teachers or children withdrawing from school

Three years ago, a boy who was caned came back later with his friends and beat up the teacher in class. So in our school, they don't cane us anymore. But they still give us really hard punishments to go cut trees or fetch water. It makes me not like school. And other pupils make fun of you when punished, calling you a woman when you fetch water. It is embarrassing (Metito)

However, children also complained that there were very few guidelines about what was punishable, and from their perspective, it seemed some teachers meted out punishments without inconsistencies and with favoritism. Though acknowledging the need for rules, they argued that some teachers simply enjoyed punishing the children or were taking out their own frustrations on the children. Children rarely had any recourse to challenge any disciplinary action or punishment, as teachers were to a large extent all-powerful in the school and also in the community, especially in the case of Kakamega. In Kakamega, it was evident that the teachers had a lot of influence among the community based on their social standing and thus parents were mostly unable to make any complaints. Moreover, there was a cultural norm that children can

be punished by any elder in the community, thus teachers were considered to be fully within their rights by punishing children.

What can you do? You can't complain to other teachers, because they will probably also punish you. And at home, the teachers just say they are doing the job of keeping you straight. You just keep quiet (Wambasi)

Gendered application of rules was also complained about. Boys were given way too much leeway, as teachers just stated that boys would be boys. Whereas girls were expected to be more well-behaved and decorous. However, boys also complained that when they were punished, they were usually given really difficult tasks such as uprooting tree stumps or hard punishment whereas girls were just asked to clean the staffroom or fetch water. Pupils also had little participation in the school management and administration, and felt that it would be better if school administrators gave them a greater role in decision making, particularly about the rules of discipline. In all schools, there was a prefect system in place, where certain pupils selected by teachers would be in charge of classroom and out-of class discipline among the pupils. This was meant to be a way of involving the children in governance. However, it was evident in all schools that the prefect system was not much liked. One of the main complaints was that since the prefects were directly selected by the teachers, they served the interests of the teachers, mainly enforcing rules, instead of representing pupils' needs and wishes. Pupils felt that prefects were more likely to side with the school authorities and teachers.

6.3. The Concept of the Educated Person

Bourdieu's approach to the role of power in reproduction of inequality focuses on development and social change processes and provides a comprehensive theory of society that is relevant to the analysis of educational inequality. While Foucault approaches power as ubiquitous and beyond agency and structure, Bourdieu sees power as a cultural and symbolic creation that is (re)legitimized through the interplay of agency and structure in habitus as dispositions are shaped by past events and structures while shaping the conditions and reality in which current practices and structure operate (Bourdieu, 1984; Navarro, 2006). This is particularly relevant to pupils' experiences of schooling and how these experiences shape pupils' outcomes. The institutional habitus offers a concept of the educated person that pupils have to aspire to if they are to achieve success in schooling. The aspirations to this concept and its achievement, in the form of an educated habitus, is conditioned by pupils' previous experiences at home and school, supported or constricted by the availability of cultural, social and economic capital. As children experience the hierarchical nature of society and its impact on their progress at school, their aspirations become more and more pragmatic, adjusting to the structures and conditions they perceive as established for their social location. Thus the expected educational aspirations seen as the reality of a particular social class are internalized leading to an unconscious acceptance of social inequality and difference, to 'a sense of one's place' and to behaviors of self-exclusion (Bourdieu, 1986). In the field of education, pupils experience symbolic power differently based on their access to capital. In particular, pupils from disadvantaged families face tensions and contradictions when they come in contact with the "civilizing" mission of the Kenyan education system, one that requires them to adopt practices and

social norms alien to their family habitus, while castigating their cultural background as traditional and uncivilized. This conflicts with their experiences at home that valorize their cultural norms and practices. This conflict is succinctly expressed in the experiences of Masai boys, who after circumcision are considered grown men who have achieved adulthood and respect by undergoing the socialization and initiation processes successfully, yet are school are cast as backward savages who are unable to succeed in the modern society of which formal schooling is an extension.

I come here, and suddenly all the things I have learnt at home, and of which I am so proud, are worthless. I feel so stupid here, because everything I have learnt to be important is not so here (Metito)

Bourdieu's thesis of social reproduction has demonstrated that some personal dispositions, which form the individual's habitus, are relevant for educational attainments and progress at school. While it is necessary to note that cognitive abilities play a large role in pupils educational trajectories, other non-cognitive abilities are strongly associated with schooling and educational achievements. . From a reading of literature in this context (Nash & Harker, 1998; Nash, 2002; Harker, 2001), it is evident that aspirations, academic self-concept and perception of schooling are among the most important elements of the habitus in terms of influence over educational achievement. In this regard, this study attempted to employ the structure-practice-disposition model to develop a social explanation on the performance of the learners interviewed. The key idea behind this attempt was that while it is self-evident that ambitious and self-motivated pupils attain higher achievements than other pupils with lower aspirations and effort, the underlying reason derives from the children's own perceptions and values of education which derive from their social class, the home environment and social stratification in education. Children from social classes compatible with the education systems demands tend to exhibit behavior affirming their desire to be educated within a certain operative concept of education and possess an effective habitus that supports this desire through relevant practice. Thus, in sociological explanations of educational inequality, the real issue to be investigated becomes not simply the inequalities visible in the system but rather the operative concept of education and the idea of an educated person prevalent within an education system (Swann, 1999; Nash, 2002). Critical realism in sociology provides an effective framework for investigation of social phenomena through a unified account of social structure, socialized dispositions and action within generated practices, a procedure employed in his study to investigate family, school and learner habitus in relation to arbitrary and necessary schooling norms and practices.

An explication of the arbitrary and the necessary was deemed relevant in relation to Bourdieu's theory on reproduction of social dominance, which posits that symbolic violence plays a key role in children's adaptation or rejection of the institutional habitus. Symbolic violence is tied to the arbitrary nature of social practices which are culturally structured rather than genetically determined and which include variable means of satisfying human needs. In Bourdieu's sense, schooling and the knowledge obtained at school is considered to be the arbitrary knowledge of the society's dominant class, knowledge whose symbolic power resides in the concept of the educated person. This concept enables children from the dominant class to easily succeed in school while those from other social classes are unable to cope, given they have not been raised to aspire to this concept of the educated person. In particular,

Bourdieu's later works (1998) pursue a more realistic approach to the concept of habitus, focusing strongly on habitus as a practical sense characterized by reason. The desire to become an educated person in line with the schools' operative concept of the educated person is essential and harkens to dispositions that enable children to fit in the schools' model or rebel against it and its symbolic violence. This realist perspective also drives one to consider the school as bounded by the educational necessary and the cultural arbitrary. While Foucault and Bourdieu argue about symbolic violence, it is inescapable that schooling today plays a large role in enabling children to acquire knowledge and competencies that are very useful in the present world. Thus, while it is necessary to investigate the operative concept of education in schools and the impact it has on children's participation and outcomes, it is also necessary to investigate the relation between this concept and its arbitrary or necessary connections to the physical and social realities of the world.

However, Bourdieu's conceptualization of misrecognition, close to Marxist false consciousness, inherently contains the promise of social justice. Social inequality is reproduced when individuals accept social reality as self-evident and permanent as opposed to a socially constructed reality that can change. However, unlike the Marxist perspective, where false consciousness is actively manipulated by other classes, misrecognition transcends conscious manipulation as it operates at the subconscious level through internalization in the habitus (Bourdieu, 1984, p. 471). Bourdieu's reflexive sociology and its basis in critical knowledge is evident in the narratives of the pupils in this study. The pupils have been able to transcend the limits of misrecognition through critical self-knowledge and engagement with the social inequalities that have faced them in their familial and cultural settings. The concept of the academic person was actualized in the children's academic self-concept, which entails an individual's beliefs about their skills and abilities with regards to school. It refers to an individual's perceptions and knowledge about their ability to attain academic achievements. It is composed of a learner's view of themselves across various dimensions based on self-evaluation of capabilities, which is formed through experiences accrued in academic environments as pupils learn to evaluate their own abilities based on positive or negative feedback from those within their academic spheres, namely parents, teachers, and other pupils in schools (Byrnes, 2003; Eccles, 2005). Given that individuals have a motivational tendency to establish a positive self-image, children who spend a lot of time in academic fields tend to judge their self-worth based on their ability to cope with academic tasks and the evaluation given by parents, teachers, and peers in relation to these tasks (Eccles & Wigfield, 2002). Academic self-concept is thus an individual's perception of self-efficacy in completing academic tasks and functioning to an acceptable level in a school setting (Bong & Skaalvik, 2003). These perceptions are organized around frames of reference. Internal frames of reference are comparisons of the self across different academic domains or temporal spaces and which contribute to self-generated goals and aspirations. On the other hand, external frames of reference involve comparison with peers or against averages, mostly motivated by evaluation of competencies through school assessments or parental feedback (Byrne, 2003).

The children who desired to become educated also realized that they needed to make certain trade-offs in terms of personal freedom and interests, with self-regulation being a key feature of educational success, one that featured prominently in the institutional habitus through the regimented scheduling that aimed to guide pupils

towards meaningful allocation of time to studying. Self-regulation, manifested through adherence to school schedules and organization of personal study timetables was seen as a disposition that was essential to a successful educational trajectory. Self-regulated learning was thus encompassed in three key attributes namely metacognition (thinking about ones thinking), strategic action (planning, monitoring and evaluating personal progress against certain educational standards, which the individual should recognize) and the motivation to learn (Ormrod, 2009, p.105). This was the highlight of adaptation to the concept of an educated person. One key feature was that the children who were successful were able to autonomously monitor, direct and regulate their actions in school towards the goal of succeeding in their quest for valuable educational outcomes (Dweck, 2002). Such learners were able to identify their academic strengths and weaknesses and direct their strategies to successful completion of tasks and efficient time allocation. These strategies encompassed not only classroom situations but also handling daily activities and obstacles in such a way as to effectively focus on learning progress. Children who mastered this skill relied on the belief that change was always possible, particularly in the difficult subjects which challenged them. This incremental belief about intelligence enabled them to be cognizant of their weaknesses, and attempt to identify the factors within their control which could be optimized to ensure success. Such pupils also sought out opportunities for further development even outside of the normal school activities and content. While many of the pupils had challenges finding suitable material for revision and further study, some of them were lucky to have teachers or relatives who could secure further learning resources

I spend more time and effort on topics that I don't understand very well. It can get frustrating, particularly because I don't understand Mathematics very well since Class six. There are too many letters instead of numbers. But I go to all people who can help me and really think about it. It is problematic when the teacher gives us back our homework with just a wrong mark instead of explaining it to us how we can do better. But I keep asking and them at home try to do it again (Amina).

Self-efficacy played a key role in actualization of these aspirations and strategies. These pupils had great belief in their ability to complete the tasks and achieve their aspirations, even in the face of academic and social obstacles and this played a key role in the level of effort they expended and also the academic and social choices they made. The self-regulation occurred over four phases of recursive cognition namely task perception (obtaining relevant information about the tasks and adjusting the task parameters to their personal style of learning including developing motivations and learning environments), goal setting and planning (deciding what explicit behaviors, motivations will be relevant or the task and planning which strategies are useful), enacting (using the plans to complete the task) and adaptation (identify what challenges they faced and how to overcome them in the future) (Winne & Hadwin, 2008). This process thus led to the feedback loop, from self-observation of ones activities to self judgment of abilities and strategies to self-reaction to achievements. The longer the pupils engaged in such self-regulated learning the more able they were to effectively judge their progress and sustain effective action in educational progress.

Children are required to acquire the relevant operative schemes and categories prevalent within their schooling system and internalization of these schooling norms in turn rewarded by recognition of the children as educated individuals. Children joining

schools are also expected to be ready and willing to acquiesce to the schools operative concept of education, and participate in the schools norms and practices. In this sense, children are expected to have matched the schools expectations through preparedness to be educated according to the existing concept of an educated person.

When I come to school, I need to adapt to their ideas and ways of doing things. So I have to try and see what the teachers and the books want. That is how you become a good pupil (Hassan)

It is thus clear that the children who gain recognition from the school as being willing to be educated are those who are able to identify the rules of the school, not only explicit rules about discipline and school behavior, but also implicit rules in the hidden curriculum

They can tell you about not talking in class or about being clean... But it is more difficult to know what the teacher expects and what is the right ways to do so many of the things in class and even outside (Amina)

This willingness to be educated and ability to identify the deeper meanings of school curriculum and regulations is particularly relevant for academic learning, where children are expected to acquire certain cognitive and social competencies through pedagogical processes. Each specific discipline in particular exhibits its own construct of an academic or classroom culture and as achievement within the subject requires children's understanding of and negotiation with the cultures, children's ability to identify the operative rules of the culture's themes and symbols is quite relevant to educational progress. Learners who are able to distinguish between the surface of educational content and the deeper meanings delivered through pedagogy are thus able to match the schools operative concept of an educated person and this allows greater success. Different pupils experience the schools experience differently due to the integration of concepts of educated discourse and practice in their habitus differently, with those who excel being those who can grasp the underlying operative norms and expectations.

Kiswahili is my favorite subject because I like reading he books and it is almost as if I am speaking at home... I can also follow the teacher when he is describing the stories. I can tell they require deeper analysis instead of just being a story for children. That way, I can answer the questions better in the exams (Amina)

In particular, some reject the literary or scientific discourse presented in class as alien to their nature, thus indicating their habitus' distance from the socio-disciplinary norms and practices that form academic and classroom cultures in the school. Since these cultures, influenced by the didactic decisions of the teacher and the traditions of the school, to a large extent mediate children's participation in schooling and their educational achievements, children who are either unable to master the cultures or reject them as alien are unable to become good learners. The process of education rarely takes explicit pedagogic action but is rather largely embodied by automatic, agentless effects of the physical and social organization of education which is all held together by the androcentric principle (Bourdieu, 2001). Pupils narratives of their educational experiences focused on three key issues; recognizing their role as pupils in a school, coping with difficulties and crises with emotional self-regulation and

developing a disposition suitable for becoming educated. This outlined the process of grasping the schools expectations in the form of the concept of the educated person and the pupils' attempts to work towards acquiring the norms and practices relevant for meeting these expectations. Thus, learning was a process of becoming.

When I am in school, I just aim to become a good pupil. Sometimes it works, sometimes not.... But it is important to always find out what the teachers want and how to better understand the subjects. I focus on being a good learner. And I hope that can help me become better and better (Naipano)

This is echoed by Wambasi's experiences at school;

...but I know if I want to succeed, I have to learn how to follow the rules and learn how to learn well. In Math, I used to try and solve problems as fast as possible. But I found out that first it is easier to figure out how it relates to the topic taught before we were given the sum. And also try to think what the teacher wants you to do (Wambasi)

For the children, this requirement that they should adopt a persona that is educated poses a great challenge in relation to dealing with their community. As schooling cultures pursue learning as enculturation, children have to recognize and adopt the socio-disciplinary norms and practices relevant to becoming an educated person. To many of the pupils, schooling was a process of becoming alienated from their culture, reaching towards an otherness that was completely different from their lives. Thus success in schooling in essence essentially meant they had to differentiate themselves completely from their home cultures and become an object pliable to the demands of schooling. This otherness of schooling in relation to their home cultures meant that children had to become increasingly engaged with school culture while becoming detached from their home culture, at least while in school

When I think of home, it is a completely different world from school. What we do here and what a Masai boy does at home are on two different sides of the world... I want to be a good man for my family and to do this; I should succeed both at home and at school. So I try to keep the school stuff separate from home stuff. When I am at school, I try to be different (Metito)

This expectation that children should develop certain dispositions to fit in the academic cultures is thus a prevalent reality of children's lives. Pupils who are unable to adapt or reject such dispositions are thus unlikely to become competent at school. Academic cultures thus serve to inculcate a guiding ideology into the practice of schooling and children's participation in these cultures as learners helps to shape their attitudes while transmitting norms and values that schooling considers to be relevant. In particular, the orientation of pupils' identities towards a modernity that is promoted as the future as opposed to the tradition that is past. This is one of the key issues in Kenyan education, the idea that education can be a tool for social change to enable the country get away from its tribal and cultural traditions towards the embrace of a Western modernity. In pursuit of this, schooling offers children the chance to switch sides, with the promise of paid employment and social recognition as a reward. Thus children are enticed to accept modernity through aspiration to the dispositions demanded by academic cultures

We have to speak English and act like the white people. Once our English teacher showed us a video and said we should learn to speak English like the white people in the video because that is the only way our country will develop and we will get good jobs. It did not sound so good, but I think in some way, we have to learn the behaviors of the white man if we want our society to be like theirs (Hassan)

The learning process was thus a process of acculturation that that was co-constructed by the interaction of structures and agency. Becoming an educated person entailed the concept of the educated person being a possible identity in light of the pupils' habitus, one that existed within the individual's horizons for action which were structured in turn by their socio-cultural background, their individual preference and their previous experiences which had predisposed them to a certain choice. However, it was evident among the children in this study that even though their social location predisposed them to low achievements in schooling, certain experiences and conversion factors were helpful in broadening their horizons for action, thus indicating the dynamic nature of habitus. This shows the process of identity formation in schooling process as orientation towards the educated habitus, highlighting the need for schooling structures to be organized so as to enable pupils from backgrounds not compatible with schooling and institutional habitus to adapt to the institutional norms and practices of schooling rather than expecting them to adopt them immediately or be rejected. The Kenyan schooling culture, which is based on expectations of success in examinations or failure and the drop out, harms pupils' chances to acquire valuable outcomes. The evidence from this study shows that schooling is not necessarily an expression of personality-environment fit or pre-determined role adjustment but rather a dynamic, relational process where pupils, particularly those from disadvantaged backgrounds, gradually adopt the practices and norms necessary for educational success. Children in schooling face certain tensions in their learning experience arising from the competing demands of formal schooling on one hand and livelihoods and cultural socialization on the other hand. Both offer the idealized image of a well-adjusted pupil and of a full member of their cultural community, images which in most cases are presented as mutually exclusive. Thus the learners have the option of either choosing one and rejecting the other or negotiating a middle path. The children in this study were able to find a path that allows both participation in their community and participation in schooling, although they had to make many sacrifices in both arenas.

It is very difficult being in school and at home. Sometimes I want to just stop with school, because it is a lot of struggle. And I am not sure if I will go to high school and university. But I try to succeed, so that if I fail in the end, at least I tried... I also have to go for initiation because otherwise I cannot be a real Masai (Metito)

Schooling should thus mediate between socio-cultural background and educational expectations and instead of functioning as a filter for those who do not adopt the concept of the educated person should instead pursue a middle path that gradually encourages pupils to adapt to the schooling processes while still maintaining a healthy cultural identity. This broadens pupils' horizons for action. Most institutional practices are viewed in most institutions as "une sens pratique" that are immutable and necessary for the functioning of the system (Mesny, 2002) but are generally socially constructed and can be changed to ensure pupils horizons of action are broadened. In the Kenyan context this is evident in the increasing inclusive educational practices that

address challenges pupils from marginalized backgrounds face in access and participation in schooling. One key challenge in changing this dichotomy is the delineation of what is an educational necessity and what is merely a cultural arbitrary in educational spaces. The relevance of knowledge and practices at school should be explicitly exposed to the children and their families to enable them evaluate and make relevant decisions about the value of schooling to them, and also the value it can contribute to their social lives. Many families reject knowledge as superfluous to their needs as the relevance of schooling is tied to the perceived immediacy of pedagogical instruction to children's lives. However, it is evident that many of the children have a different conceptualization of what is worth knowing, rather than being simply unable to comprehend school knowledge. However, knowledge is quite important in presenting an accurate picture of social reality to children, and thus being a tool for social and personal change (Nash, 2002). It is in this sense that one needs to question the role of knowledge in Kenyan educational processes, and how the curriculum is or can be molded to suit children's lives. In the children's worlds where education is tied to the instrumental benefits of schooling, it is quite obvious that the necessity to obtain adequate qualification drives children's perceptions of schoolings. Moreover, the children's perceived ability to successfully navigate schooling and get to the end of the academic pipeline affects how they participate in schooling. Successful pupils were the ones who were able to couch their educational ambitions in terms of the desire to be educated rather than simply in instrumental terms. This encompassed not only the entry to the labor market that schooling offered, but also the chance to develop social and cognitive skills that were of value in themselves. This in particular entailed adopting the belief that school knowledge is of high status and can transmit skills that make them the educated people they want to be. This role required children to change form the traditional perspectives of socialization and education as one where an individual became a full member of society after successfully navigating all initiation rituals towards a view where one becomes educated through successfully acquiring academic and social dispositions particular to the school habitus.

6.4. Learners and Educational Success

For pupils who reject the school habitus and refuse to fit in the concept of the educated person offered in school, they are denied the certification and corresponding access to society in the modern society that education acts as a gate keeper to. Thus the pupils are relegated to the marginalized corners of society where traditional socialization becomes their only source of livelihood. However, it is evident from the pupils' narratives that traditional socialization by itself is not sufficient and children's present and future wellbeing requires greater engagement with the modernity offered by schooling. Conversely, the education offered at schooling is in itself not sufficient as the children still have to live within their communities, which are to a large extent influenced by traditional norms and customs. This in a nutshell delineates the paradox of pupils' lives, where success in school impacts negatively upon their lives in the community and vice versa. and calls for a reorganization of schooling in a way that ensures schooling, which is becoming the main arena for socialization in Kenya, to integrate knowledge, norms and practices that impart to pupils not only academic knowledge for certification but also knowledge and skills necessary for manipulating the social and physical environment or their wellbeing. The changing nature of Kenyan

society requires that pupils develop capacities for analyzing and interacting with the real world, which while consisting of traditional structures, is fast changing and becoming a hybrid mix of modernity and tradition. In the future, this is likely to tilt in favor of modernity and thus making it even more urgent that schooling prepares pupils for this coming modernity. The real problem in schooling lies in the posited dichotomy, where schooling is seen as offering an educational arbitrary that is designed for perpetuating the symbolic power of Westernization while traditional socialization offers cultural knowledge necessary for children's social success in their communities. While this difference is blurred for children in urban areas like the slum which is located on the poor margins of the rich westernized society, this dichotomy is quite evident in rural areas where the divide is quite large. In these societies, education is seen as an arbitrary social structure that aims to break down the real traditional values and norms and replace them with an alien system. While the success in education is even valued by some families and learners for its instrumental benefits, the perception still persists. On the other hand, schooling schedules and practices run contrary to most traditional knowledge and practices thus setting up a clash of civilizations, and a dilemma for pupils who want to succeed in both arenas.

While schooling structures and subjects are structured by cultural and historical frames, it would be prejudiced to assume that curriculum, pedagogy and evaluation are arbitrary. Schooling responds, even though ineffectively in the Kenyan context, to the present and future needs of societies, and thus offers a relevance to children's lives. Skills offered at school do give pupils real advantages that can enable them to secure their wellbeing, even in the context of their traditional communities and more so in the emerging modernity. The challenge lies in offering curriculum that recognized pupils needs and couches curriculum in means that reflect the applicability of the knowledge to pupils' lives. This would make learning practical by creating linkages between the traditional worlds of pupils' lives to their school lives. In particular, home-school-community linkages can help ease the tension by ensuring families are aware of the benefits of schooling while schools show recognition or the role of traditional norms and customs for pupils wellbeing. Bourdieu's (1986) concern with social distinction and control of symbolic power in this regard highlights the nature of schooling and the need for linking the arbitrary and the necessary. While schooling does play a role in (re)producing social classes, schooling in itself does offer certain skills and dispositions that serve as a means of scaling the social ladder. Skills such as rational thought, semiotics and language are a prerequisite for achieving instrumental, positional and intrinsic benefits from education. Thus acquiring these skills is not arbitrary but rather a means of serving children's wellbeing by ensuring they are integrated into society. While arguments can be made for the neocolonisation of developing countries through globalization and the primacy of Western knowledge and language, it is also a reality that Kenyan society is structured by its history and the forces of Westernization are inescapable. The pragmatic solution would thus focus on how children's wellbeing can be improved in the not-so-ideal present and future. This requires effort from both schools and communities. This calls for approaches to schooling and children's experiences through realist ontology (Nash, 2003). Such ontology would locate pedagogy, curriculum and evaluation within its social, cultural and emotional context. Children's experiences in education are structured by their sense making of educational structures and institutions. Educational institutions should thus attempt to ensure children's realities in school are co-constructed with regards to their need for schooling as a path for educational success while taking into account pupils need to also successfully be integrated in their families and communities. Such a goal would be

assisted by mutually constituting relationships between institutional habitus and family habitus that focuses on children's wellbeing in and through education

7. FAMILY HABITUS

Parents expressed various reasons for their aspirations for and practices towards children's success in education and transition to higher levels. These reasons were reflected in the instrumental, intrinsic and positional value the families attached to their children's education. These aspirations and practices were embedded in the complexities of the families' material constraints, limited opportunities in accessing the labor market, gendered sociocultural norms, and inadequate education provision by the state. Schooling and its associated outcomes were seen as valuable enough to invest in, even to the extent of making certain sacrifices to achieve it. Schooling was mainly perceived as a means of escaping the poverty and many families provided evidence that the main reason they were in their present predicament was the lack of valuation of schooling during their childhood and were keen to avoid repeating the same mistake with their children. While education in itself was considered an intrinsically valuable good, the main value attached to it was focused upon the expected instrumental and positional benefits the children and their families would derive from it. Aspirations were to some extent gendered, and depended upon cultural assumptions about the good life for boys or girls at present and in the future. Primary schooling was valued particularly for its role as a transitory stage to secondary and higher education that would furnish the children with the requisite competencies and qualifications to obtain public sphere paid employment. Thus, none of the families were satisfied with completion of basic education, contradicting development policy and practice which focused on access to basic education as an end in itself. This dilemma to a large extent informs educational aspirations and practices, as will be discussed in the next chapter and is indicated by the high educational aspirations of the families interviewed who had such high aspirations precisely because their children were on a fast track to high school. The only factor dampening their enthusiasm was the reality that they might not be able to support their children through further levels of schooling.

7.1. Educational Aspirations

7.1.1. Instrumental

Many families indicated that their main educational aspiration was to provide their children with a better life through education. This belief echoed the rhetoric of the government policy, which stated that “*masomo ndio mwanzo wa maisha bora*” (education is the beginning of a better life). All the families interviewed stated this deeply held belief and elaborated on how their (parents) present lives would be much better if they had received sufficient educational opportunities to obtain qualifications and competencies necessary for success on the labor market.

During my childhood, nobody cared about education. Especially for girls. My parents never even once thought of taking me to school. I was expected to stay home with my mother and learn to be a good wife. Now what is the use of all that? I am not a wife, and I never learnt how to do any useful job (Hassan's mother).

The parents acknowledged that Kenyan societies had radically changed since independence, and that in the post-independence era, access to education had been a defining factor in development of various regions, with Nairobi and Central province being singled out as regions of Kenya that had managed to gain control of the country's economy due to early provision of education, a consequence of colonial policy that favored regions close to their center of power while regions that were of lesser value to the colonialists were ignored. This trend continued after independence with the post-independence government improving access and quality of education in Nairobi and Central Province, as the first president hailed from central Province.

In Kilifi the colonialists ignored us. The only valuable thing was sisal, and one didn't need to go to school to harvest sisal. But in central, they got schools and later, got all the jobs in government when Kenyatta became president. And of course he came here and stole our land. And didn't even bother to at least give us some schools. That is why Coast is so backwards. No education (Amina's father).

Parents were thus confident that access to education for their children would enable them to be able to navigate challenges in adapting to and profiting from modernity. There was consensus that traditional livelihood strategies were no longer valid and their pursuit would only lead to a miserable life and were keen to avoid such a fate for their children. The realization that encroaching modernity was threatening traditional livelihoods such as the Masai had dawned upon the parents and if the parents were to successfully prepare their children for the future, as they saw their duty to be, then they would have to arm them with the tools to do so. Education was seen as the pathway to survival in this new order that was disrupting traditional socialization and livelihood mechanisms. The parents themselves had experienced firsthand the unsuitability of traditional livelihoods to a good life in the present as the traditional livelihood strategies were insufficient and relegated them to a life of poverty and hardship. They were thus keen to avoid the same fate for their children for whom they wished a good life through integration in modernity.

If you see us here, we still live like our ancestors. For our fathers and grandfathers, that was sufficient and they never lacked for much, even though even then it was still a hard life. But now there is too much pressure from this world of wazungus. We can't expect to continue living like this. Our grazing lands are gone, tourism has become more important and we can't even go into the park even though it is our ancestors land. At least now I can still survive a bit more like this. But if my son was to follow the Masai way, he will end up poor and struggling. And these new diseases will come and kill all his cows and he can't go and raid some other tribes for cows. What use if a Masai without cows? So it is better he learns how to be a mzungu to survive in this world (Metito's father).

In the slum area of Mombasa, where the families lived quite close to modernity but were marginalized and lived on its fringes (figuratively and also literally, as the slum was situated right next to the upper-class residential area of Nyali, separated by high electric fences), the parents were more cognizant of the need for education as a path to a better life in the future for their children.

I look across the walls and see a world we can never step into, because we were not born into the right families and never went to school. But when my children

grow up, I want them to live on the other side of the fence. Over there with their swimming pools and guard dogs that eat more meat in a month than we eat in a year. The way I see it, there are two ways. Either be born in a rich family. Or go to school, get a good job or run a business and be successful (Amina's mother).

Hassan's mother, who occasionally undertook housework in the houses of the rich, was particularly vocal about the role of social and cultural capital in perpetuation of the rich families' social power and wealth. She was aware that the practices and lifestyles of the middle and upper class were conducive to educational success, something that she was unable to provide to her children. However, she was determined to leverage all her resources to elevate her son to a higher social position through educational success which would enable him to enter prestigious schools and later in life obtain prestigious jobs and the attendant social and cultural capital.

I go there to wash clothes and their houses, and sometimes I take Hassan or his brother with me because there is a lot of work. And I am ashamed to see small children of five years speaking English better than my son. They look at us like we are the dirty clothes they ask me to wash. But the only difference is they have all the things they need to continue being rich. Books, televisions, money for good schools. But I am proud of my Hassan. Even in his school, he is still really good and will pass KCPE to go to a national school. Then he will meet all those rich children there and there they can only judge him on his brains, not on how his mother washes their clothes.

The parents saw the same need for both girls and boys to be able to have a good life in this new order brought about by modernity, explaining that the traditional gendered roles had only served perpetuation of the cultural norms. However in a new world, the families were expected to follow the new rules, and both boys and girls needed to be able to build a new life for themselves and not expect marriage and cultural traditions to offer refuge. The parents themselves were keenly aware of this destabilization of gender roles in their own marriages, where they were increasingly being called upon to undertake breadwinner roles that were reserved for men. This drove their pragmatic perceptions of gender equality in education access, as they realized that both boys and girls equally needed education to ensure they were able to have a good life in the future, whether married or not.

Traditionally, girls were expected to learn how to be good wives and good mothers. If they did that, they would get a good husband who would ensure that they had all the food, shelter and security they needed. Now, our traditions are gone down the hole (sic). So those rules about men or women don't work. They are all expected to be able to take care of themselves equally. Not even because the government says it. It is just a reality that one person alone cannot take care of a family and provide a good life (Nafula's mother).

Hassan's mother, who did not have a girl, was also equally pragmatic about equality in access to education as a foundation for a good life, based on her own experience as a single mother.

I think our society needed to experience such things so as to be able to change its bad attitude toward women. I am a woman, yet I am both the father and mother to my sons. In fact, we should place more emphasis on women being

prepared to have a good life in the future. The men will have children and leave. It is the women who have the burden of raising them up. Once more parents realize this, there will be no question of seeing boys as more important than girls.

Naipanoi's mother on the other hand was quite skeptical about her daughter's ability to fit in with the Masai culture after finishing her schooling and was thus preparing her for a life outside the Masai culture in which she would be able to take care of herself without relying on the traditional Masai marriage and livelihood arrangements. This was particularly informed by her reluctance to take her daughter for circumcision since it would interrupt her schooling and lead to an early marriage, something that both the mother and daughter were uneasy about, given their commitment to her schooling. Among the Masai, an uncircumcised girl would be almost unable to find a traditional marriage match and her father had threatened to disown his daughter if she did not undergo the ritual.

I think her only chance is to go to school and move away. Then she can be in a better position to have a good life away from here, where she won't be forced to undergo rituals she doesn't want or to get married early before she is ready.

In the cultural traditions of the families, children were expected to take care of their parents as they grew older, in return for their parents having brought them up and socialized them into the appropriate livelihood strategies of the community. Thus, the parental aspirations for a better life for their children were also implicitly entwined with the expectation that if their children were successful in the future, they would be better placed to provide care and material support for the parents in their old age. Given the lack of welfare safety nets and retirement pensions, family support of the elderly was a common practice throughout the country. Investment in one's children's future wellbeing was thus in effect a pension plan for the parents.

When we are old and cannot work on the farm anymore, the only person who can take care of us are our children. We do not have any savings and nobody else to turn to. So I want my child to move up and have a good life. And when am old, he will buy me milk. And when we die, he will give us a proper burial (Wambasi's mother).

Public sphere employment, usually characterized as a professional job in the civil service, education sector or industry, was seen as the most desirable outcome of education and indeed education was the only route to obtaining such employment. Parents were confident that if their children managed to successfully complete primary school and proceed to high school and then college, this aspiration would be fulfilled.

If she succeeds to go on to high school and university, she can get a good job as teacher, or doctor. Or any other job she chooses to study for. A job that will help her to take care of herself. And also take care of me. That is what I expect from her (Naipanoi's mother)

This aspiration was informed by the impracticalities of continued dependence on traditional livelihood strategies that involved inheritance of land or cattle from parents. Given that these agricultural resources were almost exhausted due to intergenerational sharing without any corresponding growth in the resource base, parents were worried that by the time their children came of age, they would have

exhausted the productive value of these resources or there would simply not be enough to go around for all the children.

The world is changing. Some time ago, my parents could survive by having a farm and being good farmers. In fact that was all the people wanted to do, nobody cared much about school when I was young. But even right now, it is not enough. He just has to go out into the real world and learn some skills that will get him a better life. Besides, our farm is small and if we divide it between him and his brother, then they can't even plant enough maize to eat for one month. So if he wants a better life, school is the only option" (Wambasi's father).

Given that in most Kenyan cultures girls were not included in inheritance customs due to the expectations that they would be taken care of by their husbands families, parents of girls were aware of the pitfalls for the girls and were thus determined to provide education for their girls to provide them with a stable source of income in the future independent of marriage.

All of these cows are going to her brothers, and they too many boys already. So she cannot expect any inheritance. And among the Masai, the only other option is to get married, preferably to a rich old man. This is not the life I want for her (Naipanoi's mother).

Thus it is evident that parents held the strong belief that without education the children would not be able to guarantee their own and their families' future financial security. Moreover, education was seen as a valuable resource whose worth would not diminish, thus justifying the investments

Education is the only inheritance I can bequeath my children. God knows I have nothing else to give to them. But even if I had money they would maybe waste it. But once they get education and get certificates they will always have them. And they can never say I never did anything or them.

A common thread in all the interviews was a single-minded focus on transition to higher levels of schooling. With regards to employment, parents were quite aware that the children needed not only the basic skills offered in primary school but rather professional qualifications that could only be obtained if the children persisted until high school and then training. This influenced their focus on transitions to high school and college, as simply going to basic schooling was worthless in itself. They did acknowledge that there are a lot of intrinsic benefits in education, but the end goal was always seen as professional qualifications. Schooling at the basic level was thus only a stepping stone to higher levels of education that would enable achievement of public sphere employment and enable the children to avoid menial labor and precarious livelihoods.

Primary school alone is quite useless. I know many children ho finish Class 8 and then just go back to the village with nothing for it. That is not what I am struggling for. I want her to go to high school and college, where she will get a degree, or at least a Diploma that will get her a real job (Nafula's mother).

When asked about the Millennium Development Goals and their focus on primary education, most parents were critical of Kenyan education policy being decided by

foreigners who, in their opinion, had no knowledge of the Kenyan context or what their children required.

How can a mzungu come here and tell our government what to do? Even if we are poor, our government should listen to us, not them. We know what our families and our villages are going through. The government should come to us and ask us what we need, and then try to help us. If they can't do it by themselves, then they should ask for help from other countries, but for help that we need (Amina's father).

Wambasi's father, who prided himself in being informed of government policy and practice through constantly reading newspapers and watching mass media, was highly critical of the government and its relations to donor, especially regarding the setting of development goals globally rather than through consultation with Kenyan communities to identify their actual needs. However, he was full of praise for the Free Secondary Education programme² as it offered chances for progression to secondary school to children from poor families. In his opinion, this was the right step forward in widening educational opportunities meaningfully by ensuring that children would not only attend primary school then be stuck in the villages with KCPE certificates which were almost worthless on the labor market as they did not offer any professional qualification. However, the limited scope of the program, both in access and the amount of costs covered was questioned.

This is a good idea. So now we just don't have public relations exercises by the politicians, trying to convince us they are doing something. If they truly make secondary school affordable, then our children can succeed in education. And in university, they offer HELB loans. So achieving professional qualifications would be very real for our children.

The reality that many graduates of universities and colleges in Kenya were still unemployed, many for years after graduation, did not dampen the aspirations of the parents. When asked about the high unemployment rate in the country, parents were adamant that there was no other alternative to investing in education. The parents stressed that the children would have to work harder to ensure that their qualifications are competitive enough to secure employment. Moreover, the parents were convinced that educational opportunities provided children with a financial security net, as even if they didn't obtain jobs immediately they would still have professional skills that they would never lose value.

That is my biggest headache. But it is still in the future. For now, I just need to get him through primary and secondary and then hope he gets into university. From there, it is all in God's hands. But even if he tarmac (footnote) for a few years, his certificates will never get old. Sooner or later, he will get a job (Metito's mother).

However, this determination was tempered with the knowledge that obtaining employment in the future would require leveraging of social capital. The parents were acutely aware of the role of social networks in obtaining employment, as many people obtained jobs through relatives or friends who were in managerial positions or politics.

² After the success of the Free Primary Education, the Kenyan government has introduced a limited version at secondary levels, with the government providing a fixed grant per pupil towards tuition fees in public secondary schools.

The parents thus opined that if their children went to schools; they would get to make friends with people who would later on have influential positions. This networking aspect of education was quite important to some of the parents as they themselves did not know any influential people.

I am just here in the village. How am I supposed to know any important people? When she goes to school and meets people there, then she can find out how to get a job from them (Naipanoi's mother).

However, Wambasi's mother was confident that her sister who was a school principal would be able to obtain jobs for her children, but only if they were successful in school

He only needs to be successful in school and leave everything else to me. I can always go to my sister and ask her for help in finding a job as a teacher or through her friends.

Technical and vocational education was considered a less valuable option and most of the parents did not aspire to such professions. They were of the opinion that children could undertake vocational training in the village without any educational and thus it did not make any sense for them to go through education only to come out and get a blue collar job. This view reflected the stratification of the labor market in Kenya and in particular the association of vocational training with lack of success in school. Most vocational training institutions in Kenya did not require any school certificates and apart from expectations of rudimentary reading and writing skills, almost anyone could access vocational training. That the children could resort to if they were unable to obtain professional experience. Thus, vocational training commanded lower prestige and remuneration that did not fit with the parents aspirations.

Moreover, the value attached to vocational training or apprenticeships was linked to the perception that the labor market was preferential to university graduates. This was evident in the case of Wambasi's father, who had undertaken apprenticeship training to obtain his Diploma in Accounting but after losing his job, he was unable to get another as most firms preferred university graduates, even given his professional experience. This in part reflected the changing nature of the Kenyan labor market. At the time of his training, there were relatively few university graduates and thus Diploma holders could easily obtain jobs. However, with massification of university education, more and more graduates were on the market and firms were able to have their pick of employees and the preference for university graduates thus reflected the associated prestige and competence that a university degree grants.

His father was well-educated. At least for that time. But he lost his job and couldn't find another, because a lot of companies he applied to thought that his diploma was not good enough. So now I hope he goes to university and gets a Degree, so that even if he loses his job, his degree will be good enough to get another one" (Wambasi's mother).

7.1.2. Positional

Attending schooling and obtaining qualifications was considered an important positional good, given that education was slowly becoming a marker of social class in Kenya. Parents were convinced that their children's education would give them higher

status in society, while also enabling them to successfully navigate life in the changing society. Given that most of the parents blamed their lack of sufficient education for their woes in life, they were confident that attending school, particularly at higher levels, would redeem their families and raise their location in society. Education was thus considered a desirable good that offered social status to the children and their families. However, the positional value of education was widely variable according to context and mostly depended on the value and meaning attached to certain educational outcomes by the families and communities. In this respect, the positional value of education was contextual and could be simultaneously positive and negative depending on the temporal or social location. Education was widely seen as offering the children social skills that make them stand out in society and gain recognition and respect and this also reflects upon the family. Speaking English was for example seen as an important social skill in both the urban and rural areas, as the children would then become gateways for other members of the society who needed to access any services related to English, which as the national language used in media, education and professional life, was quite important. Even though English is one of the two national languages, together with Swahili, many individuals were not conversant in English, and thus had difficulties accessing any services or social circles that required fluency. In Loitokitok and Mombasa, where tourism is a major source of livelihoods for some members of the community, the ability to speak English was highly valued as it enabled interaction with tourists for sale of souvenirs. Thus, children who could speak English were highly sought after by the local craftsmen and traders who would employ them as interpreters in any business with tourist. This in turn earned their families not only money but also social recognition and obligations from other community members which they could call upon in times of need.

Our neighbor has a business selling curios and woodwork to the tourists, and Hassan helps him out sometimes in dealing with his clients. He can speak English well and a little Italian and the customers pay more when it's a small boy. And because he is probably the richest man here, any time we need some emergency help, we can always go to him and he would not refuse.

The positional benefits of education were also conceptualized in terms of the children having an opportunity to go to school with children from higher social classes as education was also seen as enabling interaction across social classes, with children from various social classes interacting in school. This was particularly so in Kakamega where children from highly different families went to school together. This was valued in terms of the social networks the children would build up through school and thus be able to access various benefits through them. Moreover, the parents were confident that by interacting with the children from the richer families, their own children would be able to learn the socio-cultural norms and values that their own families were unable to transmit to them

My child will go to school in Alliance or Starehe (some of the best schools in Kenya) and there he will meet many children from rich families and with important parents. This will help him learn how to deal with them and also how to make money like them. And if he had friends like that, he can probably get jobs easier (Wambasi's mother)

The parents pointed out that Kenyan society still operated mostly at informal levels of social favors, where one could obtain employment and other benefits from knowing the

right people. While this is largely construed as members from one's own extended family or ethnicity, the parents were more concerned with their children being able to use friendships as a means to obtain employment. Naipano's mother cited some former classmates of the 3rd President of Kenya, who had obtained influential positions in government due to their friendship with him when he was rising through the ranks of government as a Member of Parliament and then Cabinet Minister. Education was also generally seen as enabling children be able to communicate better and make their point across, thus becoming leaders among their age sets and developing leadership skills. This was seen as very important given the breakdown of traditional socialization and the fading importance of cultural leadership roles.

Children's participation in schooling brought recognition to their families from school officials and government officers, particularly to families whose children excelled at school. This was important to the families as this recognition also entailed financial benefits and support for their children's education. Moreover, other families would approach them to intercede on their behalf with the government and school teachers, thus increasing their social standing.

Every time I go to the school, the head teacher talks to me. The other parents know me and the TAC Tutor even visited me at home to give me a reward. I really like it when my daughter performs highly. Of course it shows that we as a family are supporting him to the fullest extent possible, even with all the difficulties we have. Because we are not rich. . And it shows we are good parents, which is a highly respected (Nafula's mother)

I was invited to talk to the Baraza³ about education and the importance of attending school. This was a great honor. Women are rarely asked to speak, and some elders even complain. But I think it is important. Not just for me, even if it is nice. But for all the children and mothers there to know they should make sure children go to school. Even girls. (Wambasi's mother).

Education was also expected to attract better prospects for marriage for girls, and the parents considered this necessary in a society where traditional socialization as beginning to break down. In traditional society, marriage prospects depended largely on an individual's social standing, and this was achieved through participation in socialization processes and leadership in the community. Given the breakdown of traditional norms, particularly in the slum in Mombasa where families were divorced from their ethnic communities, education was rapidly becoming the means of earning social esteem. For girls, it was expected that the higher their level of educational attainment, the more likely they were to be able to find husbands who were of high social standing and with the ability to earn a comfortable livelihood for the family.

If she goes to school, she will be able to meet other educated people there. If she stays here in the village, she will just hang around these village boys who have nothing other than a farm inherited from their parents. An educated husband will be much better (Nafula's mother).

Girls' education was also viewed as a future investment in terms of dowry, as the family would be able to demand a much higher bride price for the daughter, in return for having educated her and bringing her up "right" (sic). While this appeared to be a

³ Public meeting usually held in villages by the local authorities, usually the chief of the location. The meetings are meant to address administrative issues, disputes and award of recognition for merit.

materialistic motivation, Amina's mother was convinced that it was also in the best interests of the girl, in terms of having a husband who would be able to take care of her, and who valued her enough to pay a higher dowry.

Of course it is not just the money. It's about having a husband who values her enough to show appreciation that he is a getting a good girl. And of course it also shows that he will be able to take care of her.

The girls' education in itself was also seen as a means of ensuring that their positions in marriage will be protected. The mothers were also sure that this would enhance their position in marriages as by being educated, they could take care of themselves and would thus not be treated as slaves by their husbands. In this case, education enhanced the social status of women, by ensuring that they would be able to earn their own livelihoods and thus change decision making and authority structures in the family. Nafula's mother elaborated on the position of women in marriages which are weakened by the dominance of the husband as the breadwinner, with the women dependent upon him. This position engendered devaluation of women, as the man was able to do anything he pleased without consideration of the woman's views.

If she has an education and a job, the man would not just treat her like dirt. He would listen to her and respect her opinions, even if he is the man of the house. Many women here are afraid of being left by their husband, not only because of the social shame, but also because they would have nowhere to go. Thus they stay and suffer all kinds of abuse and problems. And the men take advantage of that. But if she has an option, then he will think twice.

In Loitokitok, Masai culture dictated that girls would get circumcised between the ages of 12 and 14, and would soon afterwards find a husband. This was in stark contrast to Naipanoi's mother's expectations that her daughter would continue with schooling to higher levels. Thus the issue of marriage was complicated and the mother preferred not to discuss it, preferring to wait and see what happened. However, she was also worried that if she was pursued education to higher levels, this would lead to her total alienation from the Masai culture and would thus not be able to marry a Masai man. This dilemma reflected her dilemmatic position with regards to education. On one hand, she was hopeful that her daughter would pursue education and achieve the instrumental goals she had, and also protect her from some harmful traditional rites such as circumcision but was also worried that her daughter's pursuit of education would lead to her daughter making choices that would not please the mother. Moreover, the mother was also afraid that if the father felt that education was alienating the daughter from the culture, then he would refuse to support her further schooling. This reflects the family's challenges in accommodating both familial expectations for education while also pursuing their cultural beliefs and norms.

Most of the Masai men here would think she has too much education. And she would not want to be a proper Masai wife. So it is a difficult decision for me. Already she doesn't want to go to the circumcision. If her father finds out, then her schooling is over.

Schooling was further considered as a strategy to as means of delaying sexual experimentation and early marriages. Nafula's mother shared similar concerns, she was more confident that social structures were sufficiently robust to safeguard her daughters honor. However, in the slum, where the parents were occupied throughout

the day and even late into the night in livelihood activities, schooling offered a safe harbor where children would be supervised. As much as the parents were somewhat worried about boys and girls being in class together, they were confident that the teacher's supervision was sufficient to protect against any unbecoming behavior. Amina's mother was confident that her daughter was better off being in school since if she was at home the whole time, she could easily fall under the influence of other children to engage in sexual experimentation or drugs. In her opinion, there were too many early pregnancies in the slum as most girls dropped out of school early and had no other meaningful activity to engage in. Early pregnancies were not only a burden to the family, since most boys would disavow the pregnancy, but were also a social stigma and would complicate the girl's effort to find a husband in the future, something that she would need to do if she was out of school as the mother would not be able to support her indefinitely.

School keeps these girls busy; otherwise they will just go with any boy they see. When they have school, and homework, they have no time for such things. And in school, the teachers keep a sharp eye on them.

7.1.3. Intrinsic

The intrinsic value of education was conceptualized as the benefits from schooling that were essential for children's social and emotional wellbeing at present and in the future. These benefits promoted children's agency and wellbeing achievements and were linked to both the families and learners educational aspirations. The intrinsic value attached to education was thus mainly linked to the families' beliefs that education enabled their children to adapt to life in the modernity that was interrupting traditional socialization and rendering it irrelevant to the children's wellbeing. This was not only weighed in terms of the instrumental benefits but rather the idea that traditional socialization was rapidly losing significance and a full social life could only be achieved through schooling. Even though education was first and foremost valued for the instrumental benefits parents believed their children would accrue from it, it was also seen as a means of becoming a better person. When considered against the parents' apprehension that the quality of education their children accessed was of poor quality, yet they still persisted in supporting their children's education, it is apparent that the parents believed in the intrinsic value of schooling. This echoes parental beliefs about the role of education as a change agent in society since it enhanced social and civic participation while enabling the children to be able to make ethical and moral choices in life.

We have our own rules about how to live in the society. But in this new world, our rules and ways of life are lost. Too many new things. I was in the Parents Teachers Association meeting and a teacher showed me a computer. What do I know about these things? How can I teach my daughter about them if I have no idea? So in school, he can learn how to deal with these things, learn how to make his life better using these new things (Naipano's mother)

Education was thus seen as a powerful tool for adjustment in the emerging modernity, enabling children to navigate the difficulties associated with becoming a full member of society and participating in civic and social life. In particular, parents focused on the

idea that although they still lived in societies that were largely imbued by traditional rules, this was in itself a form of social exclusion, as their lack of immersion in modernity had in effect consigned them to the fringes of the emerging modernity. In this sense, schooling was seen as a means of enabling their children access social participation in both arenas and thus exercise their rights and responsibilities fully, thus aiding their agency and wellbeing achievements. Wambasi's mother posited the situation that earlier they had access to mass media but she had been unable to consume the media such as radio, newspapers and television programming as she could not understand English and this had limited her to requesting translations from her husband. Moreover, she could not read any of the books her husband owned as her proficiency in English was limited.

Even when we had a television, I was unable to follow all the programs. Being a housewife back then when we were in Nairobi, I had so much free time, but nothing to do. TV, books, newspapers were out of my social circle. I want my children to be able to enjoy all these things. Know what is happening in the world. I am happier when I see him reading and enjoying it.

Given shifting moral values and ethics, schooling as also seen as a means of enabling children make value judgments regarding the new world. Parents were aware that the rise of modernity had brought with it many issues and concepts that were alien to their culture and thus could not be understood within the scope of their community's moral codes. In this sense, parents were themselves thus unable to impart to their children a relevant moral code that would enable them to navigate such fields and schooling was considered a relevant arena for them to develop the rationality to make positive ethical and moral judgments. This involved the acquisition of social capital, cultural capital and agency.

When I was young, I already knew what was right and wrong, and what my community expected from me, by the age of ten. Nowadays, there are too many new things and too many choices. And how do I teach my children what is right and wrong in this new world when I don't know that much about the behavior of people in cities, in schools, at university? So I hope he can learn how to make such decisions in school. (Amina's mother)

This was also linked to the notion that successful participation in the emerging society required children to develop the autonomy to make the right choices, in a world where the choices were ever expanding. In traditional society, children's choices about their future lives and social participation were clearly outlined and to a large extent limited to reproduction of their parents' roles. However, in the new society that was taking root in Kenya, children had wider horizons of action, and these required greater autonomy in making such choices, as the parents were themselves unable to understand the new social rules, while the children would by themselves be overwhelmed since their families non-participation in modern society limited the necessary transmission of relevant values and norms. In particular, given that the parents had made enormous sacrifices to provide schooling to their children, the choice of possible future livelihoods was even more important.

In my community, a girl has only one path in life. Get circumcised, get married, have children and take care of her family. That is all you learn as a girl. But schooling opens new doors, some good some bad. I could teach Naipanoi to be a good Masai girl and wife, but can I teach her how to be an educated woman

in the city? How to dress, eat, and talk with people, work? Not at all. But she needs to know all that, if all this effort to educate her is going to make her successful.

In addition to the greater concerns about their children's social participation in a changing society, parents concerns about education were also influenced by the perceived enjoyment their children obtained from schooling. The parents were greatly impressed by the children's desire to attend schooling and thus support of schooling in itself was seen as a means of enhancing their children's wellbeing. Many of the children were perceived as enjoying schooling and the parents were willing to support schooling so as to fulfill this.

He does not like going out to take care of the cows. He even pretends to be sick. But when he goes to school, he is happy. He has his friends and his books and they make him happy. So I would not deny him such a chance.

For Hassan's mother, schooling not only makes her son happy, but also secures her peace of mind, since she is more content to have child in school rather than in the slum, where he might get engaged in drugs and crime.

We are both happy when he goes to school. He really likes being there and asking the teacher questions, most of which I can't answer. He was even yesterday asking me too many questions about the elections. But I told him to go ask his teacher. I am also happier when he is at school than at home. I see children dropping out of school and within two years, they are the biggest criminals and are drunk the whole time.

Education was also expected to enable the children become better people in their social lives. This was particularly stressed by Wambasi's mother, who opined that Wambasi's father was a better man through his education. She attributed the good relations regarding authority and decision making they had in the family to his education, which enabled him to overcome traditional norms about marriage and gendered roles. Thus, she expected schooling to enable her son also become more conscious of gender and equity issues and a better husband and father in the future.

His father is a really good man. Of course I am supposed to say that, because I am his wife. But he is really so. You hear all the time about husbands beating their wives, wives running away from their matrimonial home. We never have any problems. And he respects me. It is because he went to school and because of that, he has seen the world and learnt that to be a man is not just about beating up your wife. He knows we need to discuss our problems and solve them peacefully (Wambasi's mother).

In relation to families and marriages, Hassan's mother was also of the opinion that education would enable the children, particularly girls to make the best decisions regarding marriage and family. She argued that traditional norms did not allow girls to learn how to make the best choices about when to get married and family planning, as they were simply expected to follow their parents' choices regarding marriage and to follow their husband's choices within the marriage. However, in the present where new forms of marriage and divorce were increasing, traditional socialization was insufficient and the children needed a new form of education that would enable them enhance their agency in such choices. Hassan's mother in particular felt that her lack of

schooling made her naïve and that's how she ended up with three kids from three different men, all before turning twenty five. She felt if her sons are educated, then they will not treat women like that. So in a sense, education is useful in teaching boys values such as respect for women and doing away harmful traditional norms. However, when asked about the rise of divorce and single parent families particularly in the present era, she was of the opinion that schooling was naturally not sufficient by itself, but if traditional values changed, particularly those which stigmatized single parenthood and empowered women to have better control over their bodies and resources, then education would have bettered women's position in society.

Another expectation was that education would contribute to cohesion and justice in society since it would enable the children to perceive hidden social structures that perpetuated injustice. In a world plagued by increasing social and ethnic diversity and closer interaction between all the different ethnicities in Kenya, education was expected to enable children obtain a wider perspective, rather than the narrow one provided by tribal traditions and this is relevant to promoting peace in Kenya, especially after the 2008 violence and continued tribalism. Parents blamed cultural isolation, since ethnicities in Kenya were separated into geographical regions and rarely got to engage, thus even in cities, many residents, particularly in low-income areas, segregated themselves into tribal enclaves. However, they noted that schooling, particularly at higher levels, would enable children from different communities meet and engage, enabling development of a national identity that was more appreciative of diversity rather than the prevalent tribalism that was evident in relations between various tribes in Kenya. This was related to the 2008 post-election violence, where individuals from low-income areas engaged in violence while high-income regions were hardly hit by any violence.

The rich educated people were in their houses safe, regardless of whether they were Kikuyu or Luo. Only the poor youth were paid a little cash to go kill their own neighbors. Because they were not educated enough to know that life is all about the poor and the rich. Tribe has no meaning when you are starving. Children should learn in school that we are all the same, and should focus on more important things rather than tribe (Hassan's mother).

This indicates that parents were aware of education's role as a social change agent, in particular with regards to enabling children identify the mechanisms of reproduction of social inequalities while promoting acceptance of diversity and pluralism of identities as a positive thing thus enhancing social cohesion in the country.

7.2. Educational Practices and Realities

The educational aspirations of the parents influenced certain education practices that were aimed at the achievement of these aspirations. Given the hypothesized correlation of macro-level factors such as family location in social structure and cultural norms with investment and outcomes in education, this section attempts to identify the micro-practices of families that influence children's achievement of educational success. Class-aspiration correlations would lead to an assumption that middle class families would have highest aspirations and low class families would have low to none. Though this correlation has over time been substantiated, it is also evident that aspirations in

education are also dependent on the value that families place on education. The families investigated were acutely aware of the need for education, specifically because of their class location. The main difference was apparently that the families channeled a lot of their resources (economic, social and cultural) into their children's education and were thus able, for the moment, to escape the vicious cycle of classed inequalities in education. Although all the families were strictly speaking not all at the same level (this study did not have sufficient data to ascertain the socio-economic class) it was evident from the family structures and livelihoods that they were spread out over a continuum with varying levels of deprivation and some enjoying a modicum of middle class pretensions. The main conclusion is that families were dependent upon two factors to successfully pursue education; family income and school quality that exceeded a certain minimum level. This is particularly significant the older the children get and from the interviews, it was evident that this would become more important after the transition to high school as the costs were greater and the quality of schooling more relevant for success at that level. These issues affected the educational practices of the family, in conjunction with a myriad of other factors, discussed below. The educational practices were also to a large extent influenced by the parental expectations of children's continued schooling and the expectations they had, from their children and schools, if they were to continue to support their children's education. It was evident that parental aspirations were overwhelmingly focused on transition to further schooling rather than mere completion of primary schooling and thus their practices were hinged upon the perception that their children would be able to continue on to high school and higher education. It is evident that only primary school is not necessary to achieve the instrumental goals of education and to a large extent the intrinsic and positional aspirations.

7.2.1. Livelihoods and educational resources

The families' aspirations for a better life reflected a hope for achieving material and psychosocial wellbeing of the parents through the children. Thus the aspirations expressed were indicative of the longings parents had and felt that they had missed out on. At the most basic level, this was a simple wish for the peace of having done the best for their children

Just the same way I feel bad when my children go to bed hungry, I feel bad any time they are unable to go to school. I was so sad when he was unable to go to high school last year because we could not afford to. This year, I have done all possible to prepare. When my children eat and sleep happy, I am happy. Even if I have to eat less to make more food available for them. That is the same feeling I have when they go to school. Even though I have to sacrifice so much or it (Naipano'i's mother).

The parents were however also driven by a strong desire to ensure that their children's future lives were secure and that they would never have to undergo the arduous menial labor the parents themselves endured, or the poverty. This was in essence a chance for the parents to have a better life for themselves through their children and thus fulfilling their responsibility as parents.

Last year, I was sick with tuberculosis. But I woke up every morning and went to work on other peoples farms. So I could have some money to buy books and uniforms. I will make sure she finishes school as far as she can even if I have to

go through all this problems. I don't want him to suffer from the difficulties that I am going through now (Nafula's mother).

Most of the families interviewed did not have a secure source of livelihoods, apart from Amina's family where the father had stable employment. However, it was evident that in all families, there was a constant struggle to make ends meet and children contributions to the families' livelihoods were considered an essential part. With the time allocation requirements of schooling, where children were expected to be in school all day for five days a week, with considerable time required for homework, this clashed with eth families' need for children's input. Thus the families had to rearrange their livelihood strategies to accommodate both children's schooling and children's participation in work.

We depend completely on our farm. And our children have to participate, because otherwise we would be unable to do it. I tell them all the time that we don't have a maid. And we cannot afford to employ people to plant our maize or harvest it. But we make sure that we organize the work so that it does not interfere too much with his schoolwork. So, during harvest and planting time, they can do some work in the morning, then go to school and do some work in the evening. And sometimes I do all the housework just to take the pressure off them (Nafula's mother)

This was particularly more so critical to the pastoralist families, where children's contribution to the families' livelihoods was critical to their everyday existence in searching for water and pasture. Thus sending children to school required high aspirations and well-founded beliefs in the benefits of education. Thus families' tried to release children from their obligations so that they could concentrate on schooling.

I really have to convince his father almost every month that his schooling is worth it. Because he is required to help his brothers in herding the cattle. This is more so difficult during the drier months when they have to travel far away to find pasture and water. Sometimes he goes with his brothers, but especially this year, I told his father that he has to be excused. Because this is the most important year in school (Metito's mother).

Other families tried to make up for the children's lack of contribution by pursuing other sources of income generation, and this was particularly essential for the provision of educational resources such as books and uniforms. This diversification of income streams was particularly visible in the slums, where the families engaged in various income generation activities, with the parents spending fifteen to twenty hours a day at work. This was considered more important given that the children were in Class 8 and were thus on the brink of transition to high school, which was one of the major transitions in support of aspirations for further schooling in high school and university.

I go to the factory and if I am lucky on that day, I work there. Then come back and sell vegetables in the evening, which is always the best time to make a few shillings which I can use to buy his school books and other expenses. And on weekends, I am always on the beach trying to sell a few curios I buy from the rural areas. It is difficult work, and it would be much better if he could also help me, but this year I am going to do everything myself and let him concentrate on the KCPE exams (Hassan's mother).

Gendered participation in livelihood activities was quite influential in Naipanoi's continued schooling. Since Masai girls were expected to contribute to household chores such as fetching water and cooking while boys had the more time-intensive duties of herding the cattle, she was able to combine her domestic chores successfully with schooling and this contributed to her father's acceptance of her continued schooling. Another strategy for securing livelihoods while enabling children to pursue education involved passing on labor to other siblings, with some children going to school while others worked. This selective prioritization was based on perceived interest in schooling but also as a strategy for the household's livelihood diversification and survival. Families thus made rational choices about which children were likely to succeed in school and supported their schooling while those without interest or with poor prospects were engaged in household's livelihood activities.

His father allows him to continue on because he is the only one who showed any interest in school. His brothers are all not interested. So as long as he does some little work and all that is expected of him as a Masai boy, he can continue to school. I think his father is also impressed that he is very good at calculations when he goes with him to the cattle market. So it works out for both. He gets to go to school and he can also help his father in the business (Metito's mother).

Provision of educational resources was a great challenge to families, as spending money on school books and other educational resources reduced the family's income available for subsistence. Thus parents were forced to balance spending on education against spending on necessities such as food. This led parents to try and identify other sources of income to support children's schooling.

I try and save some money from my odd jobs such as washing and put it towards his books and other things. But it is really difficult when they get told at school without much notice that they need some books or they need a new uniform. Then it is a choice between buying food and buying books. Which is a difficult choice, but sometimes I think ahead and buy the books, even if it means less food (Hassan's mother).

Since parents' educational strategies were focused on further schooling, which required greater investments in school fees (which were much higher in high school) and other costs such as boarding fees and more expensive books, most parents were quite challenged as to how they would be able to afford it. Some parents focused on starting to save money for the future

When he did KCPE last year and we were unable to pay fees, he had to repeat Class 8. I sold my other cow last year, just to start saving for high school. And also to make sure that I am able to support him through Class 8. I bought an Encyclopedia and all those books with past papers. Now I have only one cow. I am not sure what we will do. But somehow we will find a way (Wambasi's mother).

Parents were also actively trying to find other sources of support for their children. Given the proliferation of non-governmental organizations and scholarship funds aimed at helping children pursue education, parents were trying to find contacts in such organizations so as to secure scholarships for the children. This was expected to make it easier for the families and provide children with a good opportunity to complete high school and then college with minimal problems. In particular, this was quite relevant to

Wambasi's mother who had already applied for a scholarship from the Equity Bank Scholarship Fund Naipanoi's mother who was in contact with NGOs that aimed to support Masai girls' education. Such a scholarship would provide her daughter with an opportunity to circumvent gendered expectations that girls get circumcised and get married soon after.

I am not sure if her father will be willing to pay for her to go to high school, especially if she does not get circumcised. This is a big problem, and I don't know how I will deal with it. But I am always looking for a scholarship for her. One of all these NGOs here should be able to help. Then she will have a very good chance to finish high school comfortably.

One major fear of the parents was that despite their best efforts, they would somehow be unable to afford schooling and their children would then have to drop out of school, or go to cheaper schools which were of poor quality. However, parents were pragmatic, hoping that even if they went to schools of poor quality, the children's aspirations would enable them to successfully finish high school and proceed to college.

She wants to go to Alliance. But the fees there are too much. I cannot afford it. So unless she gets a scholarship, I will have problems. But we will see. Maybe he can still go to a Harambee school and still succeed (Amina's mother).

7.2.2. Academic success

The parents were focused on their children's determination to study and the attendant success in schooling and stressed that continued academic success coupled with evident desire and determination to succeed were key factors in their continued support for their children's schooling. This was a major consideration in their support of children's schooling, and indeed was the source of their educational aspirations, motivating the families to continue investments in their children's education in the face of poverty and disillusionment in the quality of schooling offered.

She really wants to go to school. For girls here, education is a really different choice. But she has always been interested. A few years ago, she had to stay away from school for a year, but even at home, she was always reading. So I am ready to support her as far as she shows the same interest (Naipanoi's mother).

Given that the instrumental value of education, considered most important in terms of certification and access to paid employment, was hinged upon the children's success in primary school and transition to higher levels which offered access to the labor market, the continued success of the children was thus the only guarantee that the family's and the children's educational aspirations would be fulfilled. Parents' educational aspirations themselves were largely dependent upon their children's previous successes and particularly in the Mock exam, where all the children had excelled. Any further support, particularly payment of fees in high school, was thus linked to success in the upcoming KCPE exams. This reflected the Kenyan education systems focus on tests as a measure of educational success. With this focus on transition and test scores, parents were quite aware that the costs of schooling in high school and college would exponentially increase and were unwilling to promise their children support for schooling if their determination and results did not warrant it.

All my efforts are based on her performance. I am not going to spend so much money if she is failing... She passed the Mock exams and got an A grade. Thus I am hoping she gets the same grade in the KCPE exam. If she does, this will open her path to the best high schools and then university (Amina's mother).

Parents judged children's success mostly by their performance in tests as these were considered the most important determinants of transition to good schools that would secure the instrumental and positional benefits of education. Some parents stated that they themselves were mostly unable to judge other considerations of success, such as literacy, numeracy and life skills, as they had very little experience with schooling. However, they were confident that the assessment procedures in the schools and tests were sufficient to judge students' progress. Moreover, since they were convinced that tests scores were the most important achievements valued by the schools and labor market, they were the most important thing to focus on.

In Kenya I think the most important thing is to pass exams and go through the system to university, and then hopefully find a job. Of course it is bad if the children just cram knowledge and forget it after the exam, but the teachers themselves teach like that. It is nicer if they really learn important things but more important fit hey pass exams. That is what will get them to university and then to good job (Wambasi's father).

Children's determination to succeed was also judged by their participation in schooling, school behavior and balance between household chores and schooling. Children who had a good reputation at school were considered to be more interested in pursuing schooling and were thus rewarded with continued support. This was judged through teachers' reports on school behavior and association with other children considered to be academically successful.

Once, his class teacher told me that he was associating with some children who were suspected of smoking bhang and drinking alcohol. So I asked him and he admitted it. I punished him and warned him that if he ever associates with them, I will take him out of school. I am not going to work so hard for his education and then he wastes it by smoking bhang (Hassan's mother).

Since children had to contribute to the household by doing chores and sometimes in livelihood activities, they were expected to successfully allocate their time to the requirements of school and home. This was in part considered a sign of their commitment to schooling, in that they were expected to make time for schooling.

She just has to do it. Fetch water, cook and still go to school and do homework. If she is interested in school, she will find a way. I try to give her much free time, but sometimes everybody has to contribute if they want to eat (Nafula's mother).

The parents perception of children's determination and success was highly gendered, in particular the support afforded to the children in their efforts to achieve good results. Boys were singularly pushed to succeed and any slackness was met with fierce approbation from the parents. Many parents stated that this was based on the opinion that "boys will always be boys" and will always find an excuse to engage in other activities. Thus they needed more encouragement not to stray from educational success. Customarily, girls were already expected to be more mature, self-regulated and have

high work ethic and this was also expected of them in schooling. This was rooted in societal expectations of decorum and good behavior from girls, since their reputations in society were built upon how well they behaved themselves. Traditionally, this was meant to ensure that girls would be women of good standing and thus attract suitable suitors upon reaching marriageable age. These expectations were also transferred to schooling, where it was expected that girls would display good behavior and dedication to their education without needing any promoting or motivation.

While among the Masai boys had a higher workload than girls, the opposite was true in Kakamega, where boys had more free time than girls who were mostly expected to undertake a larger share of household tasks in the family, which limited the amount of time they could dedicate to schooling. Boys had relatively little to do outside of the main planting and harvesting seasons. If the girls were seen as slacking off in school work, this was characterized as girls being weak willed with less motivation to succeed in school and also as the girls displaying culturally inappropriate behavior. These gendered expectations were also rooted in the expectations that boy's success would pay off in the future when the boys were successful and would take care of their parents in the old age. On the other hand, parents expected that when girls grew up and got married, their success would be primarily enjoyed by the husband's families, as custom dictated that a married woman would focus more on her new family rather than her own parents.

7.2.3. Quality and organization of schooling

The reality of poor provision of education resources and facilities was also highly criticized by the families, especially in the wake of FPE. Many parents had wholly embraced the FPE rhetoric which had accompanied a real paradigm shift in Kenyan politics. Most parents were highly positive after the 2002 elections and suddenly everybody had renewed trust in the government. However after years, they have become disillusioned again, since it appears it's the same old story with the new government.

I even voted for NARC (in 2002). The main thing the politicians told us was that they would let all our children go to school and give them better lives and jobs in the future. Normally I don't trust them (the politicians), but somehow this time I believed. Free education, all children in school regardless of the wealth of their parents. And good schooling. But right now, all we see is the same old story. Corruption, mismanagement, children still learning under trees (Wambasi's father).

The parents indicated that the children had to be leanings something worthwhile, for justification of further schooling. This was an issue in transfer of Hassan from a low cost private school to the public school, which was perceived as having better quality.

In that school, they were just sitting in Class all day but doing nothing. They didn't even have a Math teacher. So I thought at least in the government school, he would have a better chance of actually learning something and getting good grades in KCPE (Hassan's mother).

With regards to transitions, parents were determined to have their children join the best schools, even to the extent of having their children repeat Class eight just so as to

get better grades and admission to a national or provincial school⁴. KCPE certificates were repeatedly derided as worthless as they did not open up any chances of public sphere employment. Parents mentioned many children who had completed class eight but for a variety of reasons never went to high school and were thus in the village.

My cousin went up to Class 8 and did KCPE but could not afford high school. But it is exactly as if he had never stepped in a school for a single day of his life. What is the point of wasting eight years doing something then no benefits? So he can read and write, but how does that help him eat? Here, we need food, not words. And he can't even afford to buy books anyway, so this primary education is completely useless (Amina's mother).

This succinctly sums up the reality of education and its expected outcomes in the regions. Many aspire to education as a valuable good in essence, but the reality shows that if children do not pursue the next levels of schooling, the education ends up being worthless. This is especially relevant given that the skills promoted by the FPE regime (literacy, numeracy and life skills) appear not to be valued by the communities so much as they have no relevance to livelihoods in the village. The families were in this regard quite critical of the failure of the Kenyan education system and blamed the government for not doing enough, especially with all the cases of mismanagement of public funds, lavish spending by the government and corruption.

We put in so much effort to get our children through school, and the government always lets us down. If they could do take care of their own business, our schools could be much better and give our children a real chance (Naipanoi's mother).

Parents were aware of the financial limitations of the government, but were still sure that the government could do more.

They (the government) always tell us that there is no money for books, no money for pens, and no money for everything. But then you read that they spent 100 million to buy a house for the Vice President. Why can't they use this money for our children? We don't expect that much, we just want books and teachers. And if there is a little left over, then maybe good classrooms and other nice things. But they just steal all the money (Wambasi's father).

One of the main issues with education quality was the lack of consideration for traditional ways of life in relation to organization, particularly curriculum and scheduling. Among the pastoralists, parents indicated that the scheduling of school would be much better if it was organized around the pastoral system, where during dry months the children had to travel far away to find pasture and water for the cattle.

I think it would be much better if the schools also respected our traditional way of life. They want to make us all modern but they forget that we also need to eat and take care of our cows. It would be much nicer if they talked about our culture in school. We have a long and great history, but they only talk of us as

⁴ Public secondary schools are grouped in four groups based on perceived quality, namely national, provincial, district and Harambee. National schools are the best and most were founded in the colonial period, with a long history of excellence and commensurate government support.

people who know nothing. And also considered giving time to the children to do their traditional tasks without compromising their studies (Metito's mother)

In Kakamega, a major issue for the parents was the issue of holiday tuition, which was compulsory for pupils from Class Five to Class Eight, yet the holidays during April and August were the main seasons for planting and thus deprived families of their main labor source, since children particularly at those levels were old enough to participate in the agricultural tasks.

I need her help in the farm during the harvest time and planting. But since she was in Class Six, they are in school all year round. Even when it is not the normal school term, they are in holiday tuition... Sometimes when I get some jobs on other peoples farms, I really need her help, because people always give you too much work and expect you to finish it fast (Nafula's mother)

The limited possibilities of transition to high school and university were also a key obstacle for parents and their educational aspirations. In the slums, there were very few high schools in the neighborhood, thus high school would entail extra charges for boarding while among the Masai, even primary schools were scarce and boarding schools were very far away. The costs involved and the protective attitude towards girls were a major obstacle.

If she passes KCPE, then it is not only a question of how to pay her school fees, but also of sending her away to a school very far away from home. How can I let my daughter go so far away from me? And who will take care of her then? If she goes to one of those missionary schools, then at least I would not worry so much. But these are difficult to get into. Most other schools would make me worry all the time, even if I could afford to pay for her fees (Naipanoi's mother).

7.2.4. Engagement with children's schooling

Parental engagement with their children's schooling entailed close monitoring of the children's performance, motivation and participation in schooling and posed many challenges for the parents, most of who had little experience with schooling and thus were not sure of which expectations to have for their children's schooling or how to monitor their progress. Thus, most parents were unable to effectively engage with the schools and were only left to hope that the schools would sufficiently monitor their children's progress and inform them if their input was required.

I don't know anything about schools. And even if I did, I honestly don't have the time to constantly follow Hassan's performance... I just hope that the teachers are doing a good job and will let me know of any problems (Hassan's mother).

However, the parents attempted to engage closely with schooling when they had the time, some with more success than others. In Loitokitok, the greater distances between schools and villages, coupled with contrast between Masai culture and formal schooling made parental engagement with schooling difficult. Moreover, many parents had little contact with the teachers, as teachers lived in the town while families were in the villages. This limited parental contact with schools to the few formal occasions where parents were required to be in school or instances where schools directly approached

parents or informed them of their children's progress. In Kakamega, the parents were actively involved in the school, and attributed this to their informal contacts with the school and the close-knit nature of the village, where they were able to obtain information from teachers and other parents regularly through social out-of-school contact.

I live quite close to the school, and know many parents who have children there. And I know some of the teachers, who tell me a lot about Nafula because she is such a good pupil. So I can stay in touch with her schooling indirectly. And when she does anything wrong in school, I always know about it even when she tries to hide it (Nafula's mother).

Wambasi's father was particularly actively engaged in the school as he was a personal friend of many teachers and was sometimes called upon to assist the School Bursar with accounting. Thus, he was able to monitor his son's performance while actively participating in the Parents-teachers Association and the school supervision committee. He was also actively involved in helping his son with homework and studying.

He always complains that Math is too difficult. I don't understand anything that they learn in school. But I tell him his father is really good at Math. So he goes to his father for help with homework or revision. Sometimes I even force him to do it, because maybe he wants to go sit with his friends. But I tell him (the father) that when his son is a doctor or a lawyer, then he can go and sit with his friends and tell them about his son. Before that, he has to help him (Wambasi's mother).

The parents tried to keep good relations with the teachers and principals so as to ensure that the children would receive at the very least optimal or even favorable treatment from the school authorities. This was particularly important with regards to the payment of school dues, when good relations with the teachers could earn them grace periods without suspension of the children.

I know one of her teachers and it helps. When they need to pay building fees or buy uniforms, I can talk to him (the teacher) and he gets me an exemption till I can get enough money. This helps keep her in school without too much disruption (Amina's mother).

Some of the parents also kept abreast of any news and information regarding educational policy in so far as it concerned their children. Wambasi's father had explicit views about the government's FPE program and its shortcomings, successes and failures and often had discussions with the school principal about it. He even attended public meetings with officials from the District Education Office and tried to inform them of issues facing families. Hassan's mother was also critical of government policy, especially in that it offered little support while also not taking into account structural issues that restricted families' abilities to fully engage with their children's schooling.

Of course I should follow up my child's schooling and offer full support. But people like me have to work all day, and sometimes all night just to put food in our children's mouth. It is not as if I am just lying in bed all day. So the government should try to make better rules about schools ensuring children are

fully involved in school. Especially in schools such as ours where all the families are poor.

7.2.5. Social and environmental norms

The parents had to engage with cultural norms and practice in support of their children's education, particularly with regards to the complementary or contrasting visions of childhood and socialization offered by schooling and rational norms. In many instances, the parents tried to circumvent negative social and environmental norms and practices by offering pathways towards balancing traditional socialization with modernity. Community values about education generally entailed gendered notions about the value of investing in education, in particular with regards to marriage and how investing too much in girls is a loss compared to in boys who would take care of the parents. In the slum, there were no particularly strong gendered values related to education, and parents were willing to invest in both boys and girls education, as long as they possessed the financial wherewithal to do so. Parents in the slum explained that both boys and girls needed a route to escape the poverty and precarious life situations of the slums, and thus saw no reason to prioritize the education of girls over boys. Among the Luhya, there are also no particularly strongly held beliefs against education due to the missionary influence. The first missionaries were active in the school since the 19th century and established many schools. However, there is no strong pressure for children to go to school and in particular, girls are not necessarily encouraged to go to school nor do families invest in their education. The perception that they will get married and that any education will benefit their husband usually discourages parents.

Many parents believe that once the girl gets married, she will cease dealing with her family and completely go to her husband's family. So the value attached to girls is generally based on how much dowry the parents expect from the girl. But I do hope my daughter will not abandon me once she gets married (Nafula's mother).

The interruption of cultural socialization rites and traditions was a major issue with regards to children's participation in schooling. This was a key issue among the Masai and took on gendered dimensions with regards to further schooling for both boys and girls. For Masai boys, schooling was seen as occupying time which boys could more beneficially allocate to their traditional tasks of cattle-herding and during early adolescence, participation in initiation rites into adulthood. Whereas girls had an advantage in division of labor, as the childhood tasks of girls allowed for more participation, the rites of female circumcision at the onset of puberty generally curtailed girls' participation in schooling as many were expected to focus more on traditional socialization into marriage, which occurred a few years after circumcision, or even sooner.

Who knows how I will deal with all that? I am just waiting. Once the girls get circumcised, their schooling is usually over, because then they need to become

proper Masai women and wives. I have so far managed to keep her in school, but the future is shaky (Naipanoï's mother)

Among the Masai, a key issue many parents had against the schooling regimes was the demasculinization of boys through practices within the school. Given the patriarchal structure of Masai community and their responsibilities apportioned to men and boys as protectors of the community and heads of families, boys were expected from an early age to show leadership skills and strive to achieve respect in their eyes of their age mates and community. However, this approach contrasted sharply with schooling regimes, which expected boys to be subservient to school regulations and disciplining. Metito's mother narrated of instances where caning of Masai boys by female teachers had led to some parents withdrawing their children from the school. Moreover, the expected subservience was in direct contrast to the societal expectations that boys should be aggressive and in control, and at Metito's age, were preparing for the traditional rites that led them to becoming morans (warriors) of the community.

It is a completely different world, from school to home. There, they are supposed to sit still in class, listen and agree with the teachers, even the female ones, and even get beaten. Here, in the community, the boys are expected to be real men, morans. So many boys drop out because they say they are expected to be women in school. But I told Metito to stay there and get good grades, even if it means being a woman. He can be a real man later on when he has a good job and a college degree (Metito's mother).

The idea of reputational safety also influenced family practices in relation to education. This was mostly connected to the idea of (mainly girls) virtue and safety and encompassed the school environment as well as the route to and from school and children's behavior in the context of schooling. Safety of children was a particular concern but was also linked secondarily to the ideas of bodily integrity and virtue. Parents thus expected that schooling should offer children schooling in conditions that kept them safe from physical, environmental, emotional and sexual harm. However, parents had low expectations of the schools, particularly in the slum where the school was located right in the slum, with sewage flowing around it and the structures being of particularly poor quality.

Last year, another school in the slum collapsed because the buildings were poorly constructed. I just sit at home and pray that nothing happens to my son in school. But they even had a cholera outbreak in the school a few years back and Amina was really sick (Amina's mother).

For boys in the slum, a major worry was their involvement in drug abuse and crime, both of which were rampant in the slum. Hassan's mother had firsthand experience of her elder son being involved in drug abuse and being arrested by the police. Moreover, she was also worried that the regular police sweeps in the slum, where they arrested many young men on suspicion of crime, would endanger her son, as he police would allegedly arrest many men without any cause, either to seem efficient or as an excuse to demand bribes for their release.

I worry when they stay too late at school. He might either be attacked by the many thugs in the slum who might think he has something valuable in his bag, or arrested by the police, and then I would have to pay a big bribe to get him out (Hassan's mother)

Sexual abuse and physical abuse from other pupils or the teachers were a key worry and parents recounted many tales that were prominent of how many pupils had suffered at the hands of their fellow pupils or teacher. Naipanoi's mother recounted the case of St. Kizito's Secondary School where girls in a mixed boarding secondary school had been raped by fellow male students without any intervention from the school authorities. Though parents were fairly confident that the primary schools were safer than that, especially since they were day schools, they had worries and Wambasi's mother recounted the Kyanguli Boys school fire where a fire burnt many students to death. This was a clear concern given the dilapidated nature of many school infrastructures. The sexual safety of children in the slum was also a major concern, echoed in the rural areas albeit they had differing concerns. In the slum, Amina's mother was worried about her daughter's way to and from school as there were many people who preyed on young girls in an effort to bring them into prostitution, which was prevalent at the coast due to sex tourism that focused on young girls. The walk to school was thus a journey fraught with danger for her daughter, at least in the mother's mind. This fear was grounded in ballooning statistics of young girls being trafficked into the prostitution industry in Mombasa, either through gifts or through coercion and kidnapping.

These people come around, give our children sweets and gifts and soon they take them into their brothels and bars. I can only try to talk to Amina and warn her about it, but they are tricky. But what can I do? I cannot stay with her all day or take her to and from school

In the rural areas, parents were more concerned about teachers molesting their children, especially given that the teachers in rural areas wielded a lot of influence and power, given their status as the only "professionals" in the village context. This was doubly problematic as they could easily influence or force children into sexual relations and if found out, they could avoid sanction due to their status and power. At most, they would only face a transfer rather than disciplinary action and restitution.

We hear about it all the time. It is usually the male teachers who make the school girls pregnant, and nothing is done about it. They try to keep it quiet by either threatening the families or giving them some little money, who normally accept because they are too poor that any money is good. Or they just get transferred to another school and do it all over again. The TSC (Teachers Service Commission) or the government does nothing (Wambasi's father).

Another major issue was that parents were worried about boy-girl interaction in school. Traditionally, boys and girls lives were segregated, especially as they got older into adolescence. However the mixed nature of schools was a particular worry, and parents voiced fears that their children would get tempted into sexual relations. Moreover, the idea that girls would "forget" their place due to such liberal mixing was prevalent, and belied the fact that even though the parents were attempting to give better chances for their daughters, they were still hopeful that they could meld modernity through professional employment with traditional gendered roles. The biggest worry was that schooling would challenge cultural notions of appropriate behavior for boys and girls and clashed with the official government and school rhetoric about equality.

I once went to their classroom and they mix up the boys and girls and even make them sit together. That is not how young boys and girls should be

together. You know these young people, they easily get ideas and if you mix them together so long, the girl ends up coming home pregnant before she even finishes school (Naipanoi's mother)

7.2.6. Social networks

Parents leveraged social capital to pursue better chances for their children by obtaining using social networks with teachers and other individuals as a means of engaging with schooling cultures and thus offering academic supplementing or their children. Many of the parents were in touch with individuals who were able to offer out-of-school activities aimed at better academic results for the children such as tuition, reading, educational resources and advice on schooling options after primary school. Parents were quite interested in which means of supplementing were cheaply possible and in sharing educational resources such as past papers. This mostly involved building social relations with teachers who had access to past papers and books that children would otherwise be unable to obtain by themselves.

Her class teacher is a relative of mine. You know our extended families. She is related to my sister-in-law. So I sometimes approach her to coach Nafula on the difficult areas or to get past exam papers to use for revision (Nafula's mother)

These social networks were also employed as a form or reward and motivation for better performance at school.

My sister is a teacher in a primary school. So during holidays, when they don't have tuition, I send him to live with my sister. This way, he can be focused. He actually likes staying with his aunt, because his cousin is one of his close friends and they live in a big city, so he always asks to go there. But I only allow him to go if he gets good grades (Wambasi's mother).

These networks were most common in the rural areas, a peculiarity explained by the close relationships common to such small villages where cultural norms called for forging of and nourishing of ties between members of extended families. In the village, and in the larger Luhya community, individuals were required to respect family ties and people would go to great lengths to ensure they had good relations with family members, even at the extent of pretending to be friends regardless of any real or perceived slights.

We have to always be friends. One cannot afford to ignore the neighbors and relatives. If there is a big problem, then we call in the elders to mediate, otherwise one just has to forgive and forget. Or pretend so (Amina's mother).

Among the Masai, this closeness was particularly necessitated by the pastoralist lifestyle that required close kinship and relations even among families that were not related by blood, as the harsh lifestyle coupled with security needs meant that families had to bond themselves with larger groups. However, the families in this study did not have any relatives who were affiliated with the schooling cultures, and were thus unable to call upon such family ties for academic supplementing. In the slum, the parents depended more on friendships rather than relatives for academic supplementing.

His teacher buys vegetables from me almost every evening, so we know each other. And I send Hassan to help her with some small tasks. So when I ask her for some help with his revision, she says yes (Hassan's mother)..

Friends and relatives were also quite helpful in meeting the financial obligations of schooling and offered a respite to parents hard-pressed to pay for educational resources. In particular, parents were counting upon their social networks to fundraise for high school.

His brother sends me some money from time to time. He does not have a good job, but I respect that he sends me whatever he can. I tell him, when Hassan goes to school, then he will be called upon (Hassan's mother).

The parents were quite resourceful in identifying information that was beneficial to their children's education, mostly with regards to avenues of material support that would bridge gaps instanced by their won poverty. Many mothers had various sources of information regarding scholarships and support from the government or non-governmental organizations (NGOs) that could be of use to them, in particular with regards to joining high schools that offered bursaries. In Loitokitok, Naipanoi's mother was in a women's self-help group that met regularly and discussed educational opportunities for their children and kept abreast of any NGOs and missionaries that were offering educational support. Churches were also good sources of information as some were affiliated with international NGOs that offered chances to support children through schooling.

Since I am not sure if her father will be willing to pay for secondary school, I am already looking for other options. Our self-help group is a good source of information. I go there and we talk about such problems. Sometimes we invite NGOs, although so far I have not had any clear offer of help. But maybe I will. The church was talking about Compassion, which helps pay for fees and uniforms, and I will try and apply for it (Naipanoi's mother)

The parents traded information with other parents who already had children in high school. This was done through social visits where the parents would take small gifts to such parents and in the course of small talk, would inquire as to how they managed to support their children. Since most parents were unwilling to lose face by admitting that they received help and were unable to support their children themselves, extracting such information required many visits and many gifts, building up social trust and extracting formation in roundabout ways. This also indicated the importance of having the right connections, as most parents' attempts to find scholarships and bursaries were limited by their lack of contacts with officials responsible for such. Many attributed this to the culture of corruption in Kenya, where one either had to be related to government or NGO officials, or at least pay a bribe to access information on such opportunities.

It is almost like I am a policeman trying to interrogate a criminal. But she told me that her son was getting a bursary from the CDF (Constituency Development Fund). I will try to find out how to apply for it. The only problem is I don't know anyone there, and cannot afford to buy tea for the officials (FOOTNOTE) (Hassan's mother).

NGOs and women's rights campaigners proved to be very useful and knowledgeable outsiders to the families. In particular, many were interested in getting the girls to school and were thus willing to offer troves of information that would assisted the families. Some parents even went to the extent of misrepresenting their boys to be girls for the benefit of obtaining information. This extended to presenting daughters as recipients of material aid, which a then transferred to their boys.

I went to a meeting where they were talking about girls' education, and offered to support girls with books and some money... Of course it is good for girls to go to school, but my son also needs schooling just as much as those girls. So I registered him as a girl, and I got some school books (Metito's mother).

7.2.7. Bounded autonomy

Education was considered a powerful tool for adjustment in the emerging modernity, enabling children to navigate the difficulties associated with becoming a full member of society and participating in civic and social life. However, parents were also aware that although Kenyan society was changing, and that while their communities were also embracing modernity, traditional structures were still relevant and children could not afford to ignore them. Thus their wellbeing could only be enhanced if they managed to combine both modernity and tradition, enabling them to navigate life in both worlds easily and thus avoid social exclusion in both arenas. The Westernized nature of education and the perception that traditional norms and practices that were still relevant to the children's lives in their communities were being eradicated by the governments push towards a modern society prompted these concerns. Parents felt that they had to make difficult decisions regarding the autonomy allowed to their children with regards to embracing the modernity espoused by schooling. While on one hand they were all aspiring to have their children achieve educational success and better lives in the future, they were divided as to how much autonomy was necessary and to what extent the children should adopt new lifestyles and norms at the expense of traditional values. Thus, in direct contrast to the FPE rhetoric about autonomy and advancement into modernity, many families were unwilling to let education sever their children's bonds with their culture.

If the children become too westernized, then I don't think that is what I am taking my child to school for. I want him to learn how to deal with the modern world because it is essential for a good life. But I also want him to remain a true Luhya and still respect his culture (Wambasi's mother).

Children thus were constantly reminded about the need to stay true to their culture and not become "mti bila mizizi" (rootless tree). And be alienated from cultural rites and practices. In this regards, some parents were divided, with some considering it bad while some saw it as beneficial to the children's present and future wellbeing. With regards to boys, the same was also expected, as the boys were expected to live up to their roles as the heads of families who upheld the cultures institutions and values and also supported their family. Girls were always reminded that they should not forget their role as a woman, getting a husband and children and taking care of her family. The example of prominent women in Kenya who were divorced or unmarried was cited, and these were mentioned as bad role models for the girls, as in the culture, a woman without a family was nothing. Thus the families hoped that education would not divorce them form the family. This was particularly evident in cases where girls

prioritized schooling over domestic chores. However, some mothers were quite proud of the independence of their girls and even though they outwardly complained, they also mentioned that they were happy the girls would learn to stand up for themselves

After all, I am not sending her to school just to become someone's slave afterwards. If I wanted her to be that, I would keep her at home. I just want her to have a good education and a job, and be able to take care of herself while still respecting our culture (Naipanoï's mother)

Education was also linked to increased girls autonomy in making decisions about their future families and thus enhancing their agency in choice of a life they have reason to value. This was seen as essentially that a girl interested in education would delay her marriage until she was through and at that point she would have enough freedom and ability to rationally select a partner. In the slum and Kakamega this was positively embraced but this was a point of contention for Naipanoï's father.

7.3. Families and Educational Success

In Bourdieu's conceptualization of habitus, it is evident that the family habitus is not deterministic and there is no linear linkage between socio-economic class and educational aspirations and practices. However, it is also evident that social inequalities that influence distribution of capital and thus differentially classed family habitus are still powerful to (re)produce classed patterns in educational participation, leading to inequalities in educational outcomes and wellbeing. In this study, it was clear that the families were in a social location that was not associated with educational success yet through leveraging of their scarce resources and a deep-founded belief in the value of education, they were able to negotiate socio-economic structures and ensure their children's success in schooling. Structural conditions are however still highly visible thus the need for justice in education arrangements to help parents who are already struggling to support their children's advancement. Relationships between families and schooling are to a large extent defined by cultural and social meanings and values, particularly the linkages between the family's domain and the institutional habitus of schools and perpetuation of educational advantage and disadvantage for particular groups. This disadvantage persists even given educational reform that pursues equity in education and brings to the fore the role of socially-located practices on one hand and government policy on the other. Socially located practices are influenced by belief in the sanctity and value of traditional norms. However, in instances where tensions between traditional norms and children's wellbeing are demonstrably clear, parents are willing to abandon them in favor of socially-just practices that favor children's participation and success in schooling. This is demonstrated by the educational practices of the families in this study, who though belonging to social classes predisposed to low achievements in education due to socio-economic disadvantages, have succeeded in developing high aspirations for their children's educations while supporting their children's participation and success in education.

It is however evident that despite their high aspirations and correlated practices, there are still many obstacles that the families face in their pursuit of educational success.

This calls into question the efficacy of educational reforms initiated in Kenya and aimed at promoting educational equity and redistribution of educational opportunities. FPE seems to only minimally support family aspirations, thus not enabling family practices achieve critical mass, and to some extent discouraging other families that have high aspirations and correlated practices. In particular, educational regimes do not recognize the inherent disadvantages facing certain social groups through either limited conceptualization of difference and disadvantage or its role in educational success. This is quite evident in the Millennium Development Goals where gender is recognized as a difference but only addressed in limited scope as an issue of getting more girls into schooling without reflection on the insidious nature of gendered disadvantages that girls face in access, participation and entry into further schooling and labor markets. Moreover, the parents feel that educational regimes do not offer sufficient support for their ambitions through poorly planned policies and thus even with high aspirations, their dreams of educational success are not realized due to structural obstacles embedded in government provision of schooling. This highlights the need for involvement of parents and children as active participants in educational reform and acknowledgment of their authority and competence to meaningfully contribute to design of family-friendly schools. In particular, involvement of families in schools and educational policy reform would enable clear depiction of the centrality between habitus and field in perpetuation of educational disadvantage and lead to the reconfiguration of home-school linkages.

8. INSTITUTIONAL HABITUS

Bourdieu's concept of habitus lends itself to a redefinition with regards to the role of institutional structures in educational justice. While family habitus provides children with a base for educational participation, the institutional habitus provides children with a context for learning that is influenced by the particular dispositions, values and norms specific to the institution. The institutional habitus in part draws reference from the combined socio-economic status of the pupil population, but is largely based on practices prevalent within the school and drawing reference from national, regional and institutional policies and practices. These norms and practices affect children's participation in schooling largely due to the match or mismatch of pupils' family habitus and individual positions to the institutional habitus. From such an ecological perspective, it is thus relevant to investigate the theoretical and empirical relevance of institutional habitus in pupils' educational trajectories, particularly with regards to its influence on children's wellbeing in school and social justice in the wider society. The institutional habitus does play a large role in reproduction or alleviation of home-based educational disadvantages and thus its alignment to the justice-oriented goals of the FPE is vital to pursuit of social justice in and through education.

8.1. Institutional Rhetoric and Practice

In all the schools, the teachers and principals stated that the role of education in society was to increase chances of children from marginalized areas to achieve success in society. This reflected their belief, or expressed belief, in schooling as a means of social justice. Schooling was attributed to as one of the main social change agents and was related to the Kenyan society, where different forms of injustice were prevalent due to lack of education. The schools professed to have a vision and mission to guide their pupils towards educational success and social change. This was achieved through various mechanisms and projects. The schools were unanimous in their opinion that the government should set the pace for adoption of social justice in education. They felt that the introduction of FPE was a bold move to end educational inequality, but were of the opinion that this program, in its current state, did not go far enough to combat inequalities and thus expressed hope that there would be more done in the near future. The FPE was discussed at length as a bold move, and schools were happy to be involved in its implementation, as it reflected most of their visions and missions. The implementation of the FPE at school level was hailed as the realization of the dream that all children should have equal opportunities to learn regardless of any disadvantages arising from their families' socioeconomic position. However, schools were cognizant of the fact that the implementation process left a lot to be desired with regards to access, equity, quality and relevance. On one hand, the program was portrayed as a success, with increased enrolments and widened access for children who had previously been kept out of school. As most children who had been out of school were either from poor urban areas or rural communities, the schools involved in this study had firsthand seen the meteoric rise in enrolments. However, these schools in rural areas and urban slums were also most greatly affected by lack of sufficient funding, infrastructure and inadequate pedagogical practices and thus the rapid rise in enrolments brought many challenges along with it including lack of sufficient space in classrooms leading to overcrowding, an already stretched teacher staff expected to

work with double or triple workloads and loss of resources from tuition fees without sufficiently increased government funding to backstop shortages. Many educational resources required by parents are not covered since parents were required to still contribute to buying textbooks and uniforms. Since most of these families were resource poor, they were unable to keep up, ironically leading to rising drop outs, as most of the newly enrolled were from really poor families. Families most affected by these costs and challenges were generally the ones that had enrolled their children after FPE, and were the hardest to reach segments of society, such as OVCs, girls. This just negated the whole social justice aspect, as even FPE was not able to widen access sufficiently to them. Increasing disillusionment with schooling was thus evident to the schools, as the quality deteriorated and an already competitive system, with limited chances for transition stretched to the limit. This pushed out mostly middle class parents who preferred to send their children to private schools to better their chances for transition to secondary school (good ones) thus further leading to impacts on school composition. Many children who came into school also lacked sufficient nutrition and health care and this affected their progress in school, leaving school programs disrupted.

The issue of transitions was also a major problem for the schools, as most parents were focused on transition to high school yet the reality proved that many would not go on. In Kakamega, less than half of the KCPE pupils went to high school, and this disillusioned parents, as they were of the opinion that primary schooling alone was not sufficient. Schools were thus hard put to explain their promotion of education as a path to a better life when most of the KCPE graduates returned to the village without any actual prospects of a better life. The increased enrolments had also affected the schools capacities to offer quality education and this disparity is most evident in the wide gap between KCPE scores of private schools and public schools and an increasing stratification of the education system into good schools and bad quality schools. Teachers were aware that the government had instituted special preferential measures for pupils from public schools, but this did not satisfy many who did not get any chance, leaving schools to handle the blowback. In particular, the influx of first generation learners, many of whom, due to lack of restrictions on access, went to classes of their choice rather than allowing teachers to sort them to classes where their academic abilities allowed them to follow and understand the curriculum. This had a great impact on their understanding and added a greater instructional burden to teachers. However, they were adamant that the failure of the FPE, which they categorically stated had mostly failed, lay to blame on the government and its concept and implementation rather than the schools lack of capacity to implement it.

Schools are generally responsive to the need to promote awareness regarding difference and disadvantage in educational spheres. Gender is already quite salient in Kenyan education policy and practice, as is poverty and its impact on participation in schooling. With regards to gender, it was considered a major factor in educational success. This was particularly emphasized in the rural areas, where cultural norms about men and women's roles were prevalent. However, in the slum area, gender took on the notion of women's safety in schooling processes. Thus gender issues in schooling were linked to wider gender concerns in society, and teachers emphasized that the main issue regarding girls education, apart from access itself, was that the transitions to high school and labor markets were limited for girls, more so than for boys for whom there was already a problem. While attributing this to the sifting function of the Kenyan education system, many also blamed cultural conceptions about the value of

girls' education. Gender had a great impact on girls' participation in schooling, and this affected access and transitions, and given that the communities valued education based on transition to further schooling and labor market access, had a detrimental impact on family willingness to support girls' education. This reticence was not based on notions of women being inferior to men but majorly on the instrumental benefits expected from taking boys to school rather than girls. Among the Masai, this norm was turned on its head, and it was evident that more families were willing to take girls to school than boys. However, this only held up to the end of primary school, after which both genders were equally affected by cultural demands regarding socialization and initiation into adulthood. Cultural norms thus played a major role in access, participation and educational success. Among the Masai, this was quite evident in the value attached to education and the interference of cultural rites and norms in children's socialization. However, among the Luhya, this effect was more subtle, and was rooted in marriage arrangements where girls were expected to belong to their husbands' families. This made families discount the expected instrumental benefits of education from girls going to school. Poverty was a major issue that schools had to deal with in educational provision. Given that the FPE provided only a limited amount of funding per child, yet families expected that FPE would cater for all the educational needs, schools were left in a dilemma between the political ambitions of the government and the realities of educational provision. The issue of linguistic differences, produced by the use of English as the language of instruction was also discussed; however schools are resigned to the apparent lack of alternatives, given the linguistic diversity in Kenya.

Schools, at the rhetorical level, pursue social justice for all, but in practice, admit that there is very little they can do to combat some of the glaring inequalities, particularly in regards to poverty and cultural practices. National legislation that underpins efforts to promote social justice in and through education, such as the Children's Act, the Education Act and FPE policy guidance, is integrated into the schools missions and visions. In this context, social justice is defined as the right of all children to freely participate in schooling regardless of gender and socio-economic background and to be able to develop their individual potential through acquisition of knowledge, skills and attitudes relevant to a productive life in society. This goal is supported by the school charters and underpinned by governmental legislation and policy which detail how the Kenyan education system can address the issue of educational inequality that is prevalent in Kenyan schools. These guidelines address perceived problems that are of concern to the government, to families, to teachers and to school administrators. Schools and the wider education system are thus in theory geared toward elimination of gendered, cultural and socio-economic inequalities that hamper participation of children from certain populations. The FPE program is in particular one of the salient aspects of social justice in Kenyan public primary schools with regards to access and equity. However, while the FPE sounds like an effective tool for promotion of educational justice, the reality on the ground belies its nature as a political exercise to satisfy international development commitments. This reality is supported by the fact that the government has limited engagement in the implementation of the FPE program, with schools left to bear the brunt of financial and organizational challenges. The actual commitments of FPE are a gray area; rhetoric overshadows limitations in actual practice at institutional level, thus FPE is mostly a political tool without much justice impact on the ground given the lack of linkages between policy pronouncements and institutional structures. In particular widening of participation in relation to

marginalized areas such as arid and semi-arid regions like Loitokitok is limited and provision indicating mismatch between national policy and institutional practice.

The schools thus all professed to have some form of strategies for inclusive education to combat roots and causes of inequalities. This inclusive education approach is seen as one that enables all children and their communities to effectively participate in the institution of schooling as equal and valued members thus allowing Kenyan education to regain its role as a pillar of society that promotes equity, equality and the good life for children. The rhetoric in particular focuses on issues of gender equality, poverty, disability and curriculum as key challenges to be addressed. In this regards, the most vulnerable groups are identified through the major categories of social exclusion evident in Kenya;

- girls
- children with special needs
- children with disabilities
- orphans
- children affected by cultural discrimination
- children in arid and semi-arid areas
- children affected by HIV/AIDS
- children out of school
- street children
- teenage mothers

The schools attributed to many factors that contributed to such a situation where many children are excluded. Family poverty, and the attendant requirement that children participate in income-generating (particularly in Mombasa) and livelihood activities (farming and livestock rearing in the rural areas) was considered to be the biggest obstacle to children's participation in schooling. In this regards, schools considered a possible solution to be reorganization of schooling regulations to allow children effectively balance school and work, as children's work was considered to be an integral part of the children's lives due to the traditional socialization processes that were still a reality in children's lives, but also due to the exigencies of poverty and Kenyan socio-economic conditions, which for better or for worse required children's participation in pursuit of their families livelihoods. A major stumbling block to this was the centralization of educational policy and planning, which did not take into account the wide socio-economic disparities between different Kenyan regions and thus created a school system that was not in harmony with the needs of children in these different regions. In relation to this, the teachers and school principals mentioned the lack of relevance of educational curriculum to children's lives, a factor that contributed to the parents' disillusionment with education, since parents were not able to see tangible benefits of sending children to school. Harmful socio-cultural practices that were not consistent with children's wellbeing were also a major issue, in particular gendered discrimination, and seclusion of disabled children particularly among the Luhya community where disability is considered to be a curse, initiation rites such as female genital mutilation among the Masai and child prostitution and sexual abuse in the slum areas of Mombasa. Inadequate funding of the school system, either in provision of pedagogical resources and infrastructure, or in provision of sufficient transition opportunities to high school or vocational training were another key issue. Schools were particularly concerned that the system focused solely on an academic pipeline to college, without integration of vocational education and training in the

school system, a factor that contributed to the lack for relevance to children's livelihoods as many children did not make it into high school and integrated vocational training would provide a suitable catchment area for the children who were not academically gifted while promoting their wellbeing in and through education.

In the schools included in the study, various programs had been undertaken to ensure that inclusion is a reality, although the success of such strategies were admitted to be limited in nature due to the lack of sustainability, as most of the programs were either financed through non-governmental organizations or did not include wider connection and outreach to the real problems that caused them. A common feature in all schools was the school feeding programs which were aimed at ensuring children stayed in school. In Emulole, this was offered three times to all children a week and was funded by the church, while in the slum a non-governmental organization (NGO) had been funding the program for the past three years for children from means-tested poor families. In Emulole and in the slum, the schools also focused on provision of educational resources to children from needy families such as storybooks and exercise books, funded by the church and the NGO respectively. Another innovative program as by the school in Emulole, which focused on encouraging girls who got pregnant to return to school after giving birth, girls who normally would drop out. The teachers would stay in touch with the girls' family and provide free tuition and guidance during and immediately after the pregnancy and then help them to readjust to school after re-enrolment. In Loitokitok, an NGO focused on girls education was working with the school to enable girls to find scholarships to high school, as in many instances girls who were successful in KCPE could not go on to high school due to lack of family support. The NGO would also engage with girls families to convince them to allow their children to go on to high school. . The school in Loitokitok also attempted to structure schooling to fit in with the pastoralist lifestyle, particularly for boys. Thus, children who left school during the dry months to roam with cattle in search of pasture and water would be reintegrated afterward rather than be punished for lack of attendance. Other measures undertaken by the schools, either in conjunction with the government or NGOs included provision of sanitary towels for girls, health camps to provide healthcare service to children, building of sanitary facilities and development of the schools inclusive education programme through building of a special needs unit in the case of Emulole School and Kongowea School. Thus, it was evident that the educational institutions were aiming to transform from formal institutions of the government's educational mission to learning communities that emphasize egalitarian dialogue between all interested stakeholders in schooling and engaging with families and the communities to support children's wellbeing and learning. In particular, the schools aimed at developing family and community participation in the schooling processes to provide a sense of ownership that would in turn motivate them to support schooling and thus would be more amenable to accepting the idea of social justice that may go contrary to their cultural ideas. However, the rhetoric of social justice was in practice hampered by many factors that were out of the schools control and which limited the success.

8.2. Teacher Professionalism

With regards to social justice in education, teacher professionalism, encompassing teacher training, professional development, pedagogical practices and teacher identities, plays a key role in the success of the FPE program. It is thus of essence to investigate the various historical, socio-cultural and systemic factors that enhance or impede teacher professionalism in Kenyan schools. Teachers engagement with social justice is only possible if the institutional norms, practices and hierarchies are conducive to reflexive practice and pedagogies of hope that are built upon relevant ethical and pedagogical philosophies. In particular, the beliefs, attitudes and experiences of teachers within the field of education are expressive of the (lack) of professionalism and ethical practice and help in assisting organization of educational policy to support ethical practice that can contribute to sustainable social transformation in and through education. Primary teacher education (PTE) in Kenya is provided at teacher training colleges (TTC) through a two year residential programme that provides mostly pedagogical teaching in all subjects offered at primary school without any subject specialization. Special needs education is offered at the Kenya Institute of Special Education (KISE) while technical and vocational teachers are trained at the Kenya technical teachers College (KTTC). Entry to the teacher training institutions is based on a KCPE certificate, with a minimum C (plain) grade, with a minimum D (plain) grade in mathematics and a C (minus) in English. The current PTE curriculum was introduced by the 2004 PTE syllabus and consists of five core subjects for all trainees (English, Kiswahili, professional studies, physical education and information communication and technology) and two options (Option A includes science, home science, agriculture and mathematics while Option B includes music, art and craft, social studies and religious education). In the first year, trainees all take a general course of study with the second-year training comprising of the five core subjects and four subjects from the two options. The curriculum also comprises of studies in education science such as foundations in education, curriculum studies, educational psychology and counseling. The curriculum also provides for three teaching practice sessions. In-service training in Kenya is theoretically aimed at developing teacher competencies by enabling them learn new skills while refreshing pedagogical content and skills acquired in teacher training colleges. However, at present there is no uniform institutional framework for in-service training and it is offered haphazardly on the basis of interest and availability of resources. These ad hoc programmes also generally focus on generic pedagogical skills rather than innovative educational practice. After employment, teachers are regulated by the Teachers Service Commission (TSC), which sets out terms of employment, institutional hierarchies and disciplinary norms while the Kenya National Union of Teachers (KNUT) is the trade union responsible for negotiating teachers' remuneration.

8.2.1. Teacher training

Many teachers were of the opinion that the professional training received by teachers was not sufficient, given the relatively short length of teacher training and compounded by the wide breadth of subject that teachers had to master. This broad curriculum left teachers with barely enough time to concentrate on pedagogical skills

necessary for handling classes characterized by the wide disparities and overcrowding present in Kenyan schools. One of the teachers, who had been to Finland for a training course, compared the time allocated for training in Kenya.

I was there and the teachers are really good in class. Apart from the fact that they have all the necessary tools and get good remuneration and all that, it is quite evident that Kenyan teachers do not have enough training. I was talking to teachers fresh out of school and they knew more than us when we graduate. Not only subjects but also how to deal with children. They have enough time to get to know the field and also in teaching practice. We are rushed through two years and sent to school half-baked (Beatrice)

Teachers' experiences in the teaching-learning processes were also at odds with the best practice they had learned during training. Professional training offered to teachers was too theoretical and had little to do with the actual circumstances

The training we get at school assumes that you have a perfect classroom. Even the theories we heard in school are so outdated. Nobody talks about reality. Then you land in a classroom your first day and have no idea what to do. I remember my first day in teaching practice, at a school deep in the villages of Bomet. It was complete chaos. I left the room and went back home and cried (Atieno).

One of the key issues with Kenyan teacher training is the low entry barriers for teacher training, resulting in trainees joining teacher training as a last resort rather than as an area of interest. This contributes largely to the apathy and disinterest most teachers have and leads to poorly trained teachers

In my days, it wasn't this bad. Back then, people still respected teachers, so when I joined, I was proud of being a teacher. Nowadays, you have trainees who join because they couldn't go to university or find any other better job. So they finish training and resent every day spent as a teacher. Because the pay isn't that good to keep you motivated (Beatrice)

The focus on passing examinations is a great challenge for teachers in pedagogical contexts. This focus starts in Class 6 and by Class 8, most teachers are only focused on the mean grade in mock exams and KCPE, as higher scores come with professional advancement and sometimes financial incentives. With increasing pressure from school heads and parents to ensure that children pass KCPE, teachers prefer to develop teaching strategies that focus on rote learning and memorization of facts

Sometimes at Eregi (TTC), the tutors would tell us about all these good theories about learning and helping children actualize. But here in school, the principal wants high mean grades. The parents want their children to go to school. And teachers want to go a grade up. And to achieve all this, you have to spoon feed the pupils so that they pass (Atieno).

Decontextualization of teacher training and professional development is a major challenge for the system. The framework for training and development separates the theoretical and practical components of the educative experience, thus limiting real-time application of learned skills. While the teacher trainees do go for practical sessions during the two-year program, these sessions are squeezed in between holidays and barely have any supervision to ensure that teachers are obtaining practical

experience. This robs trainees of real contexts to enable them internalize content and pedagogical skills, and the lack of mentoring leads to lack of reflexive practice, as the trainees are unable to obtain an outside, experienced perspective on their abilities and weaknesses.

When I went for my teaching practice, I was told I would be visited by a tutor. Yet when I arrived at the school, the other teachers thought I was a real teacher and gave me a class and forgot about me. I had no mentoring, and the tutor never came. I am not even sure what I did there or if I learned anything (Atieno).

The poor training was compounded by lack of professional development opportunities. A major complaint about in-service training was based on the competence of the tutors, who did not have any real competence and expertise to deliver meaningful training. The teachers blamed this mostly on the haphazard nature of the training, which meant nobody was accountable for good results.

You know, when we are all there, nobody really cares. For many teachers, it is a holiday from school and all the hard work, and sometimes if it is in a good place like Mombasa, you can relax. For the tutors, nobody really follows them to see what they actually did. So we all get certificates, they get money, and almost nothing happens (Kasaine).

However, the organization of teacher in-service training itself was also blamed for the ineffectiveness of in-service session. Given the large teacher complement of about 240,000 teachers and a shortage of tutors, a cascade model is employed where the experts train some tutors who then deliver in-service training. This didactic, hierarchical model was considered inappropriate for in-service training, as teachers also expected to be treated as professionals rather than novices. Teachers were also of the opinion that most of these tutors did not have sufficient grasp of the training content and appropriate pedagogical skills to successfully deliver effective in-service training.

Somebody who does not really understand the things he is telling you stands up there, and sometimes I probably know more than them. And they treat you like a small child, making you even put up your hand to ask questions. The exact same methods we use in class for pupils. So I wonder why I should go (Kasaine).

The attitudes of senior school management were also questioned, many of whom felt that teacher actively pursuing professional development were a professional threat

Here it is good. But in my previous school, about ten years ago, I applied for many management courses, and always got turned down. Because the headmaster thought I wanted his seat (sic). I was quite popular; it was my home village actually. And he was an outsider. So I never got to go to any training, maybe if I had I would have had become a principal (Beatrice).

Teachers' unmet expectations regarding the value of professional development lead to disillusionment and apathy. While professional development is seen as a means of career advancement in the hierarchy, many teachers who attend and receive certification do not advance, either due to lack of openings in the hierarchy, poor organization or corrupt practices in promotions. These unmet expectations lead teachers to be apathetic towards in-service training

Many teachers attend courses and hope to get a promotion or a raise afterwards... But even in cases where it is explicitly said to be a requirement, you can come back with a certificate and nobody bothers. Either your application gets lost at TSC or somebody pays a bribe to get the promotion and you are left hanging. So many teachers give up (Beatrice)

Given that teaching is expected to be a profession of high standards, yet the reality of teacher training and professional development is characterized by low standards and unmet expectations, teachers facing these challenges develop identities at odds with the requirements for ethical practice and care. This is manifested in poor pedagogical practice, lack of real engagement with children's learning and disinterest in teaching. This is further worsened by the lack of competency at higher levels of educational administration either at district or national level, where bureaucracy, incompetence and corruption hamper teachers' meaningful engagement with educational authorities on their professional needs.

After a while, teachers just give up and go with the flow. If the Ministry is busy stealing money meant for FPE and DEBs (District Education Boards) are mostly empty when you go for any situation, why should teachers also bother? I mean, this is not only a problem with teachers, this is how government works in Kenya (Beatrice)

8.2.2. Workload and resources

The responsibilities thrust upon the teachers in the wake of the FPE program were enormous and contributed to a workload already stretched beyond normalcy in the previous era. In particular, the class teacher's responsibilities were quite demanding, given that apart from managing classrooms, they were also expected to take charge of organizational and administrative tasks regarding their classrooms. This included discipline, evaluation and engagement with families.

As class teacher, I have to teach my subjects, take care of all classroom problems, follow up children's discipline, and here we have a lot of problems. Then afterwards, I still need to talk to parents and give them any information they need. And also answer to the school principal about the class. For a class of more than forty, this soon becomes a problem (Beatrice).

Teachers were of the opinion that they fulfilled the basic requirements of a caring and engaged teacher. However, these qualities were irrelevant in the face of the multiplied demands of FPE. The increased enrolments, which were touted by the government as an unqualified success, had multiplied teachers' duties to an extent that they were unable to cope with the demands thus affecting their ability to meaningfully design classroom interaction and exercises.

I like to think I am a good teacher. I really care about my pupils, and want them to succeed. But how do I give individual attention to everyone, when they are so many, some I sometimes can't remember their names?... On Sunday night, I am still dealing with tasks from last week instead of preparing for the next week. When I was fresh from college, I tried to make lesson plans every day. Nowadays, I have even forgotten how to do it (Atieno).

In all schools, teachers complained of a lack of an ideal working environment that would enable them to provide adequate instruction, employ appropriate pedagogical techniques and care for their children. Lack of sufficient teaching resources and facilities were also a problem even before the FPE regime, but with lower numbers, teachers had been able to innovate to address the changes. However, with much higher teacher-pupil ratios, this was impossible.

Sometimes I would even photocopy some important material to give the children a chance to study at home. And if I ever got the money back from the school, it was a very good day. Now, I can't afford it, or else I won't have any food. So I just give them the textbooks and hope they themselves can figure out how to share (Kasaine).

The enrolments brought about by FPE had also increased teachers workloads through the increased diversity of children's needs and academic match. While previously school had had more autonomy to regulate admissions and sorting of children in different levels, new regulations aimed at increasing access and widening participation reduced schools control over admission and class placement. Thus teachers had to deal with increasingly diverse classes where pupils had widely varying academic abilities and previous experience. While teachers were confident they could deal with such disparities in an ideal situation, the overcrowded classrooms precluded any individual attention to learners needs. Thus many learners were unable to follow the curriculum.

I once a boy who dropped out in 2000 when he was in Class 6. In 2005 he came back again and insisted on joining Class 8, just so as to graduate. But after just a few months, it was impossible to deal with him as he had no knowledge about many of the topics... I think he himself realized he couldn't follow. So after a term he quietly moved back to Class 6 (Kasaine).

Teachers were also involved in many government activities that had little to do with teaching, thus reducing the time they could devote to pedagogy. Due to schools being the main contact centers with the populations, particularly in rural centers most social programmes were conducted in schools and teachers were allocated organizational or delivery tasks without any reorganization of their schedules.

When we have vaccinations or any other government events, schools are usually used either to coordinate them or connect the government people to the villages. So I can spend a whole week doing other things rather than teaching (Kasaine)

8.2.3. Professional expectations and limitations

In defining the professionalism of the teachers, it is relevant to consider sociological and labor market discourses with regard to professions and which sectors of the labor market are thus categorized. Professions are defined based on; the use of skills based on theoretical knowledge, education and training in those skills certified by examination, a code of professional conduct oriented towards the public good and a powerful professional organization (Millerson, 1964). Judging from the teachers perceptions of their profession, it was evident that these attributes were hardly applicable to the state of the teaching profession in Kenya. This is partly on account of

the quality of training and professional development that teachers receive, and partly on account of the organization of the teaching profession in Kenya, which lacked standards of certification and an explicit code of conduct that set minimum standards of professionalism.

Doctors, lawyers and engineers in Kenya have boards which register them and license people to practice. But apparently in Kenya, anybody can go to a school and teach. Although teachers paid by the government are employed by TSC, which asks for certificates most other teachers in public and private schools are not really regulated. So anybody with the right connections can become a teacher. And when children fail, all teachers are blamed (Atieno).

This lack of professionalism is in turn reflected in the remuneration structures and the prestige of the teaching profession in the country.

A common saying I hear is "Those who can do, those who can't teach". And that is mostly true. Teaching is a last resort, so nobody takes teachers seriously anymore. Everybody expects teachers to be the poor performing people who had no other option (Kasaine)

The teachers also blamed the deprofessionalization of teaching partly on the teachers themselves, as they were of the opinion that professionalism is not only composed of remuneration and codes of conduct, but also on the collective identities and agencies of teachers. They thus expected teachers to reflect upon their practice and judge it from a normative perspective. Given the enormous challenges brought about by increased access and lack of resources, it was incumbent upon the teachers to draw upon their motivation and convictions about the noble nature of teaching to handle their duties professionally even in the face of challenges.

Most teachers don't really think about what being a teacher means. For me, it is a calling to help children, and I hold myself to that standard. At least I try. Many just show up at school then leave to go on their business... Children and parents can tell if the teacher is committed or just showing up. And they judge us based on that (Beatrice).

There were many constraints that the teachers faced during their professional lives that challenged the notion of teaching as a noble profession. Many teachers were of the opinion that educational policy and practice did not recognize the noble role of teachers in schooling and in the wider society. However, all the teachers interviewed were of the opinion that they were still satisfied with their jobs, as these felt that teaching was a calling rather than a mere job, and that regardless of the limitations and challenges, they were still convinced about the value they added to society through care of children. However, some teachers noted that this job satisfaction did not apply equally across the teaching force, and was particularly lacking among the younger teachers, who approached teaching as a job, rather than a calling, and this made a difference in the commitment they would apply to their job

I don't want to say that they are lazy or so. Or that they just want money. But in my time, teaching was really valued. Now, being a teacher is a subject of ridicule. So I can't really blame them. It all depends on the mindset. But I have

also met a lot of young teachers who are really interested and committed, regardless of the challenges.

Some of the teachers interviewed had no further aspirations other than successfully retiring without a blemish on their careers. This was to a large extent attributable to their advanced age. However, this surprisingly did not lead to complacency, as the teachers indicated that given that they saw this as their only chance to prove themselves, they were more committed to offering professional teaching.

I am old. I don't think now is the time to have big dreams, because I have learnt to be realistic. Earlier I wanted to be a minister or MP. But now, I am realistic. I just want to finish the job and do my best. All my children are grown up and happily employed. I don't think I have any more dreams. So all I want form life is to make sure that the children in my care achieve the best they can, even if it means taking on more duties than are my responsibility (Beatrice).

All the teachers interviewed had a high level of interest in the professional issues regarding the teaching profession. The teaching profession in Kenya has been plagued by many problems. Remuneration of teachers was a major institutional problem for teachers. Teachers complained about the lack of professionalism in the teaching profession, a sea change that originated in the nineties. Previously, teachers had been a highly respected cadre in the civil service and although they still commanded respect in rural areas, the worth of the teaching profession had gradually been eroded. Many attributed this to the start of the cost sharing programs initiated by the World Bank.

I joined teaching just as the problems were beginning. The World Bank was beginning to take control at the Ministry. So they stopped hiring more teachers, stopped pay increases and changed everything that had worked so well before. After that, it was all downhill. All the respect teachers commanded went away when the schools started failing (Beatrice).

The challenges of poverty affect the teachers themselves, thus they are by themselves also trying to survive, with many forced to pursue other side jobs thus limiting their engagement with teaching. Teacher remuneration is a contentious issue in Kenyan education, with teachers union undertaking regular industrial action, including strikes and go-slows, which severely affect learning at schools, as in some instances schools are closed for up to months on end.

We have been reduced to beggars, going on the streets once or twice a year to beg for more money from the government. So no wonder we don't get respected. If the parents and pupils see teachers rioting on the streets, fighting with police and talking about their poverty, they can't respect you in the same way. And which child will then want to be a teacher so as to spend days on the street asking for money? (Kasaine).

Increasing blame in the public sphere is heaped upon teachers, especially given glaring cases of lack of professional practice and low quality. However the teachers argued that too much blame for the failure of the education system in Kenya is apportioned to them and insist that the real architects of the failure is the government, which due to lack of planning and prudent financial management had managed to turn the FPE into a problematic policy, yet was still keen to reap political benefits. Teachers argue that it is unrealistic to expect teachers to overcome years of social

disadvantage through schooling only, in such a short time and with limited resources and an inefficient school management system.

Teachers are an easy target. We are the ones who are close to the families and the children. So it's easy to blame us... Kenyans are so used to politicians and lies that they have given up. I guess they also expected more from us than from the politicians, but there is only so much we can do without proper support (Beatrice)

Lack of adequate monitoring and evaluation of teachers also played a role in teacher ineffectiveness. A lot of teachers simply did not do their job, but in many instances, if the head teacher was not particularly active, nobody minded. Disciplining of teachers also rarely happened, either due to ambivalence or due to some teachers exploiting their social capital connections and bribery to escape punishment. The organizational and reporting structures were disorganized, and were particularly attuned to quantitative monitoring of enrolments, survival and transitions rather than the quality and wellbeing of pupils. This is partly reflected in the focus on statistics about parity rather than a focus on overcoming the socioeconomic and cultural issues that hinder girls' access and participation in schooling

When the KNBS (Kenya National Bureau of Statistics) people come here, they only ask about how many girls signed up and how many are still here. Then they go and that's it. Nobody asks whether the girls attend daily, what their experiences in school are like and so on... This is why the government considers FPE a success. Getting as many children in school as possible. And leave us with the problems that come (Kasaine)

Given complicated reporting procedures, hierarchical layers and the lack of a unified data collection and processing/verification mechanism, accountability added an extra burden to teachers and principals yet a lot of the data was collected from schools and reported by the school administration, most of it wound up in files in the district offices and did not serve any purpose. This defeated the whole idea and also limited the school administrations ability to report problems and issues and agitate for change. The capacity of schools and district education offices to handle their tasks was limited by a general lack of relevant infrastructure and equipment and also relevant training in technical, management and financial requirements. Hierarchical structures led to issues of senior officials requiring bribes or ingratiation from junior officials if their requests were to be forwarded or if any extra allocations given. This slowed down the schools activities and hampered in particular requisition and access to funds meant for school improvement.

One day I filled ten long forms... But you send them in and they spend a month on the principal's desk, then another at DEB. And maybe it never goes anywhere. They tell us to report our problems and concerns, but I am sure they just throw out those forms. So we waste much time and nothing comes out of it... It is so frustrating (Atieno).

The deprofessionalization of the teaching profession contributes to a growing insecurity among teachers and a sharp decrease in the prestige of teaching, which was one of the main pull factors for teachers going into the profession in the early independence years, thus challenging teachers' practices and beliefs. It was evident from their

accounts that the profession requires a review of the codes, culture and ethics of professionalism in the teaching profession, failure of which will lead to further erosion of the teachers' contribution to social justice. The teachers' expectations were thus aimed at instilling the professionalism that they desired in their jobs. Stating that schools, communities and the government had high expectations of service delivery, they in return expected that the framework of teacher training, professional development, organization and remuneration should reflect these demands, particularly with regards to inclusive decision-making, fair accountability mechanisms, commensurate remuneration, reorganization of TSC institutional hierarchies and procedures, a strengthened teachers union able to collectively bargain for teachers rights and national recognition of the role of teachers in education. They also expected that teachers themselves would undertake personal and collective responsibility for their profession, furthering ethical practice in relation to their employers and pupils while striving to develop their professional skills and knowledge.

8.2.4. Teachers as social change agents

Teachers roles in the procedural aspects of educational justice is quite important, as teachers play a large role in structuring pupils chances in obtaining equal opportunities in the context of FPE. Teaching differs from most professions given that it is not a technical profession but rather requires wholesale commitment to ethical pedagogical practice. However, it is also important to note that the profession is located within institutional processes and practices that affect pedagogy and engagement through continuous reflection and reconstruction of dispositions. Teachers' engagement with procedural aspects of social justice is linked to the teachers' identities, both personal and professional. It is widely accepted that teachers would be more committed to social justice if they had sufficient social and cultural capital in relation to professional and personal practice. This would be particularly useful in influencing school culture and also the community and is linked to professionalism of the teaching profession and perception of teachers by the community. If the teachers are committed to the profession and not just there for monetary gain and are able to change their own perceptions and avoid injustice in their behavior through a perception of the children as individuals with dignity and value regardless of gender, ethnicity and class, then schooling would be able to achieve social justice.

To be a good teacher, you need more motivation than just the money. You need to be able to see yourself as a parent to these children, one who wants the best for them. Whoever they are should not be an issue. It should be about helping them get the best out of school (Beatrice).

A teacher needs to get above these problems we have with tribalism and divisions in the country. When you are yourself aware of the problems and can think about them, then you can begin to solve them....It is important to know the problems the country has, so that you can begin to address them. Once you know about how society starts being unequal, then you can do something about it (Kasaine)

As teachers, and in relation to their expected and self-perceived role of change agents, the teachers felt that they first needed to combat their own prejudices, some of

which were deep-seated and they had also learnt in the same socialization process the teachers were going through. Thus becoming a social agent involved reflective practice. This points to deep-seated tendencies rooted in the teachers own habitus, that they learnt in their own childhood. The teachers admitted that reflexive practice was difficult, especially when coupled with the heavy workload

I myself have to come to terms with my own prejudices first, before I can even think of changing the children. I always ask myself, when I think of a Kikuyu, what do I think? Do I consciously or unconsciously, think of an enemy of my fellow Luos or do I see a fellow Kenyan or a fellow human being? When I read a child's name in the register and realize he or she is Kikuyu, do I think of him for her only as a child who needs my care, or do I think of him or her first as a Kikuyu child (Atieno)

However, it was evident that teachers in Kenya faced many challenges that limited their engagement and dedication to teaching. This was partly rooted in the remuneration that teachers received, which was insufficient to lead a comfortable personal life, and many were engaged in other business to supplement their salaries. This affected teachers' identities as professionals, since their focus was on survival rather than ethical practice.

I like Karl Marx and how he described religion. Tribalism in Kenya starts with poverty, people too busy to find food that they would believe another person from another tribe has stolen the food they would have. And we as teachers are that hungry man. So how can we get beyond this and teach children how to do it? (Kasaine).

Teachers engagement with social justice is being spurred by national educational policy that, at least in principle, requires schools to recognize and address forms of injustice on education that are perpetuated through classroom pedagogy and other school practices and which in turn contribute to injustice and deprivation in society as many children miss out on the benefits of education and are caught up in a vicious cycle of lack of education, unemployment and poverty. These forms of injustice are usually expressed through the integration of differences such as gender, ethnicity and poverty in the distribution of educational resources. The government focus is however focused more on achieving international development goals rather than concerns about injustice in society as meeting development goals enables access to development funding and in Kenya.

The government pushes schools to get more children in school and keep them there. But we get no real support for this. For them, it is about looking good when they go to conferences to ask for more money that can then get stolen. They don't really think about how the problems families have affect their children (Beatrice).

The teaching profession is cast as having a major role to play in implementing visions for a socially just future for all children. This challenge is even more Herculean given the poor state of professionalism and ethical teacher practice in the Kenyan teaching profession. Moreover, the lack of linkages between teachers' social identities and their role in achieving critical mass for social justice, as many teachers themselves are caught up in the intricate web of difference and injustice that permeate Kenyan society. The

teachers perceived themselves as latent agents of social change, identifying schooling as a potent arena for introduction of social justice to children who would grow up to respect values of human dignity and justice and equality.

The tribalism we have comes up when children learn wrong things about other tribes. Schools and teachers should try and teach children about our humanity, and how there is no difference between tribes, that we are all Kenyans. When the children are young and inexperienced in the world, school is the best time to achieve this (Atieno).

The teachers also linked schooling and teachers practice to the schools role in promoting equality among children but admit that socialization into cultural or environmental norms are quite easy, as the family or community does not even have to explicitly point out anything, children just observe and learn. This requires greater effort on the part of the school and teachers in instilling a sense of social justice among the children.

It has to begin here. Most of these children go home and are taught how to be good boys or good girls according to their culture. And let me tell you, that has nothing to do with equality. It has to do with men having the power and women and children doing what they are told. So we are in a competition here, who can teach the lessons that last to adulthood. All they need to do is live a week in the community, and they learn all about the place of women, or of Kikuyus, or of Luos. And we have to try and change what they see every day, what they learn (Kasaine)

The teachers were however worried about the limits of the schools responsibilities as far as the children were concerned, and especially the rights of the parents over their children's upbringing. They were worried that if they taught children some ideas that were considered too liberal or progressive by the families this might cause friction between the school and family and lead to negative repercussions, both professionally for the teacher and for the children

Last year, a mother came to school and complained I was teaching the children to have sex and be prostitutes. All because I talked once about condoms in class. Apparently one child went home and told the mother, and the story spread in the village that I had offered condoms to the children. And I remember very well I mentioned the word "condom" only once. But suddenly it was like I was providing children with permission to have sex. Such things make you worry (Beatrice).

Teachers were insistent that the curriculum should be changed and include subjects that easily integrated teaching that promoted social change. This included Life Skills learning, HIV/AIDS awareness and Social relationships. Such changes would enable them to adequately address injustices in society. Teachers' role as change agents would thus be in identifying injustices and enabling children to gain insights into the structures of justice in society. In particular, inclusion of such subjects in the curriculum would legitimize them, as teacher complained that the current situation where such subjects are optional classes, where they are seen as the teachers "preaching" and pupils rarely take note of anything they feel is not going to be tested. The teachers

blame this on the testing culture of the country, where learning is oriented towards passing exams rather than acquiring valuable skills. Though they consider this to be a challenge even if the subjects are legitimized as core curriculum, they opine that at least the pupils would really engage with the subject and be able to understand the intricacies of injustice. Teachers considered their role to be related to supporting equality of opportunity, which in their conceptualization entailed equal treatment of all but with regards to the learners background and personal characteristics, so stressing the need for overcompensation for certain factors out of the pupils control were detrimental to their learning. This was attributed to the ethic of care embedded in a teacher's role and the idea of promoting social justice particularly to the underrepresented and marginalized groups

When you have children with some disability or disadvantage, then it is your role as a teacher to ensure they can be comfortable in class and learn. Try to solve their problems and give them extra care (Atieno).

Most teachers identified with their pupils situations, as they themselves had been underprivileged growing up and were thus willing to do much to raise the children's circumstances.

I grew up in a poor family, so I know what they are going through. And I think that helps me be a better teacher. I have some good teachers and they helped me a lot. So I want these children to even go higher than me. I give them all the attention I can (Atieno).

The teachers were however exasperated with the fact that even though they were ready to pursue social justice, the whole idea was being negated every day in the Kenyan public sphere, where it was always clear that those with money and connections always got what they want. They singled out various instances of politics, crime and common bribery and corruption.

Even when you are supposed to have CDF scholarships for the pupils, you still have corruption involved. How do you explain the nephew of an MP getting a scholarship meant for the needy pupils in the village, when he has never even lived in the village? Yet you have hundreds of really needy pupils dropping out. Everybody sees this. So how do I go to class and talk about social justice, or to the parents, when everyone knows that it is just a myth (Kasaine).

8.3. Classroom Regimes

8.3.1. Curriculum and assessment

In classroom interaction with pupils, teachers noted that the curriculum, forms of assessment and reflexive teacher practice were essential to nurturing learners and ensuring they maximized the benefits of participation in school. However, the Kenyan education system is plagued by many challenges, most manifest in the poor public school in which the teachers and children were located. The potential for schooling to enhance children's agency and wellbeing is linked to the design and delivery of the curriculum in relation to the relevance of schooling to children's lives and a dedication to social justice. The epistemic foundations, pedagogic approaches, related

educational material and assessment schemes associated with eth curriculum thus play a role in pursuit of social justice through education. The epistemological foundations of the 8-4-4 curriculum have been largely typified as being largely “Western” knowledge that had little relevance to the children’s lives. Children, particularly in the rural area, had a hard time understanding it, as it was mostly abstract and alien to their settings which were far removed from the modernity portrayed in schooling. While acknowledging that the knowledge is relevant, particularly to educational success, the teachers insisted that the representation of the knowledge could be done in a manner that reflected the Kenyan context and eth pupils’ realities.

Of course if the children go to high school and college, then it is important. But the reality is that more than half of our pupils either drop out or do not proceed after Class 8. So what is the point of eight years of knowledge than will then be completely irrelevant to them...? If you have Social Studies, at least now they recognize the culture of Kenyan groups. But even if we are to teach Mathematics, we should do it in a way that can be relevant to children. There is this Math problem about the speed of trains, and I wonder how many of the children in my class have ever seen a train (Kasaine).

This theme is quite common in the rural areas, but largely unaddressed in the urban area, which though a slum had closer ties to the modernity and tourism, thus had more application or the knowledge in their lives. In Kakamega, teachers were more concerned about the language of instruction, which to a large degree excluded children from the teaching and learning process, as they barely understood the content.

You can stand in class for half an hour talking about something very simple, but maybe two or three people understand. The rest just stare at you. The Uwezo survey in 2008 was really shocking; with more than half the children unable to read or understand English at Class 2 level. So even though I don’t have a solution for this problem, I have to admit it is a big problem (Beatrice).

The rush to complete the curriculum, which teachers described as vast, also precluded any space for reflexive practice or innovation. Since the KCPE exams covered all sections of the curriculum, teachers had to have covered all chapters by the end of the year to ensure pupils were minimally prepared for the exams. This was particularly a challenge when teachers wanted to explore issues of social justice in the classroom, as there was no time to engage in discussion with pupils.

If a teacher does not finish the syllabus, then there will definitely be problems. Teacher, principals will blame you. So the first priority is to protect ones job and get through as fast as possible. Other issues are secondary (Atieno).

Textbooks and exams were the omniscient structuring power in school, as all learning activities were geared towards mastery of their content and success in exams. However, these textbooks were always in short supply, and the available ones left a lot to be desired. Physically, they were of poor quality and thus needed to be replacing frequently as they were cheaply produced and the frequent use by many pupils led to rapid deterioration of their state. Many had pages missing, were marked to the point of being defaced. Teachers complained that the government approved textbooks were not suitable to children’s learning as they were abstract and the

content delivery was not designed incrementally. Though teachers knew of other relevant textbooks, these were not supplied to schools by the government and parents were highly unlikely to buy them, so teachers were forced to use the government provide ones, which had a detrimental effect on their teaching

There is some space about which books to buy. But teachers have little input in that process, as it is mostly decided based on available funding. There are some good textbooks I know, but either they are too expensive or not on the approved list. So we have to make do with the ones we have (Beatrice).

Reproduction of diversity in the text and images of the textbooks was also a major issue, particularly with regards to gender. The textbooks reflected the patriarchal hierarchy dominant in most Kenyan societies, marginalizing women. This as in direct contrast to the States rhetoric on gender equality, and teachers were highly critical of this dichotomy. However, teachers were confident that's some newer textbooks, particularly in the newly introduced Social Studies, prompted pupils reflection on social inequalities as they dedicated a broad section to them.

It might not seem so important, but this is actually the trend. Women will be mentioned in the feminine professions and housework, while all the doctors, engineers will be men. In one of my lower classes, we once tried to act out a storybook narrative. When it came to choosing characters, a girl wanted to be the doctor, but a boy in the class told her she can't be as there are no female doctors in all the books they had read. Now this may seem just a kid trying to be the doctor, but such images stay with them and become stronger over time (Kasaine)

The predominant teaching style prevalent in most Kenyan public schools was based on transmission of knowledge and was teacher-centered, thus reflecting Freire's banking concept of education. This was further entrenched through application of assessment methodologies that focused on reproduction of rote memory rather than reasoning. There was very little classroom interaction that stimulated higher order reasoning among pupils. While this as a consequence of the crowded classrooms, where teachers could hardly afford individual attention for pupils, the teachers contended that this approach as also based on cultural conceptions of the child as an incomplete adult, a perspective that presupposed he or she is a blank slate to be molded by society into the normative version of an adult. Such an approach presupposes the child has nothing to contribute and he or she is expected to sit still and absorb the knowledge of his/her wiser elders. Thus teachers would stand in front of the class and deliver long monologues on the topic of the day, with very little time (if any) dedicated to pupils questions. Moreover, most of the pupils would not ask questions, either because they hadn't understood due to the limits of the language of instruction or due to fear. The predominance of the blackboard as the main instructional resource also precludes meaningful interaction. In most instances, the lack of textbooks forced teachers to spend most of the lesson time copying notes onto the board so that pupils could then copy them in their exercise books. Homework was also regularly issued to pupils by the teachers as a form of continuous assessment, although in a lot of instances, teachers did not have the capacity to review the homework, while revision and remedial classes were offered to all pupils at weekends. Though officially banned by the government, many schools still held Saturday classes, where teachers would focus on revision of course material or catching up on the syllabus. Teachers justified this as an extra effort

towards the academic success of the children. In Kakamega and Mombasa, the schools offered this weekend tuition or Class 6 to Class 8 pupils, while the school in Loitokitok offered it only for Class 8 pupils.

Students were assessed monthly through Continuous Assessment tests issued at the discretion of the teacher and per term using standardized tests developed at the school or district level, particularly for class 8 pupils. Assessment results were used mainly to gauge pupils understanding of the curricula and thus monitor teacher effectiveness while also offering parents termly reports for the pupils' progress. The KCPE and mock and district results were used to compare schools nationally/provincially and district, with KCPE, mock and term results were sent to parents in form of report cards. KCPE and mock data was published openly on the school board and the schools mean score was considered a proxy for school effectiveness. However, this was not explicitly used in aiding educational decisions by the school or educational authorities. Assessment schemes were thus oriented towards test scores and summative assessment at primary school was based on the KCSE, which as a multiple choice exam that called for little reflection and reasoning skills from the children. Most strategies for success in the exam focused on rote learning and replication of content, which would then be forgotten. This even affected pedagogical practices in schools, as many teachers were focused on their children passing KCSE and the school having a high mean grade rather than on children actually learning content.

Some pupils just cross A, B, C or D randomly. Since the exam is simply a multiple choice. And teachers focus on getting pupils to pass, because it is all about getting a good mean score for the schools. In a way, it is helpful, because the overcrowded classes and few resources lead to such teaching anyway (Beatrice).

Teachers were expected in the course of curriculum delivery to address the aptitude and performance of children with respect to general performance and aptitude in particular subjects, and thus undertake remedial measures to ensure children were able to comprehend the subject content and acquire the minimum skills required. Teachers pursued this through testing of pupils academic and non-academic/socio-emotional needs in the curriculum delivery process. Teachers lamented the sole focus on academics in the curriculum, and in the approved pedagogical processes outlined in the teacher's guides, as they did not take into account the impact of learning environments on children's grasp of learning content. The constant challenge of overcrowded classrooms and limited resources also limited teacher closer engagement with pupils. Such limitations tested teachers' abilities to provide innovative and conducive learning environments that addressed children's diverse requirements.

When you work under such conditions, you learn very quickly how to make do with the little you have... Sometimes it works out and I can find a way of engaging children while teaching, sometimes I just have to copy notes on the board and hope they understand or will ask questions. Every day is a challenge (Atieno).

8.3.2. Reflexive teaching practice

Pursuit of pupils' wellbeing in classroom contexts was understood by teachers as a process of reflexive practice, where teachers practice was a learning process,

adjusted over time to reflect the individual and collective needs of their pupils. This process was underpinned by teachers understanding of professionalism and the ethic of care which was expected to guide empowering behavior and enable teacher to becoming caring agents of social change. This process of reflexive practice thus entailed a process of personal and professional identity formation over time, with teachers eventually becoming embodied agents of social change who could transform and guide institutional cultures towards educational justice. This reflexive process as based on four key steps, namely developing a personal and professional identity imbued with the principles of social justice, recognition of processes of inclusion and exclusion in the classroom, promotion of social justice through pedagogical process and lastly becoming a caring teacher. While the process of developing a teacher identity is based on the training and professional development received, recognition of exclusion in classrooms entailed a day-to-day engagement with social structures of inequality to enable the recognition and explication of the role of pedagogical processes in reproduction of inequality. Teachers thus had to actively embody social change by adherence to ethical and professional standards of trust, care, integrity and leadership. By recognizing the visible and invisible diversity that exists in their classrooms, based on gender, ethnicities social class, academic foundations, and culture, teachers could channel their pursuit of social justice in their personal and professional life. In this sense, reflexive practice entailed avoidance of assumptions that could negatively impact teacher-learner interactions based on visible and invisible diversity. This ran the gamut from avoiding assumptions about language competence to assumptions about family structures.

As a human being, one tries to categorize and group... In Kenya we have a lot of experience with tribalism even in very trivial matters. But as a teacher here, I try to avoid such generalizations. Particularly because my in my classroom, I have pupils from all the major tribes in Kenya. So I try to separate any prejudices or issues I have and instead try to focus on the needs of the children. But I also try to work back on any prejudices I have and trace how they develop. It is sometimes interesting (Atieno).

Teachers would also reflect on their practice to identify practices that entrenched inequalities. This entailed cataloging their own actions and the actions of other pupils and then reviewing them to identify any actions that were prejudicial.

A researcher once came to the school and videotaped my classes. So I got the tapes and watched them to see what my teaching is like... Afterwards, it is quite easy to see what you do wrong, sometimes even unconsciously. So it helps to be able to review your teaching and learn from your mistakes. But unfortunately after the researcher left, I didn't have access to a recorder. But the experience taught me about the importance of taking time to actually think about what I did in class and find a better way (Kasaine)

After recognition of social inequalities and their impact on pedagogical processes, it was necessary for the teachers to work proactively to promote social justice within the classroom context. This would entail incorporation of equality and professional practice not only in pedagogical strategies but also integration of social justice education into curriculum content. Given the inflexible nature of the Kenyan curriculum and the vast breadth of its scope, this was a challenge to effectively master. The role of promoting social justice required the teacher establish an atmosphere conducive to pupil-centered

learning and allowing pupils the agency to interrogate the explicit and hidden curriculum.

Introduction of the whole concept of equity and equality is important. For many of the pupils, they have probably heard the words, but I once asked anyone who knows what they actually mean but nobody really knows. They think it is about having the same number of boys and girls in a class. So it is important to explicitly discuss what these concepts represent, and then guide them towards a decision that they have thought about rather than just heard from a government official (Beatrice)

The teacher can promote social justice through metacognitive approaches to learning which facilitate pupil awareness of inequalities and their impact on educational opportunities and participation. It is thus important for teachers to first explicate the role of education not only in access to the labor market but also for the nation in producing citizens able to contribute to social and political life. This goes beyond transmission of numerical, scientific and literacy skills to encompass analytical, problem-solving and reasoning competencies that enable children to analyze socio-cultural inequalities and take well-reasoned stances against inequality.

The curriculum just talks about education as a good thing. But to most of the children, they don't really understand why. They know they need education to go to high school and university, but they don't understand the rest. So it is up to the teacher to let them know about how to think critically, how to make decisions about such problems as tribalism and inequality that we all face every day in Kenya (Kasaine)

Teachers thus have a pivotal role in the implementation of social justice education, as the teacher both serves as a model for social justice and sets the context for social justice education to emerge in the classroom as apart from implementing social justice principles in their own teaching practice, teachers have to find means of including content relevant to explication of social justice in the curriculum, negotiating with and or circumventing standardized curricula to implement a social justice curriculum unit. This may be necessary as the structure of the curriculum may not adequately support such content.

Social Studies is a good subject to discuss such issues, but this is a subject that is compressed from Geography, History and Civics, and has too much content to cover that one barely has time to add more. But sometimes, I focus on a topic that is already in the content and try to deliver it in a better way. Last week we discussed the Courts system, but instead of just describing it, I got all the pupils outside and asked them to form their own courts, with some being higher courts. And they had to defend their judgments about the cases which were mostly based on violations of the Bill of Rights so in a way they had to think about injustice (Atieno)

Openly confronting behavior among the pupils that was injurious to someone else due to difference such as disability or gender and not only punishing the pupils but enabling them to reflect on why it is wrong to do so was another strategy the teachers

employed to not only recognize inequality but also engage with the pupils in understanding difference and inequality in educational processes.

There was a boy who was making fun of a disabled child who had his leg amputated. So I made him apologize then he had to collect firewood for as long as he needed to come up with a justification for his behavior. After a few days, he came back to me and said he had no justification. So I sat him down and we discussed it after school (Kasaine).

In integrating social justice in schooling, teachers pursued critically conscious decisions about appropriate pedagogical strategies and content. This ran the gamut from explication of cultural and social differences to inclusion of activities that reflected the extent of inequality in society and the need for social justice. Through networking with various civil and non-governmental organizations, the teachers were able to integrate national and international awareness campaigns into their teaching or interaction with pupils. In Kakamega, pupils were able to participate in International Women's Day, International Day to Eliminate Racism, International Day of Disabled Persons, and International Human Rights Day while in Loitokitok, Kasaine class organized a social awareness campaign in their village to celebrate the International Day of the Girl Child, reaching out to families to explain the importance of supporting girls education. In particular, teachers approached pupils who were in the target group and convinced them to make presentations to highlight how certain axes of difference affected their lives. Through recognition of difference and inequality and promotion of social justice in their interaction with pupils, teachers were able to practice the ethic of care which is the foremost principle of good teaching practice. The ethic of care requires teachers to engage not only in fair dealing with pupils and avoidance of discrimination on any ground but also identification of children with disadvantage and pertinent follow-up to ensure they receive the best possible care. This was reflected in the teachers' code of conduct. Caring teachers has to be flexible and have the confidence to react to changing circumstances rather than sticking to a rigid schedule/pedagogy; this requires avoiding authoritarianism in class but rather being authoritative in pushing the agenda while allowing room for creativity and constructive questions. The teachers indicated that they were quite willing to change their didactic methods and pursue pedagogical methods that reflected this.

I am not like all those old teachers who believe the teacher's authority is best and the old ways of caning and authoritarianism are the best. I can really be caring and gentle and earn children's respect through showing them I really care, rather than intimidating them by the cane (Atieno)

Positive teacher-learner relationships are essential in managing meaningful learning and assisting pupils to cope with learning difficulties. In the academic field that exists in the classroom, the learner and the teacher have interactions mediated by the habitus of the learner and the teacher. Thus learners' experiences can only be understood in the larger picture of institutional habitus which is an amalgamation of the learner and teacher habitus and regulated by the rules and regulations drawn from educational policy. Teachers' acceptance of pupils had a great effect on their learning as it influenced their attentiveness in class and their likelihood to seek help when faced by difficulties. The institutional habitus does shape teacher learner interaction, but the micro-practices in the classroom themselves build up to shape the institutional habitus thus practicing the ethic of care in classroom can build up critical mass to positively

influence institutional and family structures. Pedagogical practices in the classroom provide a site of interaction for the family, learner and institutional habitus and thus have a fundamental role in reproducing or destabilizing educational inequalities. However, this can only be achieved if the practices reflect the needs of the diverse student body rather than either that of a dominant group or an ideal that cannot be achieved by the pupils. Inflexible institutional expectations and practices tend to reinforce certain socio-cultural practices as pupils internalize expectations and inclusion/exclusion.

8.4. Composition Effects

School composition is the socio-economic composition of pupils who attend the school and is conceptualized in various ways, the most common being the socio-economic status (SES) of the pupils families, and complemented by the racial or ethnical backgrounds, particularly in societies where certain ethnic or cultural groups are accorded lower social status in a society. While the mean school SES is strictly composed of a mean of the pupils SES, the school composition effect takes into account other intersectional inequalities that affect pupils' academic participation and outcomes. The impact of school composition effects is evident in the high performance of schools with children from high SES families and the opposite poor performance of schools with pupils from low SES families. In Kenya, this difference is evident in the high performance of high cost private schools and public schools located in wealthier regions and the poor performance of low-cost private schools and public schools located in poor regions and slums.

It is obvious that schools such as ours cannot be serious contenders for the top 100 schools in KCPE. We struggle enough as it is just to teach the pupils anything with the limited resources. The good schools, with rich parents can afford to pay extra fees to keep the school in good condition and more money for resources. We can't even ask our parents for a hundred shillings for holiday tuition without them rioting (Atieno)

This belies the impression that the private schools are better, since this performance is underpinned by the socio-economic characteristics of the pupils rather than the effectiveness of the school itself. This characteristics range from the school preparedness of the pupils, the academic match between family expectations and schooling to the ability of parents to provide extra funding for the schools development. This in particular underscores how the FPE program has unwittingly increased the prevalence of educational inequality in the Kenyan education system. While public schools are explicitly prevented from charging tuition fees and any extra fees have to be approved through a cumbersome bureaucratic process, private schools are free to charge as much as they wish, and this translates to availability of sufficient educational and instructional material and processes and the subsequent better performance in KCPE.

Since FPE was introduced, it is very normal to have the top 100 schools in KCPE being mostly private schools and this led to the outcry over the disadvantages public school pupils face in entry to the very good national schools. Thus they introduced the quota system, to lock out private school pupils. But I think this

misses the point. It is not the private schools that suddenly got better after FPE. It is the public schools that got very bad (Kasaine).

Thus the impact of FPE has led to decreased quality of instruction and resources, mostly due to overcrowding. Moreover, the lack of pupil selection, which public schools had previously used to weed out poor-performing pupils, has been eliminated, with schools expected to enroll all pupils who wish to, regardless of academic ability.

We get pupils who have never seen the inside of a classroom, and they want to go to Class Seven or Eight because they are old, and we can't even tell them to go to Class One. So of course it is going to affect our mean grade. And it disrupts teaching, because they cannot contribute or participate in Class (Beatrice).

Thus it is evident that the school composition effects play a role in performance of pupils in schools. This effect is even replicated in difference between public schools in richer areas and poorer areas. Schools in the poor, marginalized or slum areas tend to have lower performance than rich schools

I can give you the example of Olympic primary in Kibera where I used to teach before, which used to perform very well in KCPE before FPE, although it is located in Kibera slum (in Nairobi). Before FPE, all the middle-class parents from the nice states nearby sent their children there because they knew it would help them get good grades. After FPE, all the children in the slum who were out of school enrolled because suddenly there were no fees. And in the same year all the rich parents withdrew their pupils. And for three years afterwards, the school performance went down very much (Kasaine).

Thus, it is evident that school choice is related to the school composition, as richer parents are able to choose a school based on the social composition of the school and the educational resources and instruction, while poorer parents are forced to send their children to any available school, be it the poorly performing public schools or the low-cost private schools. In particular public schools with high SES pupils are able to count on the parents to engage actively in schooling and follow up their children's performance, thus reducing the burden on teachers, and this contributes effectively to better performance. Moreover, the parents are usually more willing to directly fund school development or higher extra teachers. Moreover, these schools are still able to use exclusionary tactics to keep out pupils from low-income areas, either due to the distance or due to the influence the parents and teachers can exert on educational official.

In the public schools in Nyali, they get the same money as us from FPE funds. But they can silently charge extra fees for material or BoG teachers⁵ and the parents pay knowing it's for their children. But if we charge anything extra, the parents either can't pay or complain so much that the Ministry gets involved... And those parents themselves are important people and have power or friends. So they can keep out the children from the slum. And they know how to fix everything with the Ministry or district education office (Atieno)

⁵ Each public primary school is governed by a Board of Governors (BoG) and some schools have discretionary funding which the BoG uses to employ extra teachers to supplement the teaching staff seconded by the Teachers Service Commission.

Another problem faced by the schools within low-income areas is low motivation among pupils and disciplinary problems, particularly attendance and disruption of schooling by pupil behavior. It was evident that pupils in these schools were affected by the families' poverty and cultural backgrounds, impacts which affected their daily attendance. Such factors affect teaching-learning processes and thus provide a disruptive influence.

Children sometimes don't show up for days, especially during the planting season. And what can a teacher do? How do you tell a child not to go plant the food that he or she will need when you are not going to give them food? Even the school feeding programs are not sufficient, and we can't feed the whole family. And you cannot punish such a child, because I understand exactly why. Of course there are others who just skip school, but most really have problems at home that keep them away (Beatrice).

In Loitokitok, this was particularly problematic, with children balancing cultural norms of being boys or girls and schooling, a balance that many did not manage successfully.

The older boys particularly don't want to sit in a Class taught by a woman. They think they cannot be in a situation where a woman is superior to them. Teaching does not work in such circumstances... And of course later they just disappear to go herd cattle or take part in initiation rites. Half the time, a teacher in this school has no idea where his pupils are (Kasaine)

In essence, the public schools in rich areas are thus able to draw upon the wealth and socio-political influence of the parents to provide a school climate that is consistent with high performance and supportive of children's participation, leading to better pedagogical processes, better school behavior and discipline and supportive teacher-pupil relationships. This advantage is also enhanced by the institutional arrangements which favor the rich schools. In particular, the nature of the KCPE examinations, which favor rote learning that richer schools are able to effectively deliver.

Those rich schools can afford to even buy a many revision books and past papers for their children. And even worse, you have many cases every year where parents or teachers buy and sell the actual exams. While this is not such a big issue, it is still problematic. But in reality, even without the leaked papers, just the lack of resources and time to attend to every pupil is a big enough problem (Atieno).

In contrast, the public schools in poorer areas are faced by pupils with low motivation, poor attendance, disciplinary problems and parents who are not engaged in their children's schooling. Moreover, attracting and retaining teachers is problematic for such schools, as teachers are discouraged by the lack of student motivation and teacher support, and thus try to obtain transfers to other schools or regions they consider better.

When teachers from other ethnicities are posted here, they are already discouraged even before they come. Nobody wants to be in these rural areas, and as soon as they arrive, they are trying to leave. So many of those who do stay are the ones who have just given up. Of course there are good teachers, but the difficulties of being here are understandable, and the hardship

allowance teachers get is a joke. If you add the lack of resources, it is a wonder many teachers are still going to class (Kasaine)

Peer effects among pupils are also problematic in certain schools, since pupils are expected to be active participants in the learning process. Gendered segregation in many schools ensure that children are unable to collaborate with each other in classroom, in particular in the higher classes, where social norms and require adolescent boys and girls to limit interaction due to requirements of reputational safety of girls.

The girls sit by themselves and boys too. If you try to mix them up, they just completely avoid each other. And maybe go tell their parents, so the parents complain that school teachers are trying to make their children engage in bad behavior. Such cases are actually the only instances when some parents are involved in the school. And since I live in the same community, they come to you outside the school and complain. So I just give up (Beatrice).

It is thus evident that the school composition plays a role in the pursuit of social justice in schools and contributes an institutional habitus that is not supportive of participation, wellbeing and achievement in schools in low-income areas.

8.5. Engagement with Community and Families

Family and community engagement entails inclusion of communities and children's families in the policy and practice of the school. This is aimed at networking to share responsibility for pupils' academic participation and success between schools and the families. Family involvement in the children's schooling was seen as a key aspect of children's participation and achievements and greater engagement was hypothesized to be consistent with improvement of children's educational outcomes. The schools had developed strategies for enabling the parents to become active in their children's education, both at home and in the school through various means such as requiring parents to oversee homework and participation, initiating channels for parental involvement in the school. This entailed encouraging parental participation in their children's learning, raising awareness among parents about relevant parenting styles, enabling conversations with parents about their expectations of schooling and removing barriers to parental participation. The key strategy employed by the schools was encouraging family participation by closer engagement outside of school, rather than expecting parents themselves to take interest in the school and their children's learning. This was achieved by going to homes and raising the schools visibility in the community through social outreach.

If you sit here in the staffroom and wait for parents to come to you, you will get old. Most of them are too busy to come, and some just have no interest... We ourselves have to go into the slum, talk to the parents and try to get them more interested (Atieno)

The most important part of the strategy was developing a vision or the school that reflected the needs and concerns of the community rather than abstract government rhetoric. Teachers ere of the opinion that while the government's rhetoric on free primary education had resonated based on the idea of reducing families' costs in

education, the reality had been disappointing to parents, especially since they were still expected to bear some costs yet they had expected education to be completely free. Moreover, parental disillusionment with the actual returns to their children's schooling contributed to parental apathy, as many sent their children to school as a formality to fulfill governmental requirements that all children be in school.

They were told that it is going to be free, and everybody believed that. So when a child goes home with a request to buy this book or that uniform, then parents think something is wrong with us... But Kenyans are used to politicians and false promises. So after a while, things went back to the same old situation. And parents now associate us with the politicians' promises, and avoid us unless it is necessary (Kasaine).

The schools had to define a vision for the engagement policy and develop a coordinated strategy rather than ad hoc measures, especially in widening the concept of family involvement to include more than just parents showing up at school for PTA. Schools attempted to ensure that there are social activities that bring parents to school and enable them interact with each other and with teachers at a social level thus creating friendliness and dismantling social barriers, particularly in communities where teachers social position excluded interaction with parents.

We complain a lot but teachers are well-off compared to the average villager. So they only come to us when they need a loan or some help... We tried to have events in the school and invited the parents to come in a relaxed atmosphere. Avoiding discussions of fees and academics, just the parents and teachers. Some open up and talk with us (Beatrice).

Emulole School went further to engage social institutions in the community such as the church to initiate engagement with the parents. The church has wide influence in the community, with high attendance by most of the parents, thus provided a suitable avenue for communication.

When circulars are sent with the children, some of the parents can't even read. So they just put them away and you end up with a meeting with five or so people. So we changed and started sending any news through the churches nearby. If the pastor sends the message, people take notice, rather than when it is just a piece of paper (Beatrice).

Engaging parents in leadership positions in the school also worked as a means of gaining greater parental participation and also widening community engagement. For Loitokitok School, the biggest challenge for the school leadership and many teachers was that they came from communities far away from the region, and thus did not have the necessary social capital and connections to engage with parents. Thus, they identified interested parents who would lead the community engagement initiative and who would thus contact other parents and explain to them the essence of closer engagement with the school and in particular the importance of supporting their children's continued education. This ensured that parents were more comfortable as they were dealing with their own friends or acquaintances, and also removed the language barrier that hampered communication with parents, as many parents did not speak either English or Swahili fluently, only Masai language. This increased the success of home visits where the teachers would be accompanied with a member of the community. With regards to attendance and disciplinary action, the school also aimed parents in discussions about appropriate measures to be taken in case of non-

attendance and inappropriate school behavior. Given that the government had mandated regular school attendance for children, and the local authorities such as chiefs⁶ and Administration Police would summon parents of children who lapsed in attendance, accompanied by possible fines or jail sentences, the school attempted to avoid the punitive measures instead visiting parents at home to explain the government requirements and encourage them to send children to school. Only in persistent cases would the school report the involved families to the chief.

The teachers make sure they understand that the government is serious about it. In most cases, we know the children are missing school because they are away searching for pasture and water for the cows. But we also have to report cases of long absence. So we try to find a way. Sometimes we even agree they can miss some days if they at least show up sometimes during the week. It is not the best option, but at the very least they are in school and avoid problems with the chiefs. Going to the chief only gives schools a bad name, as we are seen as the enemy (Kasaine).

At Kongowea School, parents were also involved in disciplinary cases by encouraging parents to monitor their children's behaviors and including them in deciding punitive measurements to be taken in case of serious violation of school discipline regimes. This was particularly helpful in strengthening parents trust in the school, as they felt respected. In this way, parents were encouraged to take a greater interest in the children's education, not only through passive monitoring of results, but through close engagement with discipline and academic performance. This was important in the area, where a lot of children in the surrounding slum were involved in cases of crime and drug abuse.

We inform them about how to check if their children are taking drugs and encourage them to keep their children at home as much as possible. Children hanging in the slum only leads to them being involved in drugs, or even worse problems with the police who walk round here a lot arresting young boys (Atieno).

Kongowea School also developed a Home Visiting program that enabled teachers to visit the children's families at home. This program was aimed at enabling Class 8 families to understand the demands of Class 8 and the required support families should offer their children. Although most parents attended the Prayer day early in the year, the principal felt that the event was too general to address individual concerns. Thus various teachers of Class 8 were selected to visit the children's homes and discuss individual plans for the children, listening to parental concerns and also discussing how the families could support the children at this most important stage of their primary schooling. Teachers were trained on how to conduct meaningful visits and how to track the outcomes of the visit to help evaluate progress. At the beginning, many parents were reluctant to participate, but as the program approaches its fifth year, participation of families is approaching 80 percent of the families of Class 8 pupils. The school had also developed a careers center at the school to inform both parents and pupils about possible career choices, either through high school and college or in vocational training, if the children were not able to proceed to high school. The center was conceptualized as a means of supporting families' educational aspirations, and in particular demonstrating that schooling was also relevant to livelihoods, as a KCPE certificate was a prerequisite to many vocational training colleges.

⁶ Chiefs are local government officials who represent the national government at location level

Here the parents have no farms like back in my home. In Nyanza, the children just drop out and become farmers or fishermen. In the slum, the only other option is to become a criminal or a drug addict... We try to show them other options, even if they do not go to high school (Atieno).

Engaging the community was quite useful in building their capacity for dialogue about educational policy and practice. Emulole School organizes parents' forums to educate parents on the Free Primary Education program. This program was started in 2004 as a response to parents demands that the school provide all resources to the children, as they thought the FPE entailed the government undertaking all responsibilities for schooling. The forum was quite successful, in that the parents were explained to what the actual commitments of the government were and what was still expected of the parents. The school had faced a lot of resentment from parents who felt that the school was embezzling money, since they were still requested to provide certain resources such as uniforms when they felt the government had catered for that. Given the high interest in FPE at the time, many parents attended and the school took it as an advantage to develop a regular event held once a term, where parents were invited to discuss their concerns about education. This strengthened family and community links and parents were able to make various suggestions that were great help to the school. In particular, many parents undertook roles within the school and the school had managed to integrate community concerns or to explain contentious issues.

Despite the schools successful efforts in raising family and community engagement in schools, there were still many challenges that limited the success of the strategies. The schools had only limited resources and very little time, as the teachers were already overburdened by teaching duties and could only afford to dedicate little time to engaging with parents. Moreover, there were only very few parents who could be coopted in the strategies, thus the reach of the programs was limited. However, the role of schooling and its interruption of traditional socialization arrangements for children caused a lot of resentment among the rural communities, thus limiting parents desire to engage with schooling. This was particularly true among the Masai, whose culture is still vibrant and children were expected to participate in all the socialization and initiation rites.

We tell the parents that schooling is good, but many still see it as a problem. Instead of taking care of cows and becoming good children, the children are spending all day sitting in school.... One parent asked me why we are encouraging their children to be lazy because they sit in class all day doing nothing. He was worried his boy will be too lazy to walk long distances looking for pasture (Kasaine).

Language and cultural differences were an issue, especially in instances where the teachers did not come from the same cultural community, given that teachers were posted by the government all over and don't just in their own communities. This led to inability to communicate with parents, some of whom did not speak English or Kiswahili very well thus creating barrier and also appearance of parental disinterest in school. Lack of professional development and support for teachers and principals in enabling them relate with parents was another major issue especially since most principals and teacher lacked the requisite communication and public relations skills to deal with community.

This is very much like advertising. We are supposed to be the face of FPE and try to convince many parents who have either minimal or no interest in school.

Some even are against their children focusing too much on education. When I go out there, it's like I am selling a product. And it is frustrating when you know it is good for them but they have no interest. But as teachers nobody trains you to do that. So it's easy to get frustrated when you have no skills (Beatrice).

In addition, some teachers were concerned that public engagement might be conceived as political, and thus endanger their jobs, as civil servants were not allowed to indulge in politics. This was informed by their perception that criticism of government policy or mobilization of grassroots supports in Kenya had always been associated with politicians and any sign that they did not completely agree with government policy was likely to be interpreted as support or the opposition. This was informed the culture of sycophancy that had long existed in Kenyan politics since the one-party rule days and which years of democracy had failed to erase.

If I say anything bad about the government policy, then people might think I am a member of the opposition. And in Kenya, you never know. One day I might get an interdiction letter from TSC (Teachers Service Commission) telling me to pack up and go home. So a teacher needs to be careful who they talk to and what they say about the government, even when the criticism is true (Beatrice).

8.6. Schools and Educational Success

The implementation of the FPE program has put educational institutions in a paradoxical position. On one hand, schools and teachers are expected to actively promote the governments ambitious program at ensuring schools achieve social justice in society through their mission as guardians and distributors of educational advantage, yet on the other hand, schools are burdened by the multiplied demands that a burgeoning school system has to deal with in the wake of ballooning enrolments and limited, or decreasing funding. Schools are thus faced by a myriad of challenges that they are hard pressed to overcome. Given the nature of the FPE program, and in particular demands by donors and the government on efficiency and transparency, schools are unable to manage the demands of management and accounting associated with eth program, citing lack of manpower and professional training, yet the demands for improved service delivery still increase, particularly in the wake of many failures of the FPE program, that are being blamed on lack of teacher and principal professionalism, blame which they, somewhat justifiably, apportion on the government for lack of a realistic implementation program that was motivated by the exigencies of keeping political promises. Moreover, tensions arise in the system due to the increasing claims of recognition and participation by the many groups who increasingly assert their claims in the wake of greater societal participation, brought about by the perception of democracy. In particular, the issue of language of instruction and distribution of educational resources is widely felt in the educational system, putting schools in a difficult position where they feel they have to answer for shortcomings of the educational system that they have no control over such as curriculum, language of instruction and allocation of resources.

The increase in enrolments have also led to tensions with regards to pedagogical practices in schools, as the large numbers of pupils effectively reduce the ability of

teachers to practice an inclusive pedagogy that takes into account the needs of the learners. This waters down the quality of learning that teachers provide while further eroding the relevance of education to pupils, as it essentially becomes an exercise in achieving the best grades through any means possible, without paying heed to actual learning. The increasingly competitive nature of Kenyan schooling, that values school mean-grades in national exams, coupled with high teacher-pupil ratios that leave no time for any meaningful learning interaction means teachers are left to resort to back-handed means of achieving higher mean grades for their classes, as evidenced by the rising cases of cheating in examinations involving teachers giving out exam answers to their pupils. The FPE program was started with the aim of getting schooling to be more democratic and increase participation and the new Kenyan constitution of 2010 promised decentralization of services and planning, yet this is still to occur. The central government still retains control of educational planning and allocations to school, with most school funding being per-item expenditure. This leaves schools with little room to innovate and organize their institutions in such a way as to address local realities. This clashes with the rhetoric of increased autonomy. In light of these challenges, schools have a difficult time adjusting to the realities, if they are to succeed in their mission of pursuing educational justice.

Success in this mission requires certain key competencies that school heads and teachers feel they do not have the opportunity to develop through professional training but have rather had to learn “on the job. Teachers and school managers are also expected to have greater capabilities for interaction with political and community structures in pursuit of a balance between professionalism and ethical care of children. They have also been required to engage with and understand the public good nature of society that requires teachers and educators to selflessly commit to provide education to children, even at personal cost, in the interests of society. This occurs even in situations where the educational planning and framework conditions do not support this goal. Development of key professional competencies in management and transparency, particularly in accounting for resources, is a key gap in the professional training offered to teachers and school administrators. This challenge lies in managing community expectations of FPE (free education, everything catered for) and governmental/donor expectations (every last penny accounted for). It is thus evident that teachers and school managers lack the relevant capabilities necessary for successful implementation of the FPE program, and this gap can mostly be attributed to poor planning in Kenyan educational policy and practice.

One of the key implications derived from the analysis is that teacher training and professional development requires closer scrutiny and input as the role of teachers in achievement of children’s wellbeing in and through education cannot be understated. The policy framework that underpins teacher training, employment and professional development in Kenya is wanting and requires a reformulation to enable the process comply with current challenges that teachers face and be relevant to the wellbeing needs of children in school. This is particularly relevant with regards to the professional requirements and ethics that guide teacher practice in school but also extends to the organizational and administrative hierarchies and structures that teachers are placed under. This would also extend to the curriculum of teacher training, which has proven to be disconnected to the realities of Kenyan public schools and which teachers condemn to be wanting in terms of scope and focus. An ideal curriculum would involve stakeholder participation and in particular input from teachers as to what is necessary.

Another key factor would be regular situational analyses and review to ensure that the curriculum is up to date, complemented with ongoing professional development. For most teachers, a key issue was the haphazard and uncoordinated structures associated with in-service training, an issue that limited their participation and benefits from said training. Teachers' terms of service are another facet that influences teachers' motivation and interest in professionalism and ethical practice. Given the poor remuneration of teachers in comparison to other civil servants and the constant teachers that interrupt teaching and learning, teachers are unable to fully concentrate on their teaching duties. In essence, there is a clear need for the professionalization of teachers through a reorganization of teacher training curriculums, in-service training, terms of service and pedagogical support. This can be implemented so as to reflect global good practice in education, particularly in adoption of collaborative and cooperative processes which reflect stakeholder concerns in the teaching profession.

9. POLICY, PRACTICE AND THE GOOD LIFE

9.1. International Education and Development

Development orthodoxy traces its theoretical antecedents back to advancement of modernization theory, a set of prescriptive policies to ensure low-income countries could follow the path of high-income countries into economic prosperity. Based on the success of the Marshall Plan in developing a Europe devastated by World War II, modernization theory identified certain social variables which contribute to social progress and development of society and proposed that international assistance could propel traditional societies into modernity. Transfer of technical and cultural skills from the developed North to the underdeveloped South was critical to the creation of a modern man. The low levels of educational attainment and investment in low income countries was theorized to be one of the causal factors for underdevelopment (Rostow, 1960). Dependency theory however challenged these assumptions and focused on the role of the international capitalist economy in exploitation of the South as a causal factor for underdevelopment, elaborating on how educational structures and content were used by the developed countries to control the peripheral South thus maintaining the structures of colonialism, even with the newly-found independence in African and Asian countries. Education was characterized as a means of reproducing conditions for the monopoly on knowledge and power that led to socioeconomic stagnation in the South (Blaney, 1996; Freire, 1970). Both theories theorized inter-state relations to be critical and thus held the developmental state to be the key actor in pursuit of development. However, at the beginning of the eighties, the Breton Woods institutions advanced the Washington Consensus reforms that downplayed the effectiveness of the developmental state and preferred the neoliberal orthodoxy of private enterprise, deregulated markets and smaller government. Using acquiescence to the Consensus as a precondition for financial assistance, the Breton Woods institutions reoriented international development towards market-led reforms (Preston, 2000). Education systems in low-income countries were adversely affected by the structural adjustment programs (SAPs) which cut government funding to social programs such as education. SAPs favored a curtailed role of the government in educational provision, a situation that deteriorated access and quality of education (Robertson et. al., 2007). After decades of adjustment and criticism, the Washington Consensus was finally discredited, especially given that developing countries which avoided its rigid framework outstripped the ones which followed its prescriptions. The post-Washington Consensus approach is typified as a flexible context-driven approach that accords the state a stronger regulatory role in dealing with market failures and one that curtails the states' possible rent-seeking behavior through good governance and development of strong institutions in society. This approach is characterized by a focus on non-economic aspects of development and is prominently advanced by the Millennium Development Goals (Önis & Senses, 2005). Education is given a prominent role as a precursor to socioeconomic development, both in building up human capital and also through the externalities accruing from greater educational access and quality.

However, the post-Washington consensus is still imbued with overtones of neo-liberalism and has fallen out of favor with many countries in the South. Countries like China, Brazil and India have, with great success, pursued their own development paths, as did the East Asian tigers before them. This has brought into question the

effectiveness of global development orthodoxy as promoted by the North, particularly traveling reforms which are uncritically prescribed for developing countries (Ramo, 2004). In education, this is all-too evident in the lack of access, equity and quality in educational systems, even after years of development efforts aimed at educational reform. Various scholars have identified the shortcomings of educational reforms with respect to content, relevance and context. This thus implies that there is need for a new policy framework to guide educational reform in the global South, if education is to effectively and efficiently pursue its developmental role (Robertson et. al., 2007). Development has taken center stage in today's world, from policy meetings in boardrooms to populist support among the general populace. However, much of the debate about development is in the North, with the voices of those afflicted by poverty and underdevelopment in the South rarely heard. Thus, it is evident that development initiatives need to involve participation of those in the South. Such an approach would effectively negate the traditional top-down development approach where governments and non-governmental organizations from the North make policy and reform decisions and then implement them with the complicity of state and non-governmental actors in the South. In pursuing educational reform, success is contingent upon a thorough understanding of the context and relevance of policy before implementation. This is necessary to avoid transplant of ideological principles to contexts where they are unsuitable (Jules & Silva, 2008, p. 57). Postcolonial theory refers to debate regarding North-South relations within various academic disciplines and social movements. Various prominent scholars such as Fanon, Freire, Said, Spivak and Bhabha have undertaken a critique of relations between the North and South as a failure of decolonization, with the unequal ideological and power structures that preceded independence being reproduced and reaffirmed through globalization (Brydon, 2005). Globalization has been implicated in the reproduction of a universalistic and oppressive cultural supremacy is shaped by the context of socio-economic production and consumption in the modern world. Postcolonialism problematizes the representation of the global South as underdeveloped or developing and thus subject to interventions by the North and its Eurocentric charity and benevolence. This is particularly relevant in the supremacy of Western knowledge structures that underlie the institutions and projects of development in the South that are uncritically transferred in the civilizing mission to educate the South. Underdevelopment is thus characterized as a lack of civilized attributes that are possessed by the North, hearkening to the precepts of modernization theory that gave rise to neoliberal ideologies that underpin the Bretton Woods global architecture (Robertson et. al., 2007).

Educational borrowing and lending is a part of globalization and its influence on policymaking at national, regional and global levels. According to neo-institutional theory, educational policies are becoming isomorphic due to educational convergences in structures, processes and results (Kerr, 1983). However, other theorists, influenced by Luhmann and Schorr's (1979) theory of externalization view convergence of educational policy as a result of discursive and self-referential global systems. Externalization of policy and practice occurs in four stages namely cross-attraction, decision, implementation and internalization (Phillips, 2004). Externalization occurs either due to scientific rationality of education policymakers who justify their policies by reference to cross-national analyses and standards or due to evocation of international practice to justify contentious policies (Steiner-Khamsi, 2002). Cooperation between North-South and South-South has always existed and continued

convergence is based on efficacy of the cooperation in fulfilling certain objectives of the actors involved. These objectives include political change necessitating new policy directions, internal or dissatisfaction with existing practice, new configurations to handle arising challenges and the desire or compulsion to conform to certain policy. Educational convergence is best highlighted in the proliferation of international agreements and targets such as the Millennium Development Goals and the Education for All initiative. In particular, the role of global agencies such as the World Bank and UNESCO in driving educational convergence cannot be underestimated, given their effort to legitimize educational interventions based on international agreements, leading to an increase in common education policy and practice among countries with widely varying socio-economic contexts (Chabbott & Ramirez, 2000). Policy transfer and cooperation has been a reality of nation states throughout their existence. Policy cooperation occurs when two or more countries attempt to solve a problem through a collaborative process of problem solving. Transfer on the other hand occurs along a continuum that runs from lesson drawing, voluntary transfer and conditionality driven by necessity to coercive imposition by external agencies (Dolowitz & Marsh 2000, p. 13). Given the global hegemony exercised by the North, policy transfer and cooperation in the realm of development has always been marked by unequal relations, with the North dictating conditions and norms. One clear strand in literature on convergence of educational policy is that nations in the South are encouraged to pursue policies determined by institutional knowledge banks controlled by the North (Steiner-Khamsi, 2002). In the sixties and seventies, cooperation and transfer was driven by the idea that the North was further ahead on the development curve and thus it was natural for them to provide best practice in development (Preston, 2000). The Washington Consensus however introduced conditionalities that imposed coercive transfer of policy. With growing globalization and a post-Washington Consensus era, policy transfer and cooperation has proliferated beyond expectation. This is evident in the convergence of education systems at the policy level, a result of the discursive and self-referential nature of policymaking. Cooperation in the South is especially driven by a multitude of global references and agreements such as the Millennium Development Goals, Education for All and the Fast Track Initiative (Jules & Silva 2008, p. 48).

Educational policy and practice is to a large extent driven by international discourses of international education and development. As a developing country, Kenya is located within the global power structure, where asymmetrical power relations mean that global actors such as the World Bank, United Nations and bilateral or multilateral partners have influence over educational policy formulation and implementation within the scope of development cooperation. In the present world, international organizations have become quiet prominent in the development cooperation arena, driving action through global compacts in the form of financing of the implementation. However, while global agreements in education are mostly codified in the EFA and MDGs 2 and 3, thus showing a unity of purpose in what education is expected to achieve, many actors on the global development scene bring their own discourses and identities in the international architecture of Education for All (Packer, 2007). Thus, the actual implementation of these global compacts, which are financed by multiple actors, tend to be caught up in the institutional structures of both the financing and implementing agents and this is reflected in policy making and educational practices. The post-World-War II period saw an increasing focus on human rights after the ratification of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1948. This brought about

increased international concern for the safeguarding of human rights, of which education was included. UNESCO, with limited funding, was from the beginning involved in promoting the right to education through various conferences and literacy programmes from the sixties. However, this period saw little interest from governments in the developed world, due to assumptions that education was a purely national issue thus governments were expected to formulate and implement their own national policies. Most funding of education was thus based on political interest in the Cold War and mainly in higher education. Thus, even in the presence of an explicit right to basic education, the international community mostly kept out of it (Mundy, 2006). In post-independent Kenya, higher education was prioritized by bilateral donors, with airlifts of students to foreign universities in the USA and Russia organized by pro-capitalist and pro-communist politicians. While the British government provided some funding for bilateral cooperation programmes, such as teachers in primary and secondary schools through the British Voluntary Service Overseas, there was very little international involvement in basic education and the government pursued its own policy of free primary education based on the politically perceived need to develop a skilled labor force. In the eighties, the World Bank introduced structural reforms which had great impact on access to education as it introduced cost-sharing that raised tuition fees and locked out many children. However, this was still accompanied by very little interest and funding in basic education (Ojiambo, 2009). The Jomtien Conference in 1990 however reconfigured the role of education in development. Coming in the wake of the fall of the Iron Curtain and the relaxing of global tension, development took a more humanitarian approach, as opposed to the politically motivated form during the Cold war. This new discourse introduced a whole range of actors in development, leading to a focus on poverty and inequality, including in education. While the Jomtien conference produced a globally agreed upon list of targets, it was until the Dakar conference that education's role in global development cooperation assumed greater significance, with the advent of the six EFA goals and the Millennium Development Goals. The MDGs in particular spurred greater interest in education, with specified goals and the EFA Global Monitoring reports as a systematic follow-up to establish whether goals were achieved or not. This identified that certain countries were lagging behind and were at risk of not achieving the goals. Thus various forms of donor coordination were established to support them in achievement of the goals. In particular, the World Bank integrated education into macroeconomic planning, as education was a key component of the Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers (PRSPs) which were introduced as a blueprint for socio-economic development in developing countries. Sector-Wide Approaches (SWAPs) were also introduced to focus educational development on the whole system, with provision and policymaking coordinated to achieve better results. Such developments, coupled with the rise of transnational non-governmental organizations focusing on development led to a new age in development cooperation. This new age was signified by a hefty rise in development financing. Donors were more willing to fund education systems, including recurring expenditure, in an effort to push countries towards achievement of the MDGs. This had a great impact on policymaking, as developing countries were now receiving aid with conditions on how to spend it. Although direct budget support also increased from the early 2000s, majority of the aid was tied to specific conditionalities that affected choices of national governments in policymaking.

This new architecture for education in global development arose due to the stronger platform for change provided by the Dakar Framework for Action, one that focused

more on global targets and global progress than previous ones. While UNESCO's work from the sixties was hampered by lack of globally agreed targets and lack of influence over national education policies, EFA opened up national education policy to a global audience, allowing international organizations to push for greater conformity. In particular, the tracking mechanisms of the EFA and MDGs allowed for cross-national influence on policy, as there was clear evidence of which countries were lagging behind and which were successful in achieving targets (Packer, 2007). The incentives offered by greater financing, particularly through the Fast Track Initiative also incentivized national governments to be more amenable to international influence. Thus, while there were no clear regulations for policymaking, the international influence was disseminated through loosely bound coalitions driven by self-interested or incentivized borrowing and transfer. This process is however institutionalized in asymmetrical power relationships between the developed world which provides the financing and thus aims to control policy according to its precepts of development, while developing countries are expected to adopt and implement the prescribed solutions. Thus, even given the acknowledged antecedent that education provision is and remains the responsibility of national governments, national ownership of educational policy in developing countries soon became a myth, with international agencies and bilateral partners paying lip-service to it while pulling the strings. This control was achieved through conferences such as Jomtien and Dakar, global standards such as the MDGs and EFA and control of technical knowledge in development cooperation (Samoff, 2003). As the concept and theory of globalization arose and bloomed, it became an explanatory factor for the control the developed world exercised on developing countries, with the increasingly connected world economy allowing richer countries to gain power at the expense of poorer countries, replacing military power with economic power. Globalization normalized different types of policy influence that are radically different from the traditional forms of policy borrowing and lending (policy borrowing, normal policy learning, paradigmatic policy learning, policy harmonization, policy dissemination, policy standardization, installing interdependence and policy imposition). This influence is characterized by various dynamic factors that are at play in today's globalized world (nature of the donor-recipient relationship, how explicit the process of cooperation is defined, the scope of policy influence, the participants, the source of lending or borrowing, the power relations and the impact on education systems). (Dale, 1999, p. 52). In relation to EFA, globalization has had a profound impact on the dissemination and imposition of education policy and practice. Dissemination occurs through global standard-setting that countries are encouraged through various incentives and isomorphism to adopt whereas imposition occurs in forms such as aid conditionalities or structural adjustment programs, as in the cost-sharing introduced in Kenyan education. The concept of education for development arises from notions of education's role in human progress, with education posited as a naturally humanistic endeavor that uplifts societies through discourses of humanity, cultural development and civilization. Starting from missionary ideas of bringing light to Black Africa, development has always promoted Western education as progress and civilization. This discourse still finds its way into modern day discourse on progress and justice as evident in international proclamations that African nations are forced or incentivized to sign up to these discourses are generally adopted into national programs (Chabbot, 2003). The human development paradigm, which currently influences the United Nations and INGOs in education, developed from the UNDP, arising from a political shift from provision of services towards greater participation and political empowerment. (Fukuda-Parr, 2003) This paradigm presented education as a

challenge to the problems of modern society, particularly with regard to forgings social cohesion in Africa, a continent torn with strife, civil wars and ethnic cleansing. This new discourse of education as a human right that empowered individuals and contributed to social cohesion struck a chord, coming after years of conflict and civil wars without end in sight. This positioning of education as both a means and end of development gave it its unique position in global development compacts different from previous conceptualization as a human right (UNESCO) and as a means of economic growth (World Bank). The new UNDP definition of development thus gave rise to the primacy of education in global compacts and policy. The new emphasis on participation and empowerment required people to be educated as this was a prerequisite for meaningful participation in political processes and pushed education to the top of the development list (UNDP, 1990). However, while this uplifting vision was embedded in texts, implementation was more haphazard. The exigencies of implementation required pragmatic sacrifices in the face of entrenched poverty and inequality. And while national governments were more or less required to sign up to the global compacts, there were no means of compelling them to actually provide education. Thus, the discourse of education as a universally provided human right was eventually readapted into a more restricted discourse that focused on easily attainable goals and discourses of basic education (Torres, 1999).

The effectiveness of global development cooperation has been called into question, given the increase in aid inflows to developing countries without correlated increase in quality of life and development. Many global compacts on development such as the MDGs and the EFA are in danger of not being achieved within set deadlines. Various reasons have been advanced, such as the fragmentation of aid, cursory assessment of contexts and needs, competition among donors, lack of implementation capacity and ineffectiveness of delivery mechanisms. The OECD Working Party on Aid Effectiveness has singled out delivery of aid and modalities of cooperation as being problematic, rather than the actual amount spent. This underscores the need for a paradigm shift in the development cooperation it is going to be more effective. The rise of emerging economies such as China, India and Brazil as key players in the development community has shaken the aid system, with their promotion of new discourses, perspectives and mechanisms. Increased cooperation between countries in the South has thus brought in a new paradigm in development cooperation that promises to be a game changer in development. Apart from increased availability of financing, these new players bring in a wealth of expertise, having developed the skills and knowledge required to develop their economies and social institutions and thus offer better qualitative assistance to other countries that seek to follow their path. Moreover, this assistance is particularly effective since it derives from problem solving in contexts similar to other Southern countries. The international development architecture also lacks legitimacy in many developing countries, given the imbalance of power between developing countries and the developed North. This is typified by unequal decision making in international organizations such as the World Bank and the United Nations and aid conditionalities that generally favor Northern interests in development cooperation. This is particularly evident in the formulation and implementations of the many global development compacts that are developed in the North and do not effectively represent the needs and realities of the global South. Even with regards to international agreements that do resonate with Southern interests such as the Millennium Development Goals, the Paris Declaration and the Accra Agenda, Southern stakeholders play relatively minor roles in their formulation and wording despite the

agreements being meant for implementation mostly in the South Furthermore, processes of accountability are skewed in favor of Northern countries, with extensive requirements for reporting placed on Southern partners but little requirements for Northern partners, given their role as the aid givers. The intrusive nature of conditionality and aid giving further sours relationships between Northern and Southern partners. These factors present a situation where Southern stakeholders perceive aid and development cooperation as an extension of the hegemonic dominance that the North has had over the South through the age of imperialism and colonialism to the present day era of globalisation and delegitimized cooperation (Chabbott, 2003; Steiner-Khamsi 2002).

A paradigm change in development architecture requires change in the production and dissemination of development knowledge and its input in drafting development policy. In relation to unequal relations between the North and South, there is need to dismantle the existing knowledge hierarchy that privileges Northern knowledge at the expense of Southern and indigenous knowledge. This would ensure that development policy and practice effectively reflects the South's historical, socio-economic and political contexts (Kapoor, 2004). However, policymaking in the context of educational development is still largely based in the North, with very little or no contribution to the conceptualization of relevant education in the context of a developing country, where the education system and children in school are faced by a myriad of challenges and deprivations. The Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness requires developing countries to exercise ownership and leadership of development initiatives thus ensuring that development cooperation is geared towards fulfillment of national development strategies rather than Northern goals. This goal is premised on the expectation that the Southern countries understood the needs of their context and are thus in a much better position to craft effective strategies towards development. However, achievement of this goal has been constrained by power imbalances inbuilt into development orthodoxy, particular Northern domination of development discourse and practice. This has ensured that even though donors promise to respect national strategies, the aims of development programs are still dictated by the interests of the Northern partners through conditioned aid. To ensure country ownership, the Paris Declaration advocates non-conditioned aid channeled to legitimate priorities, increased South-South and North-South-South cooperation and inclusion of all stakeholders in development policy planning such as civil society and other national organisations (Steiner-Khamsi 2002).

9.2. Policy and Practice in Kenyan Education

9.2.1. The impact of international development on policy and practice

Donor influence on Kenyan education has been present since independence with the World Bank being a major player, starting with a loan to implement the Kenya Education Commission report on expansion of access to secondary school. In this sense, donor aid has always played a key role in enhancement of access and capacity building at the national level. Other major donors have been bilateral and multilateral

partners such as the UK (Strengthening Primary Education SPRED I and II; PRISM; School Based Teacher Development program), the US (Strengthening primary and Secondary Education STEPS), Japan (Strengthening Mathematics and Science in Secondary Education), UNICEF (Basic Education, Child Protection and Development Programme), ILO (International Programme for Elimination of Child Labor) and WFP (School Feeding Program). The DFID program PRISM was particularly relevant to the FPE program as it was aimed at enabling schools to develop school development plans on the basis of which FPE funding was allocated for institutional development (Otieno & Colclough, 2010). In most cases, funding has always been earmarked for specific projects rather than general budget support. The impact of these programs is particularly evident in the narratives of the children and teachers who have benefited from programs such as the School feeding programs (in Kakamega and Mombasa) and in the experience of Beatrice who through the School Based Teacher Development program was trained as a key resource teacher (KRT) to further train other teachers. However, management of funds channeled to the government has always been fraught with controversy, particularly the direct budget support for the Textbook program, which was suspended after embezzlement of funds. Thus, dependence on donor funding has always been a major issue in the sustainability of these programs. As much as they increase access, this dependence ensures that once donor funding is withdrawn, the situation reverts back to the original deprived state. This is further worsened by the unpredictable ebbs and flows of donor funding to Kenya which is in turn linked to political moves of the government and donor priorities. Since 2003, with the departure of President Moi, and the election of a popular government, aid to Kenya has been on the upswing, and education was particularly targeted to support the FPE, with resumption of financing from the World Bank, DFID, Sweden and OPEC. The adoption of a SWAP module for the education sector in particular provided a modality for channeling funds that donors were confident in, given the clear priorities and joint financing agreement. The SWAP in particular encouraged the decentralization of funding allocations, with direct transfers of funds to schools through SWAP, enabling schools to focus on local priorities such as instructional material and infrastructure. FPE has been particularly targeted, with the majority of donor funding going to primary education, reflecting international commitments to widening access. Given the politically tense relationship Kenya has had with donors over the past few decades, new global commitments and political action on the part of the Kenyan government has increased donor confidence even with the remaining cases of corruption. The seriousness of the new Kenyan government elected in 2002 in terms of meeting MDG targets has been particularly influential in this upsurge towards positive donor relations. The move away from conditionality in aid that was common in the eighties have been particularly important in increasing impact. While previous efforts aimed at promoting donor interests, the existence of a global framework and targets has reduced donor competition and pooled resources towards national priorities, outlined in the SWAP. This has thus helped protect developing countries from having donor policies foisted upon them without consultation. Donor support to targeted programs has been credited with improvement of teacher professionalism, better infrastructure and more resources and in particular widening access to the marginalized and underserved communities of Kenya.

The MDGs 2 and 3 and 8 are at the heart of educational reforms. There is a concerted effort to ensure increased access and thus achievement of the universal primary education targets. There has been great effort to ensure increased enrolment

and completion rates for girls. However, the grand ambition of these targets is not realized in the practical implementation of the program. Moreover, accountability and monitoring of the policies is far from perfect, thus the government's claims about actual achievements cannot be verified. The first problem arises from the targets themselves and the approach to conceptualization of what social justice in and through education would entail. Simply getting children in class is not necessarily good for them, and achievement of this target (which Kenya is on course to achieve) does not have a real impact on the wellbeing of the children. Secondly, the consideration of inequalities such as gender and poverty and the impact this has on achievements and outcomes should be based on an understanding of how these conversion factors affect unequal access to educational resources and the marginalization of certain demographic classes through social structures. However, these inequalities are simply conceptualized as a matter of numbers, with the assumption being that if a certain number of girls or children from marginalized areas get into school, everything will be alright. This ignores the role of these (frequently intersecting) inequalities on processes within schooling and on the value of educational outcomes to the lives of the children. Gender, poverty and cultural inequalities are key elements not only in access to schooling, but also in the quality of schooling received. Statistics on inequality thus do not portray the true nature of children's experiences in school. The antecedents of the MDGs arose in the early 1990s influenced by neoliberal ideas about managerialism and audits in social policy. International pressure for increased focus on gender, especially with the Beijing Conference helped elevate gender to a key issue in development policy. However, the key response was a focus on gender-disaggregated statistics rather than a critical assessment of gendered social structures and their impact on development. Moreover, the problems that arise with social auditing and such target-setting arise from the fact that it is very difficult to isolate a specific target and measure it without taking into account other hidden variables. Moreover, when the targets become the sole rationale, it becomes more important to simply achieve a target rather than to question if the target contributes to actual change in social relations and access to valuable resources. This highlights the key problem in such target-oriented goals. Another problem is the universal nature of rights espoused by the international commitments. This all-encompassing approach contrast with local historical and cultural contexts, which are important in linking the value of schooling to children's lives and giving meaning to educational outcomes. The dichotomy between cosmopolitans who argue for the universality of human rights versus communitarians who advocate contextual understandings of rights reflects the main dilemmas associated with international development commitments. The issue with cosmopolitan arguments about human rights is that these largely international policies are rarely reflected in local practice, even when enshrined in educational policy. This international rhetoric, even when codified in commitments such as EFA and MDGs, remain largely rhetorical, with claims of education's primacy as a fundamental right avoiding the important questions of what kind of education and how it is to be achieved. This is reflected in the MDGs silence on quality in education, and the EFAs cursory definition of relevant dimensions of education. Thus it is important to not only consider the global and national levels but also to delve deeper into the interaction between schooling and local communities, especially given the wide diversity in social, economic and cultural structures that all affect the nature, provision and value of schooling. In defending the right of all children to access education, it is also essential to consider what kind of education is relevant in a particular context, and how access to schooling affects other dimensions of children's lives such as livelihoods and social

relations. Thus the substantive issue is the content of the right to education and the resultant value. To define this content, it is necessary to approach rights in education from a normative perspective that is informed by the complexities of the local context. In this sense, the capability approach offers a relevant heuristic that bridges differences between the cosmopolitan and communitarian differences. It offers the capability to consider education, not only as a right that should be guaranteed in global and national policy and legislation, but also as a valuable resource that should enable children to pursue lives that are of value to them. It safeguards the universality of the right to education, while at the same time ensuring that the substantive content and delivery of education relates to the socioeconomic and cultural context of the children. Moreover, it offers a solution that respects both the agency and needs of the children rather than imposing a universalistic approach that may not necessarily reflect what the children desire. In considering wellbeing and agency, it is necessary to delineate the difference between freedom and achievement, in both cases. This provides a fourfold matrix that can enable decomposition of capability spaces into four distinct sections that work in tandem. In particular, this matrix incorporates an account of social conditions that impact upon individual's wellbeing and agency. Thus, in considering the value of education to children's lives, it would build up from an assessment of access and completion towards processes that impact achievements.

Sessional Paper No. 1 of 2005 formed one of the first extensive policy and planning frameworks for education, training and research in Kenya and also localized the global EFA and MDG goals into Kenyan education policy. Although various policy papers had pursued to integrate education into development, these papers always fell short in implementation, due to either financial or political challenges. However, given the renewed global interest in education as a tool for poverty reduction and increased global financing in form of Official Donor Assistance (ODA), the Kenyan government was finally in a position to implement a far-reaching programme aimed at overhauling the education system. Given global emphasis on basic education, the sessional paper focused on improvement of access and equality in primary education. This new approach was also supported by greater political interest in reform, arising out of the election of a new democratic government and greater coordinated national planning for development aimed at realization of the Vision 2030 long-term National Planning Strategy which identified education as a key social pillar for achievement of middle-income status by 2030. The Sessional Paper arose out of a task Force which was assigned the task of reorganizing and streamlining the education sector to meet Vision 2030's ambitious goals. The document articulated specific objectives and challenges that would ensure access, equity and relevance in Kenyan education from basic to tertiary levels, with particular focus on populations that had been previously marginalized due to political or financial reasons. This focus was also bolstered by successes that had been achieved with introduction of FPE, with a rise of Gross Enrolment Rates (GER) from 88.2 to 102 per cent between 2002 and 2003. This reaffirmed the belief that the main cause of lack of enrolment was the poor educational provision that was being experienced in certain regions and social groups. This increasing focus on education was backed by the introduction of the Sector-Wide Approach (SWAp) that aimed to harmonize educational planning across all levels to counter the previous haphazard planning through establishing linkages between education levels and economic planning. The SWAp has focused largely on processes of planning, coordination and educational governance, to the extent that educational management has radically improved in Kenya. This new system has introduced

streamlined implementation and financing processes, which were previously overrun by political considerations and corruption. This has led to greater efforts in widening education provision, deepening the FPE programs impact and addressing many demand-side challenges in education. Such an approach was vital to ensure that transitions between levels and from school to the labor market was harmonized to ensure maximum contribution to the economic and social development of the country. The education SWAp was driven particularly by demands of global donors that required comprehensive national planning and adherence to the Paris Declaration as a prerequisite for donor support. Thus, it is evident that although changing national priorities and political considerations were relevant to this paradigm shift in educational planning, donor requirements had a considerable influence on policymaking and practice in the education sector, particularly in the casting of basic education as key to national human development. This influence is explicitly spelled out in KESSP, born out of the Sessional paper, which specifically listed attainment of global goals and coordination with donors as a key policy goal. Thus, while the Kenyan government provides the bulk of educational funding, especially recurrent funding in form of teachers' salaries and school funding, external education financing has had a considerable role in changing educational priorities which focus on combating regional, gendered and social disparities. This new shift is particularly reflected in the issue of educational quality in Kenyan policy. While previous commissions and education policy papers insisted on increasing educational relevance and quality, there was always a great chasm between policy and practice, fuelled by political and financial considerations. The sole criterion for quality was educational success, and various scholars (Ojiambo, 2009; Sifuna, 2008) argue that the KCPE system was aimed at ensuring exam success as a means of gaining political capital. While this point may be arguable, it is evident that the 8-4-4 syllabus was based on an opportunistic theory of education where schooling served to sift the best for access to the labor market that did not reflect the policy-based ideal of education as a means of national education.

Due to political interference in the Kenyan education system, the policymaking has been characterized by lack of consensus and consultation and policies were essentially issued as presidential decrees, such as the School Milk program, the earlier efforts at FPE and the introduction of cost-sharing. This system has led to an uneasy coexistence of political actors and other stakeholders in education, with teachers, educational managers and other stakeholders forced to bow to political decrees at the risk of being fired or facing political oppression. This has had a problematic influence on policy making processes an issue that exists to date, even in the face of greater reforms. Deepening management reforms would thus require separation of education and political processes. Situational analysis of the education sector through review of historical and social trends, clear national objectives and long term planning would instead serve well as a basis for educational policy. Such an approach would require wide consultation with all stakeholders to establish which societal economic and global challenges can or should be handled through education, with corresponding objectives and goals drawn up to guide implementation and financing. Such a process would also help development of clear, unambiguous and achievable objectives to guide the Vision 2030, which at present only focuses on general formulations of education as a poverty reduction and development tool, without clearly outlining how this is to be implemented. Legislative backing for such processes and implementation should also be provided to ensure that the government is limited on the extent to which political considerations can

influence educational policymaking. The new Basic Education Act of 2013 goes a long way in cementing the role of educational stakeholders, particularly parents and civil society in education. However, given the history of Kenyan politics, whether the government will respect such judicial considerations is still to be seen.

Pedagogical processes in education should also be transformed to focus on children's wellbeing and relevant educational outcomes. This would require change from mere banking education à la Freire which focuses on transmission of factual knowledge towards pedagogies of hope that require teachers and schools to create safe education atmosphere that provides children with skills and competencies necessary for pursuing life that is of value to both families and children themselves. In particular, there should be closer engagement between schools, education and the socio-economic contexts of children's lives. This would require revision of the curriculum and language of instruction to enable children participate fully in teaching learning processes while acquiring knowledge that is of value to their lives in families and present and future livelihoods. At present, the Kenyan education system is divorced from children's realities and solely focused on transition to high, college and the labor market. Thus children who do not go through this academic pipeline but drop out at primary level end up having no use for the education they have acquired. Given that the 8-4-4 system was aimed at developing practical competencies for children rather than transmitting only academic knowledge, there is a clear gap between policy and implementation. Pedagogy and curriculum should thus provide a multi-dimensional experience that takes into account both cognitive and normative considerations. A balance should thus be found between education and schooling, instead of forcing children to choose between modern schooling based on Western ideals or traditional socialization that transmits social norms and customs. Even in the face of increasing modernity, Kenya is still caught between an increasingly globalized world and traditional societies where children spend most of their lives. This forces children to manage a delicate balancing act between being good children according to their families' norms and being successful pupils in school. Most children fail to achieve this balance and thus end up either dropping out of school or losing connections to their families and communities. The education system should thus pursue cultural hybridity that lessen social tensions between schooling and family (Maeda, 2009).

It is evident that the FPE has had some good effect but it has also worsened education inequality in various ways. The educational reform in Kenya has set sweeping ambitions to ensure social justice is achieved in and through education. However, the evidence stands that the conceptualization of injustice itself been inadequately conceptualized and this has limited the extent to which the policy reforms have been conceptualized and implemented, leading to disappointment in practice. Institutional transformation is the only solution to exclusion and inequality in Kenyan education, especially in ensuring the sustainability of gains made through development. Without sustained donor pressure, the gains will be lost as institutions will slip back to old practices. This is a realistic threat, given the impending expiry of the MDGs and increasing donor apathy over the ineffectiveness of development. Sen's focus on ethical, rather than ontological, individuality, suggests the amenability of the CA to a process of institutional change (Brighouse & Swift, 2003). Pogge (2002) further support this, by arguing that social institutions should be designed to provide a minimum criterion of universal justice thus ensuring unfettered access of all individuals to their rights. Using Pogge's (2002, p. 41) classification of institutional failure to

deliver rights, it is possible to analyze the shortcomings evident in Kenyan educational policy and practice, and thus build up a catalog of errors that can be rectified through engagement with global, national and local. This classification attempts to assess how institutions relate to shortfalls in human flourishing, with regard. While it is evident that inequality in Kenyan education is not officially mandated or legally authorized, given the constitutional rights expressed to all children with regards to education, it is evident in educational policy and practice that many of the shortfalls in educational rise form the institutions avoidably engendering the shortfalls (lack of effective policy frameworks and approaches to deter discrimination or inequality), continuation of legally prohibited practices without legal or disciplinary consequences (such as continued corporal punishment and child abuse by teachers without disciplinary action or exclusion of poor children from some public schools), the lack of mitigation for natural defects (such as the lack of sufficient provision of education in arid and semi-arid areas, leaving children without options) and the lack of mitigation of self-caused defects (such as allowing children who skip school or drop out to stay away despite legal requirements to keep all children in school). Using Pogge's classification scheme, it is evident that rhetorical commitments to development and education for all do not suffice in ensuring children's welfare in education. There needs to be sustained effort to change institutional culture in Kenyan education to allow for real change.

Sen (1999) outlines five instrumental freedoms (political freedom, economic facilities, social opportunities, transparency guarantees and protective security) that a state should provide to its citizens as its responsibility to ensure justice is achieved in a given society. Though these freedoms have a macro-justice orientation, they are also applicable at the meso- and micro-levels of justice. Political freedoms form the basis of civic participation and democracy and include the right to scrutinize and criticize authorities, enjoy a free press and participate in elections. In the context of education, this entails the right for public discussion of the basis and relevance of educational forms, goals and content, taking into account contextual issues such as historical prejudices, language issues and diversity. This is essential in determination of essential education outcomes to be pursued in a system. Moreover, it also implies the right for learners, teachers, parents and other stakeholders to participate in governance of educational institutions thus ensuring the needs of all stakeholders are taken into account. Economic facilities comprise the effective opportunities of individuals to have and employ material resources and entitlements in pursuit of their valued beings and doings. In the context of educational justice this might entail access to and use of educational material resources such as that enable achievement of essential outcomes by all learners. In particular, in relation to the goal of Education for All, it covers the ability to access a quality education regardless of economic disadvantages learners or their families face. Furthermore, economic facilities involve discussion of financing and expenditure of education and the relevant and efficient mechanisms to be adopted in ensuring access to all. Social opportunities entail the ability of individuals to access and enjoy social goods such as health and education without fear of social repercussions. In educational justice, this might cover access to education for individuals from groups normally excluded from the education system due to social norms, prejudice or discrimination such as girls or lower caste members. In a micro-justice context, it might also imply ability to participate in social interactions between teachers, learners and peers within the teaching-learning and social contexts of schooling. Transparency guarantees encompass the ability to trust others and know that the information provided is honestly and clearly disclosed. In an educational system, this would imply that the educational goals should be clearly stated and that learners clearly

understand what is expected of them with regards to practice, standards and evaluation. The issue of the hidden curriculum, which is apparent to only those privileged to know about it, is addressed by provision of this instrumental freedom. And lastly, protective security provides social protection to traditionally marginalized individuals to prevent them from suffering from deprivation. In an education system, protective security enables learners from such marginalized groups to access effective educational opportunities without fear of harassment, abuse or violence. Unterhalter (2003) provides a relevant example of girls who suffer from sexual abuse and rape while attending school in South Africa. This instrumental freedom is also of relevance to learners attending schools in contexts of emergency or fragility.

9.2.2. Social justice in Kenyan education policy and practice

Nancy Fraser's social justice framework, which defines justice as "parity of participation" is ideal for investigating social justice reforms in education systems. The framework is based on the principle of equal moral worth which requires that all social arrangements should be organized so that all individuals can participate in social life through dismantling of institutional hurdles (Fraser, 2008, p 16). These institutional hurdles include economic structures, cultural hierarchies and exclusion from social processes. Fraser's framework identifies three key dimensions of social justice that frame these institutional obstacles to social justice, namely redistribution, recognition and participation. While redistribution entails availability of educational opportunities and resources, recognition deals with the needs and identities of different demographics in education particularly those from groups that have been marginalized due to linguistic, cultural or political reasons. Participation is another relevant dimension that concerns the representation of stakeholders in political decisions about education policies and practice, particularly the goals and outcomes of education. While most policy in education has focused on redistribution of educational opportunities and resources, social justice requires a broader approach. This is more so relevant in light of the intersection of economic and cultural factors in (re)production of injustice in society. The need for education systems to encompass diversity and difference in their planning thus requires greater focus on recognition and representation, while also focusing on redistribution of educational opportunities. In Kenya it is evident that growth is being achieved in the education sector, with widened access, increasing enrolments, greater gender parity and higher transition rates. However, it is also evident from both quantitative and qualitative research that a large number of children are being left behind due to socio-economic and cultural factors that impede their enrolment and participation in schooling. This situation is further worsened by the poor nature of education quality in Kenya, which in itself is poorly conceptualized along the input-output production function. This raises the salient need for educational reform in Kenya that would address the fundamental issues that affect educational participation and quality. However, despite encouraging changes that have been implemented since the implementation of EFA and MDG goals, sustainable reform is still out of reach due to social, cultural and political factors. The standardized, centralized educational management in Kenya is particularly problematic as the government is not in a position to guarantee actual provision of education to all children due to lack of sustainable funding sources and overreliance on donors while the centralized bureaucracy is unable to manage the growth that accompanied the implementation of the FPE programme, resulting in inefficiency, mismanagement and corruption. Moreover, the centrally designed curriculum,

pedagogy and format of schooling is unable to respond to the needs of diverse communities in Kenya which is a highly diverse country consisting of 42 different tribes with highly different geographic, linguistic and cultural makeups.

Redistribution is one of the main contentious issues in political philosophy, related to class-based struggles about distribution of wealth in society. In the context of education, redistribution is primarily concerned with capability inputs, namely resources which learners can then convert to capabilities through educational processes. Redistribution thus pertains to educational opportunities and resources that enable children to successfully pursue valuable educational outcomes (Robeyns, 2006). In Kenyan education policy, the international focus on access, as framed by the EFA goals and MDGs, is representative of the redistribution of educational opportunities to children. However, the focus on access has pushed other important considerations to the back burner, particularly with regards to the actual quality of schooling offered. Furthermore, this policy has mostly been implemented at national level, without focus on micro-processes, particular how resources are distributed at inter and intra school level. The lack of equity in distribution of educational resources around the country has thus ensured that certain regions such as Nairobi and Central province receive the major share of educational resources while marginalized regions such as North-eastern receive less. Moreover, even within Nairobi, many schools in the lower income areas do not have sufficient funding. The focus on a standard amount distributed to all schools belies the large disparities between schools in Kenya. As each school receives a fixed amount per pupil, schools in lower income areas which are the most adversely affected by FPE (as the populations they served had the highest number of out-of-school children who then enrolled after FPE) do not have sufficient resources to provide quality learning. Furthermore, the lack of equity in distribution of infrastructure funding also further worsens the conditions of the poor schools which had less infrastructure to begin with. These processes also worsen the educational disparities between regions and schools. Adequate and equitable provision of appropriate educational resources, teacher quality and pedagogy will thus go a long way in reducing these inequalities. While Kenyan policy is focused on redistribution of opportunities from the perspective of socioeconomic disadvantage, it does not take into account the intersection of various inequalities in the educational trajectories of pupils in schools that are in poor regions. The focus on gender is indicative of this pursuit. While the efforts are focused on getting girls to school as a means of improving women's rights and alleviating poverty, they fail to address the key resource-based impediments that limit girls' access to educational opportunities. Such impediments include labor allocation in some communities which burden girls with the majority of household and livelihood duties and preference for boys education over girls either due to culture-based norms which priorities boys thus ensuring girls are forced to drop out in case of financial constraints. The Kenyan education system should thus respond more effectively to the challenges facing the society as a whole, not only the education sector, as such challenges as HIV/AIDs, environmental change, poverty and the clash between traditional and modernity, while not arising from education, have profound impacts on educational system and children's access to educational opportunities. Moreover, a focus on the multidimensional nature of education quality should be pursued, as the preferred input-output production function has proven to be insufficient in assessing the relations between capability inputs and educational outcomes for pupils. The Uwezo assessments scheme has effectively demonstrated the over-reliance on examination results as a measure of learning. This requires greater engagement with the social, environmental and cultural environment in which schooling is located and greater

engagement with families and communities to identify the intersection between traditional socialization and schooling. Redistributive justice should be flexibly and equitably designed to meet the needs of the highly marginalized groups such as pastoralist communities, girls and poor families. This would entail engagement with communities to identify which school calendar, timetables, curriculum and organization are liable to enhance harmonization of schooling with the traditional socialization and livelihood activities of children within their communities.

Recognition focuses on marginalized groups in society who have been excluded from participation in social structures. Beliefs, attitudes and norms shape misrecognition of certain individuals and groups and lead to institutionalized patterns of exclusion. In Kenyan education, issues such as gender discrimination, marginalization of pastoralist communities as backward and underserving of attention, stigma associated with AIDS and poverty have greatly contributed to exclusion of individuals and groups from the education system (Ojiambo, 2009; Mareng, 2010). Recognition entails identification of the diverse needs of various demographics, particularly those that have been excluded, including situational analysis to identify issues that have prevented their participation in education. After this, it is incumbent upon educational authorities to ensure access is restored, not only in rhetoric but up to the classroom and curriculum level. On a deeper level, recognition interrogates identity politics which pervade social institutions, where dominant and pervasive deficit theories and practices exclude certain social groups from schooling on assumptions of their ineligibility or indeed undesirability in social structures. In the Kenyan context, recognition would address issues of ethnic, colonial and linguistic domination. This is related to education as process of becoming, where capabilities that children acquire are not simply beings and doings but also becoming. Recognition is thus intertwined with educational processes that are crucial in identity formation and lead to status inequalities in societal structures (Walker, 2006). However, while a lot of focus on development work is on group identities, Fraser (2000) focuses on social status of individuals and self-realization as a desirable approach to ensuring recognition of diversity and difference in education. In Kenyan education, a lot of focus has been on girls as a demographic rather than as individuals deserving the right to pursue their goals. While this has been useful in exposing the extent of gendered discrimination in education, what is required is greater engagement with the needs of individual pupils in schools and ensuring that schools and systems treat individuals with human dignity by providing them with access to instrumental freedoms and educational opportunities. Furthermore sexual and gender identities are also problematic in schooling processes, as the reproduction of dominant gendered norms is evident at school. Gendered rights in education can be improved through greater engagement with cultural norms and practices that are barriers to girls' effective participation in schooling. This can be achieved through prevention of gender violence in schools, provision of sufficient sanitation facilities for girls and encouragement of girls' participation in teaching and learning processes where cultural norms that girls should not express themselves among men prevent girls' contribution to pedagogical and social relations in the school. The design and implementation of legal and policy frameworks could be effective in achieving this. Marginalized groups are also affected negatively by curricula, timetables and other learning processes. Among the Masai, the group has been particularly typified as backward due to their strong attachment to traditional Masai culture. School cultures should adapt to the lifestyles of the pastoralist group by appreciating the role of the lifestyle in the wellbeing of children. Use of corporal

punishment is particularly problematic among the Masai, where boys are considered to be fully grown men at an early age after circumcision. Thus corporal punishment ignores their identity as fully grown men who deserve to be treated with dignity. While the harmful nature of corporal punishment affects the wellbeing of all children, the Masai boys are particularly affected and opt to drop out of school rather than be subjected to such indignity. The language situation is complex in Kenya, as a previous effort to promote mother tongue instruction in the earlier grades failed and was replaced with English at all levels. English is the main language of instruction as it is the easiest language to use which is nationally recognized as neutral, in a country with 42 different tribal languages. However, children from rural and slum areas have less exposure to the language compared to richer and urban pupils who have greater access to mass media and Internet. Thus, these children are disadvantaged, to an extent where they do not comprehend lessons and curricula. The curriculum also does not reflect the cultural identities of Kenyan children. However, the liberalization of the curriculum market, with the government merely supervising publishers rather than dictating content, has led to greater diversity being reflected. Textbooks should be adapted to the needs of learners, particularly in terms of communicative needs and socio-cultural context. Recognition in education thus demands that the curriculum, pedagogy and language of instruction should conform to the diverse needs of the society.

Ensuring inclusion in education is one key challenge that has faced the Kenyan education system since its pre-colonial times to the present. Increasing poverty and social inequality has further widened the gap in educational opportunities between the poorest and the middle class. Even the introduction of FPE has been slow to combat this widening gap. Thus, inclusion policies form a key plank of the government's education policy. Inclusion requires that all individuals have access to quality and relevant educational opportunities through protection of children's wellbeing in school and provision of adequate educational facilities and resources. Protection of wellbeing entails provision of safe schools, promotion of psychosocial wellbeing of learners and other educational personnel and mitigation of inequalities and discrimination in the system. Sessional Paper No. 10 of 1965 had already focused on inclusion in education as a key requirement in harnessing education for human development. While this idea has been in policy for decades, political will has mostly been lacking for implementation. Thus the renewed political will accompanying the FPE program was welcome in pursuit of inclusive education, which has been integrated in key government planning, particularly in the ambitious Vision 2030. Inclusive education has been approached mostly in the push towards greater access and equity in education, with the concept of inclusive education touted as an effective path towards realisation of MDGs and EFA. Inclusion has been operationalized in government planning through recognition of persistent sources of inequality and strategic goals at national and institutional levels to mitigate them. KESPP explicitly outlines high poverty levels, regional disparities, cultural barriers, child labor, gendered discrimination and inadequate policy frameworks as key sources of inequality. To address these challenges, the new policy framework has introduced various measures. The enactment of the Children's Act of 2001 aimed to provide a legislative buttress for children's rights in Kenyan society and made basic education compulsory for all children less than 18 years of age, with specific focus on widening access for girls and OVCs (Orphans and Vulnerable Children). To further enhance school readiness so as to reduce drop outs, early childhood education has been mainstreamed into the system. Previously,

ECDE was not part of the official education system and many children did not attend, with only children from rich families being able to afford access. Inclusion of special needs curriculum in mainstream schools has also been effective in reaching out to children with disability and special learning needs while provision of bursaries and scholarships to children from economically and culturally disadvantaged backgrounds to attend secondary school has been aimed at widening access to higher levels. However, limited financing has placed the widening to the pilot project at risk. The government's inclusive education strategy has also focused on regions of Kenya that have over the years been marginalized in education provision either due to political issues, neglect or distance from urban centres. In particular, arid and semi-arid areas have suffered the brunt of neglect.

The Capability Approach requires consensus and democratic debate to be the core methodology for development of social policies and this is further supported by Fraser's framework which emphasizes the need for participation of all stakeholders in educational decision-making processes as being important in achieving a democratic system that reflects the diverse needs of children, families and communities. This dimension in particular interrogates the political nature of educational processes in society. Representation is increasingly important in educational systems, particularly in the Kenyan system where international partners have increasingly greater influence over policy and practice than national and community representatives. Injustice occurs due to the misframing of stakeholders in social processes. In education, this occurs through the double exclusion of communities in policymaking processes at the national and global level of educational development. The increasing hegemony of global agendas also jeopardizes achievement of participation in education for all stakeholders. The increasing influence of international development agendas has also thus worsened the exclusion of the stakeholders in education through the imposition of global agendas on national educational policy. At the international level, there needs to be greater flexibility to allow national governments develop national priorities. While global agreements have been indeed been effective in creating more democratic societies in Africa and Kenya, the increasing emphasis on democracy is belied by the imposition of Western values on the developing countries. While in some instances this is benign, it reflects the asymmetries of global power structures, and goes against the same ideals of democracy and development being foisted upon developing countries. At the national level, lack of democratic space means that parents, teachers and communities rarely have input in educational policymaking, which is a preserve of the privileged political classes. Educational governance thus needs to reform its institutional norms and regulations to take into account the views of stakeholders in education other than the government while ensuring that the government is held accountable to policy decisions. This can be achieved through integration of parents, communities and civil society in decision-making structures. In Kenya, there has been an increasingly liberal political space that allows civil society to participate in educational policymaking and debate about educational priorities, such as the Uwezo initiative and the role of the federation of African Women in Education (FAWE), which has been actively involved in grassroots and global campaigns for education rights. Increasingly, civil society is beginning to demand more voice in political processes of education while also holding the government accountable. Participation in education can be achieved when all stakeholders are able to actively, transparently and effectively take part in processes of analysis, planning, design,

implementation, monitoring and evaluation of educational policymaking, planning and management. (INEE 2010).

Foundational analysis of the educational history and requirements can underpin enhanced participation of stakeholders. By identifying how education can contribute to society, the needs of individuals and groups can be better assessed and responded to. Such an analysis is in fact relevant to enable stakeholders to air their views and objections, thus ensuring a democratic process underlies policymaking and planning. Moreover, it helps in identification of barriers to access, equity and relevance. Apart from an initial assessment, on-going evaluation and monitoring of the education system is essential to assess implementation and equity processes, thus enabling timely correction of errors. Evaluation can also form a basis for best practice and organizational learning. The development of the Education Management Information System (EMIS) has thus been particularly helpful in streamlining reporting, evaluation and monitoring processes. The Sessional Paper No. 1 of 2005 and other legislation and policy papers have attempted to develop partnerships with stakeholders such as communities, parents, civil society and the private sector in implementation of the FPE program. Decentralization of school management has been particularly embraced as a key strategy for ensuring increased participation and has been followed with liberalization of political space in the country. Another key issue in educational participation is the professional status of teachers. While teachers would be expected to be active agents in promotion of social justice, the professional regimes and remuneration of teachers leaves teachers in a precarious position. Thus, capabilities of teachers to be active social agents need to be addressed, including provision of adequate choice of pre-service and in-service training, greater autonomy in educational innovation and sufficient support from national and school institutional hierarchies to carry out their duties. While the government has made efforts to review the teacher training curriculum and provide regular in-service training, it is evident from the accounts of teachers included in this study that the structures have not changed sufficiently to have sustainable impact. Delegation of teacher management from the centralized TSC system to school management committees and District Education Boards has also helped as schools and local authorities have more control over teacher performance and recruitment. The location of TSC agents at district and institutional levels has thus helped reduce the hierarchical structures that had previously impeded professionalism, discipline and promotions in the teaching profession.

From the Capability Approach perspective, a key issue is the participation of children themselves in educational processes, not merely through attending schooling but having a voice in the design of educational policy and practice. The implicit notion is that children require care and instruction to enable them develop conceptions of justice and the good life that will enable them make rational choices once they reach adulthood and debate abounds on whether that care should be paternalistically aimed at ensuring future capabilities of children rather than giving them latitude to choose what is of value to them at the present. The example is mostly given of children being required to attend school as a means of ensuring they can be literate and obtain employment whereas if given a choice, some children might opt to skip school (Aikman & Unterhalter, 2007). Thus, given this inherent dilemmatic paradox of development as freedom and development as compulsion, the question arises of how children can be enabled to participate in development or even if indeed their participation is necessary. Given that society ascribes less agency to children as payoff for ensuring development of future capabilities and functionings, there is need to develop a

universally acceptable yet contextually relevant conception of what a good childhood entails and a clear understanding of the trade-off between agency and future capabilities that this entails (Lieten, 2008). Development orthodoxy delineates the growing concern with children's agency. Agency is seen as a subset of empowerment, which is touted as an important ingredient in pursuing development and social justice. Thus, children are expected to be individuals capable of rational choice and self-determination. This conflicts with the over-simplified traditional African ethos of "children are to be seen but not heard" (Ojiambo, 2009). This can be effective in provision of life skills and citizenship education to practice of democracy in school through greater inclusion of children in school governance. In Kenya, this is rarely the case, with greater emphasis on instilling discipline in children through teacher-centered pedagogies, corporal punishment and repression of free expression. While rooted in many cultural norms where children are viewed as inferior to adults, schools can change it through greater freedom of expression, positive social relations and participation. It is evident that some traditional norms are harmful to children's wellbeing and should thus not be tolerated in school.

Participation in education requires institutional change to ensure that the norms of representation and participation are a reality. Openness of school systems to new approaches in educational management, particularly with regards to ideas and suggestions from lower levels of the system such as teachers, families and civil society would enable institutional change towards greater participation. While there have been plans for decentralization, this has not been effectively realized, as evident in teachers complaints of hierarchical institutional structures that do not respond to teachers and school management. Such openness would enable flexibility to change. The new Basic Education Act of 2013 has attempted to correct the system by introducing county education boards. These are however not yet implemented. Collaboration with various actors in the education system is paramount to increased representation of parents, community organizations, civil society and indeed children themselves. Such collaboration would be effective in ensuring ownership among the stakeholders while allowing them a chance to participate in educational reform, thus ensuring democratic processes in reform. Such representation should be practiced in all relevant areas such as needs assessment, policy, planning, management and implementation of new reforms. While the political processes have become more open to civil society and other stakeholders, with the reduction of politicization of education as was evident in the post-independence era up to the early nineties, it is still not sufficient. In particular, communities and families have very few avenues for representation of their needs and ideas. The establishment of the National Assessment Centre is one of the key examples of successful government plans to integrate stakeholder concerns in educational planning. The centre aims to link educational policymaking to research and has been influenced by the success of the civil-service led Uwezo Annual Learning Assessment. Thus, its expansion to include home-based factors affecting schooling, rather than the current sole focus on school-based factors would thus increase community representation in policymaking.

9.3. Children's Wellbeing in Kenyan Education

The pursuit of wellbeing in basic education should reflect a balance between achieving the stated goals of education in Kenya while giving room for autonomy, personal needs and expectations of the children and their families. A broader concept of

educational outcomes (viewed from cultural and critical realist perspectives) should be pursued, rather than the limited scope pursued currently, which in terms of government policy focus on satisfaction of labor market requirements and satisfaction of donor priorities (pathological minimalism) . Most of Kenyan development of schools and education derives mostly from international policy rather than rooted in theoretical understandings of children's needs and contextual realities. Policy should in particular focus on aspects of children's schooling and family life with regards to the wellbeing and agency of children not only in school but also in the broader community. This would entail closer scrutiny of home-based factors, learning environments, teacher-pupil-pupil relations, school-community engagement and the relevance of schooling processes to children's lives, wellbeing and identities. Transitions to higher levels of learning and vocational education should in particular be considered, as they comprise the greater part of families and children's aspirations for schooling. Noddings (2003) laments the puritanism that pervades education and excludes the pursuit of happiness due to an exclusive focus on assessment and test scores. This approach is embedded in the increasingly functional nature of Kenyan education in a society driven by discourses of education for development yet divorced from the socio-economic realities of the lives of Kenyan children. This explicit linkage of schooling to the labor market and productivity concerns prioritizes literacy, numeracy and science over concerns of children's wellbeing and the intrinsic value of education. Aristotle's view of happiness as eudaimonia promotes the conception of human flourishing that allows for happiness and lays the ground for subjective and objective conceptions of wellbeing in modern social science. Education has a long tradition of nurturing virtue and thus in a sense fulfills Aristotle's ideal of happiness as a pursuit of virtue rather than a hedonistic approach. Yet the current instrumental focus on education as a pathway to the labor market and higher incomes runs counter to Aristotle's vision by promoting the pursuit of wealth and hedonistic lifestyle through education. Moreover, Aristotle's focus on rational thought as the highest form of human practice is discounted by the current educational focus on rote learning. Nussbaum's version of the Capability Approach in particular draws on Aristotelian thought to develop a conception of the necessary conditions for human flourishing (Nussbaum, 1995). Bourdieu (1996) decries the intellectual bias apparent in schooling and legitimization of academic knowledge, a process that raises academic curricula to a pedestal while devaluing practical knowledge. This problem is evident in the Kenyan curricula, where vocational training and practical knowledge relevant to the lives of children is ignored in pursuit of "Western" knowledge that is irrelevant to children's lives and livelihoods. This becomes particularly problematic given constraints in educational provision, where many children do not get the chance to pursue further education, thus the academic knowledge they obtained from schooling is practically worthless in a real life setting. A better approach would instead focus on an ethic of care for children in schooling, care that will not only enable the future adults to successfully enter the hierarchically structured labor market, but also to rationally pursue happiness and wellbeing in the present and in the future. Such a vision for education necessitates a broader perspective on the goals of schooling and education in society (Cohen, 2006). The primacy of test scores and educational results in Kenyan schooling at the expense of other positional and intrinsic benefits is harmful to the national wellbeing and the development of a just society. Pursuit of children's happiness in schooling can thus be pursued in five steps; planning and discovery (inclusion of the whole community in development of goals necessary to secure children's happiness); creation of a climate conducive to safe, caring environments in schools and communities; creation of long-

term school-family linkages; development of pedagogical practices that respect the ethic of care; and evaluation of schooling through the lens of schooling as care rather than schooling as a supplier for the labor market (Cohen, 2006)

Students learn best when in a positive emotional relation with the teacher. Thus the emotional and social competencies of both teachers and pupils should be of foremost concern as teaching-learning interactions are emotional as well as intellectual. The narrow assumption that education's primary aim is to develop the intellect is thus unfounded, especially given the unfounded assumption that emotions and intellect exist in a binary relationship. Emotions do have rationality and are as important as intellect in judgment and moral decision making (Nussbaum, 2001). Children are particularly vulnerable and exist in a condition where they require a lot of care and emotional support. Thus stripping education of the care aspect robs children of the very support they need. Given that children spend on average more time at school than at home, it is incumbent upon the school to offer this support, in tandem with nurturing their intellect (Nussbaum, 1995). This is particularly necessary to enable children participate effectively in teaching-learning processes and to develop the necessary regulation and motivation competencies necessary for sustained intellectual practice. Development of emotional intelligence is thus necessary for success in schooling as well as later in life in dealing healthily with social situations. Critical pedagogy is quite useful in approaching the relevance of education to children's agency and wellbeing, with Freire's idea of banking education reflecting the state of Kenyan education where the demands of assessment schemes and a means-end orientation aimed at fuelling the labor market through instilling desirable skills and attitudes to children (Giroux, 2000). This approach is increasingly divorced from the realities of many children in Kenya, especially given that majority of children in primary school do not successfully transit to high school, thus these skills are irrelevant to their future lives. Schooling is inextricably linked with the social, emotional and behavioral wellbeing of children, given that they spend their formative years in the school environment. The impact of schooling furthermore influences their future wellbeing by enabling them to have better prospects of a good life and contribute to the functioning of society (Gutmann & Feinsein, 2008). In the modern world, formal schooling has emerged as a central social institution that shapes children's wellbeing through macro- and micro-level processes of interaction with other pupils, teachers and the wider community. Through various mechanisms of the schooling system, individuals learn how to find their place in society, avoid deviant behavior and achieve socio-economic credentials that enable upward social mobility. Schooling is a fundamentally optimistic social institution that pursues progress betterment of individuals through distribution of valuable social and economic attributes. This function is encompassed in Article 29 of the UNCRC which calls for "the development of the child's personality, talents and mental and physical abilities to their fullest potential" (Robertson et. al. 2007). To achieve children's wellbeing in and through schooling, one must assess how the children are served by educational institutions by accounting for the full range of effects schooling has on wellbeing and vice versa. If schooling is expected to enable learners have a good life now and in the future and also be full citizens contributing to the wellbeing of their society, then schooling should focus not just on narrow human capital outcomes and minimization of social injustice but should rather be focused on ensuring schooling directly contributes to the happiness and wellbeing of children in the present. Furthermore, for schooling to be effective, it relies on wellbeing of children, so that the children are actually able to attend school and participate in the teaching learning processes. The wellbeing of their families is also relevant, in that parental employment

and secure livelihoods are essential to positive schooling outcomes as it affects the ability of children to attend school without distraction or competition in time allocation with labor (Orkin, 2012).

Context plays an important role in conceptualizing wellbeing in education. In high income countries, research and policy has focused on educational disaffection, with incipient discourse on life skills, emotional and social intelligence, and pupils' enjoyment of the schooling experience. However, this is always second place to mainstream assessment of pupil progress and performance in form of academic tests (Noddings, 2003). In developing countries where schooling often takes place in contexts of deprivation, policy mostly focuses on the human capital trinity of inputs, processes and outputs. Children's experiences in schooling are hardly considered given the focus on academic test scores, which in themselves are unreliable proxies for cognitive wellbeing, let alone progress towards the good life for children. This is in part due to the emphasis on universal compulsory education, couched in discourses of human rights and poverty reduction. Given that the UNCRC enshrines the right to education in moral terms and completion of basic education is seen as producing valuable public goods that reduce social inequality and enhance adults' range of opportunities, children are compelled to attend any form of schooling to enable governments and the international community to meet development targets. Schooling is thus justified a priori as a tax on childhood in favor of better lives for the adults the children will become. Educational policy and practice should transcend apriorism and pathological minimalism by enabling children to enjoy their childhoods, aspire towards valuable educational outcomes and develop capabilities for happiness and active citizenship (Thin, 2009). An effective wellbeing approach to schooling should thus substantially contribute to better lives for children and enable them to pursue goals that they have reason to value. Although schooling in itself has intrinsic value, the outcomes of schooling are also important, especially when considered that experiences of deprivation in schooling are detrimental to children's wellbeing and the actual intrinsic value of education. The Wellbeing in Developing Countries (WeD) project analyses various theoretical and practical approaches that consider wellbeing and schooling, such as poverty reduction, human rights and capabilities (Thin, 2009; Gough & McGregor, 2010; White, 2009). By synthesizing these approaches, the project develops a framework for assessing children's wellbeing in schooling in developing countries and this framework is highly effective in conceptualizing contextual wellbeing in contexts of deprivation. This framework focuses on links between schooling and children's wellbeing and life processes. Thin (2009) outlines a fourfold framework that focuses on resources, motivations, achievements and meaning, with an overarching theme of minimizing avoidable harm. This approach enables educational policy and practice to complement rights-based and poverty reduction approaches already in place while critically investigating a priori assumptions about the benefits of schooling and minimalist assertions that provision of schooling in itself is synonymous with development.

The domain of **resources** encompasses educational inputs that shape schooling as an integral part of children's wellbeing while assessing the reciprocal correlation between schooling and other socio-economic and political factors that influence children's participation in educational spaces. Schooling also enables children to develop resources such as knowledge, life skills, social networks and health that are essential for them to pursue their wellbeing. The domain of **achievements** investigates the indicators employed in education systems to empirically assess educational

achievements and outcomes. In particular, this domain focuses on whether these measures are at odds with conceptualizations of children's wellbeing. The domain of **meaning** explores the relevance of education to children's wellbeing in their particular communities, informed by the understanding that educational outcomes are irrelevant to children's wellbeing if they do not contribute to their wellbeing and livelihoods within a community but are rather informed by vague or irrelevant policy and practice. The achievements that children pursue and attain within schooling are valuable only in so far as the socio-economic context gives them meaning and value. The domain of **motivations** arises from the recognition that motivation to pursue a good life by investing in certain pursuits is in itself a constituent part of wellbeing. Motivation encompasses human agency in pursuit of good lives that individuals have reason to value and with regards to education entails children's desire to participate in schooling and the belief that education will enhance their present and future wellbeing. The overarching domain of minimizing **harm** revolves around the recognition that ill-being is a part of human lives but certain forms of avoidable harm should be eliminated or minimized. This is particularly relevant in the lives of children living in contexts of deprivation, where certain trade-offs are necessary in the pursuit of livelihoods. With particular regards to schooling, minimizing avoidable harm entails recognition of possible harmful outcomes of schooling and alignment of schooling with the best possible interests of children. In analyzing children's wellbeing in and through educational spaces, it is important to analyze the trade-offs inherent in balancing schooling and other opportunities.

Resources in educational settings play a major role in the wellbeing of children. Schooling's enhancement of wellbeing depends on the physical and emotional state of children arriving in school and the resources the family is able to invest in the child's participation in schooling, factors which have a direct impact on children's attendance, motivation and performance. Home-based factors that affected attendance and participation included lack of proper nutrition, lack of medical attention when ill and being tired because of performing strenuous tasks before school. Inability of families to purchase educational resources such as school books, uniforms and shoes also restricted children participation in schooling. The state of children's uniforms reflected the family's economic means and wearing tattered or ill-fitting clothing to school resulted children being teased by their fellow pupils thus lowering their self-esteem. This was particularly common among children in the slum as they attended school with children from wealthier families. In other instances, they were sent home for not adhering to the schools dress code thus interrupting their learning. Children's participation in schooling also had a negative impact on the family's wellbeing since their attendance necessitated that they do not participate in livelihood activities. In the slum, the children supplemented the family livelihoods by small jobs at the cement factory, and this was interrupted by school attendance, thus limiting family resources and the ability to pay for schooling's indirect costs. This was also a major issue in Loitokitok and Kakamega, where family livelihoods depended directly on children's participation in livestock rearing and agriculture. In Kakamega, some children stopped attending school during planting and harvesting season so as to help their parents in the field and also to hire themselves out as casual laborers on other peoples' fields. Socio-economic and political contexts also played a direct role in shaping the inputs of supply-side resources in children's education which were critical for wellbeing in school. In Loitokitok, access to schooling was restricted by the long distances children had to walk to school due to almost non-existent transport infrastructure, with some children walking up to ten kilometers to and fro. This was worsened by the nomadic nature of

the community, as children had to regularly move away in search of pasture and water, thus breaking attendance for long periods and contributing to high non-completion rates as economic responsibilities eclipsed the ability to pursue schooling. In the slum, there was restricted access due to the scarcity of schools and overcrowding and poor quality in the available schools. Poor quality of infrastructure was a problem faced in all three regions, with lack of sanitary facilities, poorly constructed classrooms, high teacher pupil ratios and lack of many educational resources. Many children were however upbeat about the Free Primary Education program and saw it as a positive step in securing children's wellbeing in education. Elimination of direct user fees was highly appreciated in Kakamega where though schools were available, financial costs had kept them out. Free textbooks, stationery, sanitary pads and school feeding programs were among the reforms that children were most grateful for, as they increased their wellbeing in school and vital to keeping children in school. The girls in all regions were particularly grateful for the free sanitary pads, as previously; they would have to stay away from school during their menstruation periods given their use of uncomfortable and unreliable home-made sanitary pads. The school feeding program, though not available in all schools and sometimes not provided always, was stated as a good way to keep children in school. In the slum, the children stated that since they rarely had lunch provided due to limited resources at home, they would sometimes leave school in the afternoon and not return, as they were uncomfortable staying in school when hungry.

Children's **motivation** to participate in education was another key issue that contributes to children's wellbeing in and through education. Motivations were mostly linked to the perceived or expected outcomes and **achievements** in educational and how these related to the children's present and future wellbeing. The children indicated varying levels of willingness to participate in learning and also in the teaching and learning process and this was also extended to their belief that schooling has an impact on their present and future wellbeing. In general, all the children were hopeful that education could enhance their wellbeing. There were very high expectations that were partly driven by government rhetoric about the value of education. In most regions, there was extra emphasis on education and its importance not only to individuals but also to the community and the nation. The FPE was touted to all through provincial administration, teachers and chiefs' barazas as the solution to pervasive poverty. Parents were encouraged, at pain of fines or imprisonment to take all their children to school. Many children also saw education as a way out of their poverty and a means of escape from the village life and slum life into a good life in the future. This was mostly defined as going to high school and the university or college and later obtains paid employment. Paid employment was seen by the children as the best way to secure a livelihood and a good life. In Loitokitok and Kakamega, this was explained by the presence of certain employed individuals such as teacher, and chiefs and game park employees who always seemed to have a regular source of hard currency whereas most people in the village owned intangible assets and always had liquidity problems. In the slums, most children stated that they were keen to avoid life as casual laborers without a fixed contract, since their lives were characterized by parents and other adults who all worked at the factory and always had to struggle to make ends meet.

Education can be transformative, as evidenced by the high value all the children place on it. But the children were also realistic in their perception of the true value of

education and the pitfalls of placing too much hope in education. Many children were demotivated by the difficult conditions of participating in schooling, with constraints of infrastructure, access, resources and livelihoods. Many children express ambitions to pursue college education and obtain professional employment and thus escape the manual labor or agricultural work their parents and they themselves do. However in reality, opportunities are limited by the general economic situation of the country. Some don't make it to high school or further, even if they are good enough due to lack of fees or limited spaces available in public high schools and particularly the children out of school were aware of the limitations of schooling in pursuit of future livelihoods. Moreover, children were aware of individuals who had completed high school and university and were still unemployed. Thus the myth of education as a way out of poverty is simply that was being reconsidered by many older children further dampening spirits and motivation to pursue education, since they don't see a chance of being the lucky few who make it. They recognized that there were many obstacles in their paths and were thus reluctant to invest all their hope in schooling. In the villages the children pointed out many others who had gone on even up to high school but had failed to succeed and were back in the village doing manual labor that was not fitting or someone who was educated. Some children even preferred undertaking vocational training informally through apprenticeships as a much better way of gaining real skills that were relevant to their lives rather than attending school. In the slums, the children were even more realistic, stating that they knew many people even with university educations and college training who were right back in the slum. A lot of the children in the slum stated that they were more interested in getting involved directly in the tourism industry, thus education was just a means of gaining foothold through being able to learn English. Some even said they knew many beach boys who didn't go to school but had learnt many foreign languages on the job and were now successful, thus leading them to drop out. The easy money available in the tourist and sex prostitution industry was also a very demotivating factor in pursuit of education since children did not see the point in slaving away in school when easy money could be had by hustling tourists. The achievements that children pursue and attain within schooling are valuable only in so far as the socio-economic context gives them **meaning**. Obtaining knowledge in school is irrelevant to the child's wellbeing if the knowledge does not help him or her navigate life within his or her community and thus achieves either livelihoods or social wellbeing within the community. In the communities, even though schooling was desirable, the actual learning and achievements in the classroom meant very little in real life and did little to make the lives of children better since the Western-oriented education offered little practical skills relevant to the daily realities. Thus children were in a paradoxical situation where education was highly valued but still considered a distraction from the real lives in the communities. Children thus approach education pragmatically, seeing it as a possible option of a better life but also investing in traditional pathways to livelihoods.

Children were able to identify various ways in which schooling can **harm** their wellbeing. A focus on academic test scores can damage children's motivation to pursue learning thus leading to drop outs. And lastly, schooling can also make children develop unrealistic ambitions that are not possible within their socio-economic context, thus leading to frustration later on. Prominent among their narratives was the impact of schooling on their livelihoods. Given the Westernized nature of schooling, coupled with its pathways from school to the formal labor market, children implied that it competed with traditional forms of socialization into work that were still a major part

of their lives and were necessary for not just their future livelihoods but also their present lives. This presented children with difficult choices in how to balance their desire to pursue schooling and their need to contribute to their families' livelihood, but also learn how to participate in their community as productive members. Westernized schooling also had a harmful impact on children's access to indigenous knowledge and social networks that children viewed as relevant to their wellbeing in their communities. In Loitokitok, children who had persisted in schooling were cut off from the social networks of the community built through participation in traditional rituals and rites of passage. In particular girls who chose not to undergo circumcision were ostracized by their friends and even in some cases their families thus left without any communal attachments. Discipline regimes in schooling can also cause a lot of harm to children's physical and mental wellbeing, and also harm their motivation to pursue schooling. Corporal punishment is a major issue in Kenyan education; being prevalent at all levels even after the national government banned it. Children regularly suffer injuries and in rare cases death at the hands of teachers, suffering lasting physical and psychological harms. Discipline regimes in school also influence participation. Some children admitted to avoiding going to school to avoid expected punishments, but this make it worse as then they get more. Eventually they just stopped showing up for long periods at a time, hoping the teacher forgets. This affects learning progress. Moreover, the harsh discipline regimes, which are inspired by the Kenyan adage of negative reinforcement simply makes children avoid schooling. In the Masai culture, where males are afforded a large degree of autonomy from a young age, boys indicated that discipline regimes which treated them as children when in their society they were considered men led a lot of boys to drop out, especially after initiation at the ages of 14 to 16 years. Moreover, this was considered an affront to the children's personal dignity, which was held in high regard among the Masai. Girls were less affected by this. In the other regions, the children also felt strongly about the impact of discipline on the children's participation in schooling.

The main concern of a wellbeing approach to children's wellbeing in contexts of deprivation basically entails making the best of the limited choices available by focusing education policy and practice on resources, motivations, achievements, meaning and minimization of avoidable harm. A wellbeing approach to schooling should in essence be child centered, founded upon pupils perspectives and experience of schooling Thus a focus on increasing access to schooling without a critical analysis of the actual benefits is flawed. Kenyan education policy has undergone a lot of reform in an effort to better schoolings contribution to children's wellbeing, explicitly and implicitly. Kenyan education policy and practice is contained in two key documents, namely the KESSP and Sessional Paper 1 of 2005. These documents were drafted to align the policy with the MDGs and EFA, thus the policy is largely influenced by global discourses of development, namely poverty reduction and the human rights approach. As valuable as these approaches are, they focus almost exclusively on increased enrolment and completion rates and conversely the intrinsic deficit of non-schooling to the detriment of quality, relevance and pupils' enjoyment of the schooling experience. Kenya's development policy with regards to education exhibits two main flaws namely apriorism that assumes increasing enrolments to meet global targets, is intrinsically good, without requiring further justification of the impact on human wellbeing and minimalism that focuses on mere provision of schooling which is then considered *prima facie* as development, without focusing on the larger picture of enabling children achieve good lives within the schooling process. The poverty reduction approach takes pathological minimalism further with an explicit focus on dimensions of poverty and

their reduction, obscuring the fact that education should intrinsically and instrumentally promote actual good lives that individuals can aspire to rather than a mere instrument of poverty reduction. Given the apriorism evident within the MDGs and EFA, pursuit of global targets in education has become the valued ends of development rather than mere proxies of the goal to pursue good lives and human development. This is particularly visible in Kenyan educational practice; where schooling Free Primary Education has become an aesthetic exercise to meet MDG targets rather than enhancing children's wellbeing (Ojiambo, 2009).

A child-centered approach would on the other hand inevitably consider childhood as a valuable stage in itself and thus aspire to promote present wellbeing of children in and through schooling (Ben-Arieh, 2004). This would enable Kenyan education policy to focus on children's experience of schooling, in particular the quality of pedagogical processes and socio-economic contexts of schooling. In addition, it would provide for children's participation in decisions on the relevance and quality of education that has been missing in Kenyan education policy. Justification of goals and targets are usually founded on human rights or poverty reduction arguments, without any reference to whether children enjoy the schooling experience and have good lives in educational spaces. Analysis of children's subjective wellbeing should thus form a key plank in justification of targets and goals. This should be combined with objective indicators to obtain a holistic picture of the impact of education on children's lives. Moreover, the focus on quality of education evident in EFA is not adopted in policy, given that ensuring quality is more difficult to measure. Thus policymakers are content with easily measured proxies that are not robust enough to measure quality and overall wellbeing. This translates into access to schooling *per se* being the right pursued, rather than the wellbeing of children through education as was intended in the UNCRC (Vaughan & Walker, 2012). This is indicative of a need for adoption of both objective and subjective evaluative criteria in determining the impact of education on human development. While it is necessary to measure enrolment, attendance, transitions and test scores, it is just as necessary to focus on qualitative experiences of children in pedagogical regimes (Biggeri & Santi, 2012). It is thus evident that education policy in Kenya needs to adopt a wellbeing approach to schooling that is child centered and focused on the wellbeing outcomes of schooling rather than on meeting global targets. Expansion of access to schooling should be accompanied with robust measures to ensure schooling promotes good lives for children in the present and in the future. A first step towards this would be consideration of children's needs and realities by engagement of children's voices in education policymaking and education practice.

Children's wellbeing in Kenya is affected by three forms of deprivation, namely material deprivation, social exclusion and vulnerability to harm all of which were manifest in the children's descriptions of their wellbeing. Since all the children interviewed were living in areas affected by acute deprivation, their conceptions of wellbeing were to a large degree influenced by basic concerns rather than higher levels of (subjective) wellbeing. However, material wellbeing is complementary to social inclusion which in turn affects the self-esteem and life satisfaction of children and keeps them safe from harm thus a multidimensional approach that goes beyond income deprivation is necessary for conceptualization of wellbeing. Wellbeing was mostly conceptualized as lack of deprivation or at the very least, reduced levels of deprivation. With regards to poverty, deprivation and ill-being, the children identified three key contributory factors namely lack of basic necessities, their families' lack of access to economic resources and the general scarcity conditioned by the economic

situation of the country. Lack of basic necessities emerged as most influential in the children's perceptions of their wellbeing in all three regions with lack of food, lack of clothing and lack of educational resources influencing the children's perception of their wellbeing. The children also noted that the general levels of deprivation and lack of familial access to material resources was a contributory factor, indicating that the children were acutely aware of the socio-economic context of their communities. Children noted that they have always known their region was poor and thus did not particularly view their problems as being familial but rather widespread. Children were able to discuss economic issues facing the whole country in-depth, indicating engagement with the larger context. Children in Kakamega mentioned recurrent droughts that affected food production, giving examples of the El Nino influenced weather patterns that distorted planting and harvesting patterns. In Loitokitok, the children were even more aware of weather patterns, given that the whole process of socialization into livelihoods entailed learning about weather patterns and how these affected access to pasture and water sources of the cattle. In Mombasa, children recounted how the post-election violence affected tourism which in turn directly impacted the lives of most people at the Kenyan coast which is highly dependent on tourism revenues. The children further discussed how political and economic uncertainty due to the impending elections was affecting their livelihoods. Moreover, the children displayed keen interest in the workings of the nearby cement factory, which largely employed most casual laborers in the slum.

The children identified their deprivation as multidimensional, contextual and intergeneration; multidimensional since their experiences of poverty were conditioned by deprivation in various dimensions of wellbeing rather than simple income poverty. These deprivations were manifest in various forms within the seven dimensions they mentioned and had multiple economic, social, emotional and developmental effects on their wellbeing. This perspective betrayed the insufficiency of income poverty as a lens on children's deprivation, as the children themselves were aware of the multidimensional nature of deprivation and that the social and developmental consequences of deprivation were as important to children's wellbeing as was material deprivation. Deprivation was also largely context-specific, given that socio-economic conditions within their region and the country to a large degree influenced the children's experiences and categorization of poverty and wellbeing. Urban and rural children had different experiences with regards to deprivation, and had different perspective. Moreover, it was apparent that deprivation in urban areas, a variation also visible in experiences of deprivation among rural agricultural and rural pastoralist children. The cultural differences between the rural agricultural and rural pastoralist communities had a pervasive influence on experiences of deprivation, while employment structures and means of livelihoods that varied across contexts also ensured that children experienced economic poverty differently. This is important in understanding the error of approaching poverty as a universal phenomenon with broad approaches as is common in development orthodoxy. The intergenerational nature of deprivation was evident as most children were able to trace the roots of deprivation to the deprivations faced by their parents. Children were accurately able to identify the socio-economic and historical factors that were at play in their families' poverty. Children in Loitokitok were particularly critical of the political marginalization the area had experienced while children in the slums were aware that the situation in the slum was worsened by governmental apathy in offering assistance and social services to slums. This was quite apparent to them given that the slum was located close

to a wealthy estate that received excellent social services in form of roads, sanitation and security. Children considered these issues as restricting their parents' ability to provide for them and shelter them from deprivation. Moreover, growing up in poverty was likely to shape the children's adulthood, with reproduction of socio-cultural structures and damaging their aspirations. The children indicated that they were aware they would probably face the same disadvantages in their adulthood unless socio-economic conditions improved. However, they were quite pessimistic about the role of education in enabling them to overcome their deprivation.

9.4. Minimum Capability Thresholds in Basic Education

9.3.1. Capabilities and education quality in Kenya

The Education for All (EFA) campaign has increased access and participation of children in primary education and many countries are on course to achieve Universal Primary Education (UPE). However, increases in enrolment have led to a corresponding decline in education quality attributable to lack of or inequitable distribution of resources. Moreover, completion rates in primary schooling are still low due to entrenched inequalities and knock-on effects of increased enrolments thus undercutting education's role in human development (UNESCO, 2012). A further complication arises from the broad spectrum of conceptualizations of what constitutes education quality due to varying political and cultural discourses. In the Kenyan context, quality is enmeshed in historical and socio-economic issues arising from the post-colonial heritage of the education system and its entrenched socio-cultural inequalities which have a pervasive impact on the quality of education by structuring learners' educational experiences and outcomes (Ojiambo, 2009). The issue of education quality is furthermore mired in a morass of conflicting discourses that come into play due to the influence of the World Bank and other multilateral development organizations on educational policy and practice. The human capital approach has been dominant in the education sector, mostly influenced by neoliberal theories of economic growth through investment in human capital. However, the human development approach has gradually become influential in international development due to its focus on rights and social justice (Tikly, 2010). A robust framework for education quality should be guided by explicit values which engage with cross-cutting issues that underpin education, the most pertinent being effectiveness, efficiency, equity, relevance and sustainability (Barrett et al., 2006). The framework should also generate four types of proxy indicators convergent with the measurement of the outcomes of a quality education. Input indicators reflect supply of educational resources; access indicators identify socio-economic, cultural and geographical conversion factors that facilitate access to educational resources, output indicators identify the impact of provision of educational resources to a population while outcomes indicators identify the impact of educational policy and practice in achieving development (Vos, 1996, p. 3). An analysis of the historical and socio-economic context should also inform the framework with regards to inequalities in schooling and the relevance of the education to the needs of the learners and their communities. In particular, the framework should focus on teaching and learning processes and how these affect learners' participation and outcomes as standardized summative tests belie the differences in learners'

experiences and do not provide valid data on quality. And lastly, the framework should be self-reflexive and critical of education's role in development (Tao, 2010).

Human capital formation entails targeted increase of requisite skills and knowledge through investment in education which is expected to raise incomes, increase national productivity and foster economic growth. Private and social returns to investment in education are measured with the aim of informing policy on resource allocation and educational inputs (Roemer, 1990). Literacy and numeracy are the basic skill set to be acquired in primary education and further developed in higher levels to ensure individuals possess general and job-specific skills that enable integration into the labor market (Becker, 1964). Education quality can be conceptualized as the quantifiable outcomes achieved by individuals after completion of a particular level of education as measured against specified inputs, with conversion rates signifying the efficiency and effectiveness of the schooling system. This instrumental approach to education has been predominant in development policy such as the Structural Adjustment Programs of the World Bank. These neoliberal policies have had undue influence on educational discourse and practice, championing a focus on cost efficiency, standardized testing and marketable skills (Sifuna, 1990). Assessment of a country's stock of human capital is necessitated by the government's need to pursue policies that are effective in producing better human capital, with three conventional forms of measurement; output, cost, and income-based approaches. The output approach utilizes school enrolment rates, accumulated years of schooling at employment age, average years of schooling and the ratio between skilled adults and total adults as a measure of the stock of human capital. Cost based approaches on the other hand calculate depreciating costs of investment in an individual's human capital while income-based approaches focus on returns to individuals from the labor market in form of incomes relative to their investment in education (Keeley, 2007; Psacharopoulos, 1995). Although an explicit conceptualization of education quality is not offered by the human capital approach, school effectiveness and efficiency measured by a linear input-output model functions as a proxy measure. Inputs can comprise of such components as financial resources, infrastructure, teachers and educational resources. These inputs are processed within the education system to produce outputs relevant to the needs of the economy and job market in the form of skilled individuals. The effectiveness and efficiency of education systems is pursued through market-led approaches influenced by rational choice theory. Favored approaches include; fostering competition between schools through greater school choice for parents; decentralized management and greater school autonomy to give schools maneuvering room in a competitive education market and greater accountability achieved through benchmarking and publication of schools' performance data. To assess the effectiveness and efficiency of primary education, resource allocations are measured against standardized test results and transition rates. Even though human capital theory accepts that schooling has positive externalities and social benefits, these are rarely encompassed in any measurement with most models focusing on private and social rates of return indicated by increased incomes and economic growth. In a globalizing world, there is greater emphasis on international standardized tests such as PISA, TIMSS and SACMEQ. There is a limited engagement with inequality in education, with some effort to include disaggregated data based on axes of inequality such as gender, poverty and region (Hanushek & Wößmann, 2008; Keeley, 2007). The main shortcoming of the human capital approach is the linear input-output relationship which ignores inter-related and multi-directional relationships between various factors in schooling. This input-output orientation posits schools as black boxes as standardized tests rarely consider the

learners experiences and their impact on performance. Moreover, standardized tests and input indicators have over time become the rationale of quality rather than proxy indicators. This is evident in cases where teaching in schools becomes focused on ensuring learners pass exams rather than acquisition of other equally valuable outcomes in affective, cultural and social dimensions (Appiah & McMahon, 2002). The screening effect of human capital approaches, given the focus on satisfying labor market with limited opportunities, leaves learners with unsatisfactory grades without any viable alternatives after schooling as education do not prepare them for livelihoods outside the formal labor market. This is related to the issue of relevance of education, where educational content and pedagogy geared towards passing examinations does not necessarily consider the needs and livelihoods strategies of learners and their communities (Ojiambo, 2009).

The Capability Approach is a normative framework that provides an evaluative space to assess human agency and wellbeing based on wellbeing freedom (opportunity to achieve wellbeing), wellbeing achievement (extent to which wellbeing has been achieved), agency freedom (opportunity to pursue goals that one values) and agency achievement (extent to which goals have been achieved). Freedom is measured primarily in terms of capabilities whereas achievements are measured in term of functionings (Sen, 1999). Commodities are resources that can be employed to achieve a range of capabilities or functioning. Functionings on the other hand are the states of beings and doings that people are able to achieve while using commodities at their disposal. Transformation of commodities into functionings is mediated by socio-economic, environmental and individual conversion factors. From the CA perspective, education is a process that expands human wellbeing and agency, requiring integration of rights and capabilities into educational discourse and practice to ensure all learners have effective opportunities within and through education. A quality education;

...enables all learners to realize capabilities they require to become economically productive, develop sustainable livelihoods, contribute to democratic societies and enhance wellbeing. The actual required outcomes vary according to context but at the end of the basic education cycle must include threshold levels of literacy, numeracy and life skills" (Tikly, 2010, p. 139).

CA requires a quality framework to address inclusion, relevance, participation and minimum thresholds. Education should be inclusive to ensure universal access and achievement of valuable outcomes, regardless of socio-economic and political inequalities. In particular, schooling should ensure equity in distribution of inputs to ensure that every learner receives an appropriate level depending on their needs. The curriculum and pedagogy should be relevant to the needs and livelihoods of the society. This requires engagement with processes within schooling and their impact on learners' experiences and subsequent outcomes. The principle of participation requires decision making processes about quality to be undertaken in consensus with all stakeholders such as the state, parents, teachers, children and civil society to ensure accountability. And lastly, the quality framework should specify a minimum threshold that all learners should achieve, reflecting CA's origins as a partial theory of justice which focuses on sufficiency (Unterhalter, 2003; Tikly, 2010). This is essential in ensuring that all learners receive sufficient opportunities to develop basic capabilities that are necessary for future capability development (Nussbaum, 2000). Quality measurement within the CA is based on multidimensional indicators. First, there should

be indicators that reflect the context of the education system and the impact of socio-economic and political structures on learners' outcomes. This necessitates consideration of the implementation gap between policies and practice, the outcomes gap between societal expectations and learners' achievements and the learning gap between the curriculum and actual learning through investigation of learners' experience in their home-school-community interaction (Vaughan, 2007). Secondly, there should be indicators reflecting inputs necessary for the schooling process, and their effectiveness in fostering learning and valuable outcomes. Since requisite inputs vary by context, close engagement with stakeholders is necessary for their identification. Pertinent inputs include trained teachers, effective school management, educational material, infrastructure and mitigation of home-based factors such as poor nutrition (Oduro & Bosu, 2010). And lastly, the framework should have indicators that reflect processes within schools and systems. A focus on processes is enhanced by having a system that is built upon democratic debate on the nature of quality, accountability to stakeholders, effective quality assessment mechanisms, a relevant and inclusive curriculum, effective pedagogy and mitigation of inequality among learners (Tikly, 2010).

Due to global asymmetrical power structures, international organizations have long had influence over Kenyan education policy, with the World Bank having by far the most influence on education policy in Kenya. Conceptualization and measurement of quality has over the years been informed by the neoliberal best practice and human capital approaches that did not necessarily suit the Kenyan education system. The Structural Adjustment Programs (SAPs) were enforced in many developing countries as precondition for World Bank aid and while some education systems such as Botswana successfully implemented the reforms, countries like Kenya and Uganda were negatively impacted, leading to lower enrolment and deteriorating quality (Ojiambo, 2009). Kenyan educational quality standards are elaborated in the Sessional Paper No. 1 of 2005 and are defined by three variables; enrolment rates, the quality of inputs into the instructional process and the quality of pupil outcomes as measured in KCPE. Inputs standards are set out in the Handbook for Inspection of Educational Institutions and reflect the input—output orientation of the human capital approach; school size, pupil-teacher ratio, teacher workload pupil-textbook ratio, pupil-toilet ratio, quality of classroom buildings, available classroom space (Ngware, Oketch & Ezeh, 2010). Since 1994, Kenya has participated in the Southern and Eastern Africa Consortium for Monitoring Educational Quality (SACMEQ) which, in cooperation with the International Institute for Educational Planning has undertaken research and testing to ensure policymakers have reliable information with regards to planning or education quality. SACMEQ key objectives are; to obtain baseline data for selected inputs in primary schools, to assess conditions of primary schooling in relation to national benchmarks, to inform equitable allocation of educational inputs across primary schools and administrative regions, measure reading and literacy competencies of learners in Grade 6 and lastly to ascertain which education inputs have most impact upon educational commitments, the Education for All Index (EDI) is used to measure progress towards EFA and is a composite of four EFA goals namely enrolment ratios, survival rates to Grade 5 (a proxy for quality), adult literacy rates and gender parity. The goals of early childhood education and life skills are omitted due to the difficulty of quantitatively measuring them (UNESCO, 2006). Given the contested nature of these measures in educational debate in Kenya, there has been a push by academics, civil society and even the Ministry of Education to pursue more comprehensive and relevant measures of education quality that reflect the national

goals of Kenya and enable the education system to monitor the true state of learning quality in Kenyan schools.

The CA assesses education through its contribution to substantive human freedoms rather than a production function. These freedoms are operationalized as capabilities and their associated functionings which can be instrumental (test scores, certification and productivity), intrinsic (agency, autonomy and wellbeing) and positional (access to social positional goods). Educational inputs are effective if they fulfill human needs and aspirations rather than labor market and productivity concerns. This provides a value basis useful in assessing the quality of education. Capabilities offer an alternative metric that encompasses more than mere skills, a distinction with far-reaching implications for measurement of quality since CA interrogates not only the skills achieved but also the conditions under which the skills were achieved, and the community's participation in deciding which skills are relevant (Unterhalter, 2007). The main challenge of quality assessment in Kenya has for long been the focus on a narrow set of outcomes, a residue of the World Bank's and international development orthodoxy's influence on educational policy. The social justice approach espoused by the CA on the other hand focuses on redistribution, recognition and participation as its value basis with a broad-based perspective on outcomes that addresses the impact of socio-economic and political structures on schooling, effectiveness and efficiency of inputs into schooling and the impact of teaching and learning processes on children's education. It also investigates marginalized groups in schooling, particularly rural-urban divides, gender and remote communities in studying how inequality in the education system affects distribution of educational resources and outcomes. It is also based upon participation of all stakeholders in the process of conceptualization and measurement. Education is thus conceived as a primary means of providing children with opportunities to pursue a good life and the capability to function in society. This contrasts with the current approach which is still concerned with measuring enrolments and survival rates and also satisfying donor conditions rather than ensuring children's outcomes from education are of relevance to their lives and wellbeing. Inclusion entails identification and acknowledgement of injustices against social groups and the CA explicitly recognizes the impact of conversion factors that hinder children from accessing a quality education through perpetuation of inequalities based on gender, class, race, ethnicity, language, disability and urban-rural divides. Even though UPE is within reach in Kenya, many groups are in danger of being left behind due to the impact of these inequalities on their participation in schooling (UNESCO, 2012). Thus, there is need for a framework that draws attention to the needs and requirements of learners from different socio-economic and cultural groups, with a focus on cultural and institutional barriers that restrict children's abilities to convert educational resources into valuable capabilities and inclusion of all children of school going age in its assessment, even including children who have never enrolled or who have dropped out of school, a population that has been previously ignored in many assessments yet Kenya has more than a million children out of school (Uwezo, 2012).

Assessing the impact of language of instruction on learning is also an important part of such a framework, as in the case of rural children who are unable to communicate effectively in English due to lack of access to English language resources yet this is the language of instruction from the first grade. This can be included by assessing real-life applications of the skills learnt in class in the children's daily lives. This is encompassed in its aim to assess the meaningfulness of education to learners, families and the community and has been achieved by conducting assessment at home rather than in

school, partly to capture all the children of school going age, but also to provide the assessment with a real-life context in assessing skills and capabilities of children. Kenyan quality assessment is to a large extent still focused on the skill set encompassed by the KCPE exam and thus has yet to make any real connections between children's lives and the skills learnt in class. In Kenyan education policy, there is also rarely any participation by citizens and communities in decision-making on the form and content of education as there is no facilitation of participation, particularly given the overwhelming influence of global development agendas. The CA places great emphasis on participatory democracy in social policy through democratic debate on decisions about which capabilities are relevant, through holding wide consultative forums with different stakeholders such as children, parents, academics, government and civil society to develop a conceptualization of education quality that reflects the needs and realities of Kenyan communities. Furthermore, results from such needs to be disseminated in the mass media and public forums at national, regional, county and village level to spark national debate on education quality. This participatory approach strengthens accountability and exposes various forms of corruption and abuse of power within the education system. Participation by stakeholders, including children, is important in developing a minimum threshold of quality that schooling should achieve, namely the capabilities to be pursued within basic education encompassing what a sufficiently good education should entail through a participatory process that compiled views of different stakeholders as to which outcomes are to be valued, which resources should be harnessed to achieve this and which regional variations should be considered. This is essential in ensuring that human diversity is embedded in any final list of capabilities that is to be developed. The distinction between capabilities and functioning is key to setting a minimum threshold for measurement of quality. While acknowledging that education should impart certain skills to children, it's necessary to avoid oversimplification into skills as favored in development orthodoxy. Although literacy and numeracy are important, it is essential to inquire if the skills are relevant in enabling the children to avoid capability deprivation, rather than mere resource deprivation. Dreze & Sen (2002, p. 7) define the capability of functioning as the basic minimum standard to be achieved by many social institutions such as schooling. While the human capital approach measures the quality of education in terms of the generation of aggregate resources and personal resources that are valuable in enabling individuals to become productive on the labor market, the CA sets a threshold in enabling children to achieve the capability for functioning in society. Thus, even though literacy and numeracy are vital skills, the target of education should not be these skills per se but rather the resources and freedoms children have to convert these skills into essential functionings. Quality of education will then accordingly be evaluated according to the capabilities and functionings that are achieved because of it rather than the resources or skills children are able to accumulate because of it. Uwezo pursues literacy and numeracy as essential outcomes of schooling but also inquires as to whether the outcomes are of relevance to children in their daily lives. Examples of tasks assessed include employing numeracy skills to conduct transactions in a market and literacy skills to read informational posters on health and hygiene. The testing currently present in Kenyan schools is restricted to skills that are easily standardized thus not investigating whether these skills can be converted into functionings that enhance children's wellbeing.

It is evident that social justice requires the dismantling of institutional norms, discourses and practices that engender inequalities in access, participation and outcomes in education. This is relevant in education, where educational policy and practice are

shaped by national, political and socio-cultural norms that influence children's participation and outcomes. The CA is thus best suited to conceptualization and measurement of education quality given its emphasis on capabilities in and through education that enable individuals pursue lives of value to them. The language of capabilities reshapes the value and relevance of education in society by fostering debate on socio-economic and political norms that influence education quality. This approach satisfies the informational base required to sufficiently answer questions about what education quality is and how governments can engage with their citizens and communities in its pursuit. Although the human capital approach has for long been the dominant ideology in conceptualization and measurement of quality in Kenyan education, it lacks the requisite scope to take into account the Kenyan socio-economic and cultural context and provide an appropriate framework for education quality. Consistently low levels of quality in formal schooling and lack of relevance of the education to the livelihoods of learners attest to this insufficiency. CA on the other hand offers a conceptualization of education quality focused on achievement of educational and social justice not only through widened access and transitions but also through relevant curriculum and pedagogy. It is also important to note that true success will only be achieved if implementation is effectively followed through to avoid the implementation gap where well-crafted policies are not effectively adopted in educational practice, a situation that is all too familiar in educational reforms in Kenya.

9.3.2. Selection of capabilities for Kenyan basic education

The Capability Approach (CA) is a framework developed by Amartya Sen for assessment of wellbeing and social arrangements including the design of policies and proposals for social change. CA is the basis of the human development paradigm which frames the MDGs and approaches development as substantive freedom to pursue a valued life (Sen, 1999). As a theoretical framework, CA conceptualises agency and the role it plays in promoting social justice and development. In discussing what a good life is for children, and conceptualising the interplay between agency and wellbeing, the CA plays a vital role. Amartya Sen has articulated the importance of human agency, and identified a need for expanding the informational bases on agency to inform our evaluation of social arrangements. Furthermore, he stresses the need for empowerment, which begins by widening agency, as the basis for poverty reduction efforts. The Capability Approach thus in essence is a people-centered approach that puts human agency rather than governments or markets at the center stage of development. Widening the realm of human agency, and in a wider sense freedom, is a core ingredient in pursuing social change. Human agency is the ability of people to act, individually or jointly with others, on what they value and have reason to value. It is *authentic self-direction*, the ability to shape one's own destiny as a person and a part of various communities. Agency constitutes the process aspect of freedom in Sen's dichotomy of freedom (the second being the opportunity aspect, also referred to as capability, which is the real opportunity to achieve a valued functioning selected from a set) (Crocker & Robeyns 2009). Martha Nussbaum offers a list of ten capabilities which arguably defines an irreducible minimum for what is a truly human life, and should undergird any valid conceptions of an ideal life for a child. Nussbaum's list is constructed to be universal and devoid of cultural relativism. However, this argument belies its antecedents in Western Aristotelian philosophy (Andresen et. al., 2011). Sen (1992, 1999) on the other hand enjoins researchers and practitioners to engage in public debate on the actual capabilities to be valued within a particular context and in essence renders the Capability Approach amenable to

contextualization with regards to cultural and local variations and norms. It is incumbent upon policymakers and stakeholders to identify relevant capabilities to be incorporated in quality frameworks. In basic education, it is fairly easy to select basic capabilities and essential education outcomes such as numeracy, literacy, life skills and basic scientific knowledge. However, the actual content and pedagogy still depends on their valuation by constituents.

One of the challenges of implementing the Millennium Development Goals and the EFA, in particular in achieving the intended externalities of education, lie in the formulation of the goals themselves. These goals focus more on access and enrolment statistics, without closer investigation or inclusion of processes within schools that have great impact on pupil outcomes in basic education. In particular, the relevance of schooling to children's lives is hardly conceptualized or investigated. The main limitation with regards to relevance stems from the MDGs insensitivity to contextual and cultural contexts, a limitation that arises from the quantitative paradigm that mostly avoids qualitative investigation of teaching and learning processes. Successful achievement is predicated upon fulfillment of certain quotas rather than achievement of substantive educational outcomes. This study aimed at a more holistic process that included building consensus with parents, teachers and pupils regarding their main educational aspirations and the impediments they faced in pursuit of schooling that is relevant to children's lives. This is particularly relevant to Sen's focus on freedoms as the ends of human development. This project thus aims to develop an account of capabilities that can form a criterion for educational justice in Kenyan basic education that the Kenyan government can be held accountable to. The CA enables description of contextual complexities and socio-economic processes which are rarely captured in quantitative analysis thus acknowledging the role of conversion factors in educational outcomes. Measurement of educational justice within the CA approach is inherently multidimensional and thus requires innovative approaches. Rather than a focus on standard quantitative measurement, a mix of various methods is necessary to collect and analyze data that is relevant and of good quality. Various methods have been developed that triangulate various sources and methods thus ensuring a complete picture can be drawn of quality (Robeyns, 2005). In measuring education quality, CA requires a framework to consider three issues in developing indicators. First, there should be indicators that reflect the context of the education system. A robust framework accounts for the impact of socio-economic and political structures on learners' outcomes. This implies that one should consider the implementation gap between national policies and practice, the outcomes gap between societal expectations and learners' achievements and the learning gap between the curriculum and actual learning. This can be achieved by investigating the reality that learners experience in their home-school-community interaction (Walker & Unterhalter, 2007). Secondly, there should be indicators developed to indicate inputs necessary for the schooling process, and their effectiveness in fostering learning and valuable outcomes. Since requisite inputs vary by context, close engagement with stakeholders is necessary for their identification. Pertinent inputs include suitably trained teachers, effective school management, appropriate educational material, appropriate infrastructure, guidance for learners and mitigation of home-factors such as poor nutrition (Oduru & Bosu, 2010). And lastly, the framework should have indicators that reflect processes within schools. A focus on processes is enhanced by having a system that is built upon democratic debate on the nature of quality, accountability to stakeholders, effective quality assessment mechanisms, a relevant and inclusive curriculum, effective

pedagogy and mitigation of inequality among learners (Tikly, 2010). A perceived shortcoming of CA is that it is underspecified. However, Sen's focus on agency and rational debate on what is of value informs this vagueness (Sen, 1999). It is thus incumbent upon researchers and policymakers to identify relevant capabilities to be incorporated in quality frameworks in consensus with other stakeholders.

A two-fold classification of capabilities can inform selection of capabilities with regards to children, who are not fully adult and thus not necessarily able to make fully-informed choices in exercise of their agency, with primary education developing children's O-capabilities (opportunities) which are essential when children later on need to develop S-capabilities (skills). This two-fold classification enables division of capabilities into basic capabilities that provide children with opportunities to participate in basic schooling while the second group consists of higher order capabilities comprising of skills that are developed based on basic capabilities obtained at a lower level (Gasper & Van Staveren, 2003). Paternalism in selecting children's capabilities is unavoidable due to the advocatory ethic prevalent in schooling and in family life, as the question of children's maturity and ability to participate in selection of capabilities of value to themselves persists in the discussion on children's wellbeing and wellbecoming and its relation to the bounds of children's ability to exercise agency in the choice of a good life at present and in the future. Sen (1999) however elaborates that in the case of children, schooling should focus on basic capabilities that enable children to later on make fully-informed choices. A two-fold classification of capabilities can inform selection of capabilities with regards to children, who are not fully adult and thus not necessarily able to make fully-informed choices in exercise of their agency, with primary education developing children's O-capabilities (opportunities) which are essential when children later on need to develop S-capabilities (skills). This two-fold classification enables division of capabilities into basic capabilities that provide children with opportunities to participate in basic schooling while the second group consists of higher order capabilities comprising of skills that are developed based on basic capabilities obtained at a lower level. This classification would satisfy the need to ensure children acquire basic capabilities in the basic schooling while enabling them acquire the foundational agency and autonomy to make their own rational decisions on the good life in present and in the future (Gasper & Van Staveren 2003, Brighouse 2000). In primary schooling, it is fairly easy to select very basic capabilities such as numeracy, literacy, life skills and basic scientific knowledge. However, the actual content and pedagogy still depends on their valuation by constituents. Unterhalter (2003) selects capabilities by cross-referencing various components of education with the evaluative aspects of capabilities. This enables an in-depth examination of how socio-economic and political conditions influences agency and wellbeing in Kenyan primary schooling. This evaluative matrix enables an in-depth examination of how socio-economic and political conditions influences agency and wellbeing in the context of primary schooling. There also exist various capabilities lists, some closely connected to education that can serve as a starting point (Nussbaum, 2000, p. 78; Vaughan, 2007, p. 119; Terzi, 2007, p. 37 Walker 2007 p. 189, Reynor 2007 p. 164). Tao (2010, p. 9) in particular develops a list in relation to education quality in Tanzania which can serve as a relevant starting point for consideration of essential outcomes of basic schooling in developing countries, particularly with regards to sub-Saharan Africa, given similar concerns and contextual issues. Such a list satisfies the Capability Approach's emphasis on achieving a minimum

threshold of human dignity and wellbeing while allowing room for higher order capabilities.

Wellbeing achievement	Completion of eight years of primary schooling and acquisition of essential education outcomes in literacy, numeracy and basic scientific knowledge that safeguard instrumental, positional and intrinsic value of education
Wellbeing freedom	Provision of socio-economic conditions conducive to completion of eight years of primary schooling and acquisition of essential education outcomes
Agency achievement	Aspirations to and choice of valuable education outcomes to pursue in relation to livelihoods, values and the future.
Agency freedom	Provision of socio-economic conditions necessary for children to develop reasoning abilities and conceptualizations of what is good for and of value to them

Fig. 6: Cross-reference matrix for wellbeing and agency achievement and freedom (adapted from Unterhalter 2003)

Starting from this basis, it is thus possible to conduct a situational analysis of children's experiences in schooling to identify the issues which prevent hinder children's wellbeing and agency. Situational analysis considers the teaching and learning processes in conjunction with the aspirations, practices and realities of children attending basic schooling in Kenyan public schools. Such an analysis is relevant for plotting empirical data on Robeyns (2005) flowchart of capabilities, functionings and conversion factors.

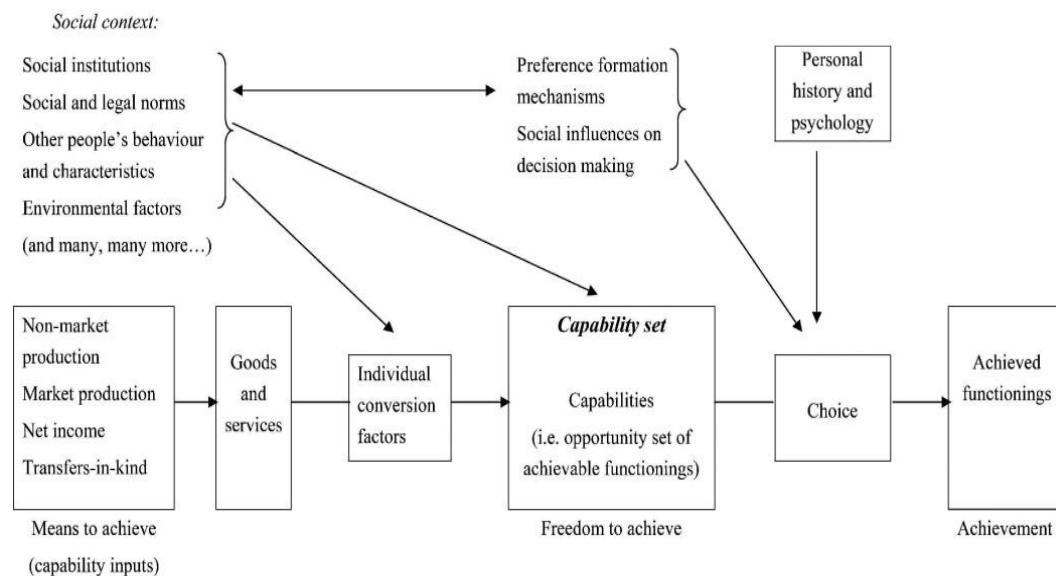


Fig.7: Flowchart for capabilities and functionings (Robeyns, 2005, p. 98)

In plotting the data, it is essential to consider the role of conversion factors, as they play a significant role in preference formation (adaptive preferences) and children's choices in schooling. Personal conversion factors (intelligence, age, and gender),

environmental conversion factors (distance from school, regional location, and safety) and social conversion factors (norms about schooling, gendered division of labor and power relations) are among the key factors that influenced children's participation and achievements in school. This focus on conversion factors in effect enables the Capability Approach to depart from the human capitals input-output orientation in schooling as it opens the black box of schooling processes. Drawing from the children's description of their schooling experiences, eight key issues were identified which constrained their freedom to pursue their educational aspirations. It is evident that while some of the issues children face are intractable and may require long term change, some issues can be handled immediately. The educational success of the children interviewed, given their difficult backgrounds suggest that this is possible, if the government committed to a minimum level of provision that despite the difficult socio-economic circumstances still assured children a chance. The CA supports the idea of a minimum threshold, as Sen (1987) advocates for a cut-off point for assessing poverty and deprivation. In this sense, and given the wide disparities in educational provision in Kenya (compare rich public and private schools to poor public and private schools), it is essential to establish a minimum acceptable level of educational provision to ensure all children theoretically have equality of opportunities. Assuming that children's basic capabilities are met at a minimal level relevant for continued functioning (life, shelter, nourishment), a researcher can move on to consideration of children's needs in school to decide which capabilities are most relevant to underpin equality of opportunity. Based on the children's description of their experiences of schooling and the constraints they face, these appear as the major problems the children have to overcome in order to be successful in school; pass exams but also manage to balance the socio-cultural gaps between their schooling and their lives at home. From this stage, it is then necessary to draw up an initial list to stimulate discussion and to defend it.

To conceptualize a list of capabilities necessary for educational justice in Kenyan basic education, the following list is proposed and defended. The assumption made in the development of this list is that the children are already in school (the study was focused solely on children in school in their last year). These capabilities were considered the most important for children's success in schooling and achievement of educational outcomes that reflected the children's own aspirations. The list was developed from empirical data, thus ensuring that it is participatory in nature. During the pilot project carried out in 2011, data was collected to buttress the development of an initial list. This list was then used to engage in discussions through conference presentation, discussions with colleagues and testing against literature. With all the insights added, this list was developed into part of the data collection process for the actual data collection phase a year later in 2012. In this way, the actual context and stakeholders were involved in validation of the list, thus firmly rooting the list in context and reflecting the opinions of the population. After the main data collection, the list was analyzed with regards to insights gained from the data collection phase and changed to reflect any variations. After this, the list was further compared to literature, in particular other list of capabilities to test its empirical, methodological and theoretical soundness. And lastly, the final list was once again presented at a conference to elicit academic discussion. The list focused on the socio-economic conditions pupils considered would enable them to achieve the outcomes necessary to achieve their aspirations for persistence in schooling and transition to further schooling while still maintaining touch with their families and social identities. Education outcomes

are measured by the proposed list of capabilities that represent achievement of essential outcomes in primary education. The list of capabilities thus derived is;

1.	Being able to attend school without fear
2.	Being able to acquire and use knowledge
3.	Being able to express thoughts, ideas and autonomy
4.	Being able to have valuable social relations in school
5.	Being able to express one's own identity
6.	Being able to aspire to valuable educational outcomes.

Fig. 8: List of capabilities for children's agency and wellbeing in Kenyan primary schooling

Being able to attend school without fear of persecution, harassment or abuse - This capability is relevant for pupils chances to participate in schooling, starting from the choice of attending school, mobility to and from school and safety while in school. Many children reported of conflicts within the family over their choice to attend school, due to either cultural norms or the requirement to participate in livelihood activities. This problem arises largely from poverty within families, with children expected to contribute towards their families' livelihood, thus curtailing time available for schooling. This capability has a gendered dimension for many pupils as cultural norms were aimed at maintaining girls honor or preventing girls from acquiring too much autonomy. This meant that schooling was an uneasy choice for parents, who were suspicious of schooling and viewed it as a modern practice that provided girls with too many chances to get up to mischief and gaining too much knowledge was viewed as bad for girls, since they would later on be unsatisfied with their traditional gendered roles as wives and mothers. While Kakamega and Loitokitok provided relative safety for girls even outside the home, both boys and girls in Mombasa were at high risk of violence, drug abuse and sexual assault within the slum. Thus parents had misgivings about letting their children out of sight. It is thus evident that social arrangements for schooling also need to take into consideration the safety of children, a factor that has received very little attention in Kenyan educational reform. However, many efforts have so far been expended in assuring safety of children at school, such as the ban on corporal punishment, provision of sanitation for girls and stringent controls on child abuse within schools.

Being able to acquire and use knowledge - This is the most important function of schooling, with literacy, numeracy and basic scientific knowledge considered to be the key goals of basic education. While in themselves they do consist of profound knowledge, these three core skills form the basis of knowledge acquisition and manipulation either in the school or home environment. Thus pupils were unequivocally interested in obtaining the skills. One of the major problems with the Kenyan school system is however that the curriculum and pedagogy is designed in such a way that does not relate to children's livelihoods and realities, thus hampering transfer of such skills from the classroom to real life. As discussed in Chapter 8, issues such as language

of instruction, abstract textbooks and Western-oriented knowledge coupled with poor pedagogy and limited educational resources means that children are barely able to acquire these competencies or apply them to real-life settings after school. Thus, a reorganization of schooling regimes is required to ensure pupils can acquire and employ these skills in pursuit of the good life. This is particularly relevant for children in rural and pastoralist areas whose contact with modernity is limited and thus are in essence taught skills that have no real value in their lives. While statistics show that boys have an advantage over girls in numbers, both boys and girls continue to be excluded from acquisition of knowledge due to cultural norms that influence valuation of what knowledge is relevant and useful for children's socialization. Among the Masai, knowledge of socio-economic routines is highly valued over schooling, as children's livelihoods are intricately tied to pastoralism and modernity remains a world away, glimpsed only in exposure to tourism. This underscores the need for indigenization of education, to ensure relevant knowledge is also incorporated into the curriculum, thus increasing the appeal and usefulness of schooling (Ojiambo 2009).

Being able to express thoughts, ideas and autonomy – This is an important capability for children since it enables them to participate effectively in the teaching-learning process at school while developing their capacity for rational and independent thought. From the human development perspective, education is positive endeavor that attempts to shape humanity through cultivation of the idea of a good life. This philosophy underlies Aristotelian traditional and runs through to the Capability Approach, with its focus on agency and its role in the choice of what a good life entails. Thus, providing children with autonomy and freedom of expression enable them to apply their senses, imagination and thought towards pursuit of their values. For children, schooling is particularly useful as it introduces children to new ideas, expanding their horizons of action. This should thus be accompanied with the development of children's rational faculties, to enable them to take advantage of the opportunities that schooling offers in a way that serves their needs and aspirations. Kenyan pedagogy has been severely criticized for pursuing rote learning in the interests of passing KCPE and KCSE rather than promoting children's rationality and creativity. Thus schooling reform should avoid paternalistic pedagogy but focus on ensuring children have sufficient latitude to express their thoughts, ideas and autonomy so as to develop reasoning abilities and conceptualizations of what is good for and of value to them

Being able to have valuable social relations in school - This capability is closely related to Nussbaum's seventh capability for affiliation. Schooling regimes are built upon certain norms and practices which bind participants into a social unit. Thus affiliation to teachers and fellow pupils is a key component of engagement with schooling, and influences not only children's psychosocial wellbeing but also their performance at school (Nash & Harker 1998). This requires that institutional practices in school should be based on values of respect and non-humiliation, allowing pupils to engage in various forms of social interaction without unwarranted restrictions. From pupils experiences expressed in the course of this research (see Chapter 6 and 9), it was evident that many schools had gendered or disciplinary restrictions on pupils' interactions within the school that hampered pupils' abilities to build up valuable social relations. These restrictions served to further reinforce gender discrimination, while limiting children's abilities to develop meaningful social networks and support, a point which was reified by children's assertions that having friends in school was key to their

success, as they helped each other with assignments or in handling emotional problems. Moreover, restrictions on pupils use of their mother tongue even during break times, use of which severely punished, restricted pupils interactions as most pupils in the rural areas were not fluent in Swahili or English. Thus, institutional practices should be redesigned to accommodate pupils' psychosocial need and thus support their emotional and social needs. This point was further emphasized by children's depiction of some teachers as being insensitive, rude and sometimes even abusive, a fact that hampered their ability to freely participate in the teaching and learning process.

Being able to express one's own identity – Childhood is the period when children develop their personality and identity, building upon the development of their self-concept in early childhood. Schools thus play a key role in ensuring that the environment is simulative enough and provides children with a safe atmosphere to express themselves and their identities without undue suppression. Of particular importance is the development of the concept of the educated person, when children's efficacy at academic tasks reinforces further motivation to learn. While internal factors such as temperament, habitus and innate academic ability play a large role, external factors emanating from the school environment are just as important and can in fact compensate for internal factors. Schooling can thus be structured to enable children from homes without experience with education to develop identities suitable to learning and adaptation of schooling norms. In this study, it was evident that many of the pupils had received sufficient guidance from their teachers and this enabled them to overcome the limitations of their family habitus and develop a positive concept of themselves as persons willing to be educated. Moreover, development of positive identities can also be beneficial in helping children escape negative norms regarding gender, culture and social class which can be reinforced in experiences at school. A particular point of contention in Kenyan education also remains the disconnect between schooling cultures and children's cultural backgrounds, as schooling in Kenya has largely become a process of estrangement from ethnic culture for many pupils from rural areas. Children should thus be afforded the opportunity to accept their own cultures as essential and valuable, but also to be able to make rational choices about their culture. Wholesale condemnation of cultures places children in a difficult position as it either alienates them from home or school, a situation not conducive to children's psychosocial wellbeing. Thus, schooling should acknowledge that children exist in both worlds, modernity and traditional and instead pursue a balance between the two that meets children's needs to have secure livelihoods, participation in their socio-cultural spheres and achieve educational outcomes.

Being able to aspire to valuable educational outcomes - Last but not least, children's exercise of agency in schooling is particularly important if education is to contribute to human development. While basic education is expected to enable children acquire basic competencies, these competencies become only valuable in connection with future opportunities to pursue further schooling. The main aspiration of all the children interviewed was admission to college and higher education, thus enabling them to obtain desired qualifications towards a career. Although this perspective was largely instrumental, it also reflected the children's perception that the society was rapidly changing and different forms of social and cultural capital would be necessary to have a good life in the future. Education was the means to acquire such capital and thus children, while pursuing the instrumental benefits of education, also acknowledged the intrinsic and positional values attached to educational qualifications. However, for

many of the children in the study and in the schools, transition to further education was a difficult step, as their families were largely unable to pay for the costs of secondary school, in addition to the opportunity costs of losing the children's contribution to their livelihoods. Moreover, the lack of clear linkages between schooling and the labor market meant that even if the children achieved their aspirations, they might still be unable to reap the instrumental benefits of education. For most parents, this was a major concern, and outweighed even cultural norms regarding participation in formal schooling. It is thus clear that educational policy and practice should be formulated so as to ensure that socio-economic inequalities do not limit children's ambitions while at the same time streamlining transitions to the labor market. This is patently difficult, as poverty and labor market conditions were largely influenced by economic forces beyond the ambit of educational policy.

The selection of capabilities (and associated functionings) serve two purposes, namely to reflect the necessary quality of life indispensable for children's wellbeing and success in schooling and to justify trade-offs that children and families make between schooling and traditional socialization. This second function is particularly necessary in such a context which is much maligned in socio-economic analysis, where "backward culture" is typified in development discourse as the main problem whereas in a lot of cases, familial choices to avoid schooling are mostly rooted in rational choices made by families and pupils regarding livelihoods and wellbeing. This is rooted in Sen's approach to capabilities in that they are context-dependent, a point lost upon global planners of development policy, most of which is based upon sweeping generalizations of complex human problems such as the push for universal primary education, without consideration of the actual value of education to children's lives, livelihoods and wellbeing. One of the key challenges to Nussbaum's critique of Sen's approach is the epistemological limit to individual human knowledge. While Nussbaum's list aims to engage with various cultural contexts and incorporate their norms, it is in reality a universal blueprint of what is an ideal Western standard, based upon Aristotelian philosophy that might or might not resonate with other cultural backgrounds. Feminist epistemology has in particular stressed the situatedness of an individual and the near-impossibility of complete cross-cultural understanding. This in essence limits the viability of Nussbaum's universal project, as in essence the list might end up imposing Western ideals on other cultures. Sen's approach, which offers genuine democratic debate and context-specific capabilities, offers a better, if messier, option. The key attraction of Sen's approach lies in the issue of gaining legitimacy in a nation or context, as the legitimacy of the selection process, if adhered to, will in essence ensure that there is sufficient goodwill to adopt and implement the resulting capabilities list. This list in particular aims to bring the conversation on wellbeing and agency to the children themselves, who are the subjects of the global project for universal education.

Various lists regarding education have been compiled. However, the first step is naturally a comparison with Nussbaum's list. Nussbaum's list is understandably broader in scope, given that it aims for a universal account of human dignity. In contrast, this list aimed for a contextualized assessment of minimum standards for basic education. However, it is evident that the list compares favorably with Nussbaum's list, particularly the capabilities Nussbaum relates to education, namely sense, imagination and thought; practical reason and emotions (Nussbaum, 2003) Many of the items on Nussbaum's list were deliberately excluded, not because of their lack of importance, but rather due to the narrow scope of the list and the assumptions inherent in the study.

The list also compares with Nussbaum in that both lists argue for a minimum threshold. The main difference between the lists is that while Nussbaum's list focuses not only on freedoms but also internal abilities, this list focuses solely on freedoms that can be accessed or restricted in the schooling context. This approach resonates with Sen's focus on the importance of context in deciding which capabilities to pursue and also the function of conversion factors in achieving functionings. Such an approach is quite relevant to design of educational policy, as it acknowledges that mere access to schooling is not sufficient. While the list agrees with Nussbaum on the need for a minimum threshold of justice, Nussbaum's list is built upon an expectation that constitutional requirements would compel the government to build up the necessary instrumental freedoms necessary for supporting human dignity. In the Kenyan education system, it is evident from the research results that the government in part contributes to the failings of the system, thus one is inherently suspicious of the political will or capability of the government to support. It is thus relevant to ensure that lists are developed through collaborative processes of consensus so as to imbue them with political legitimacy that would be relevant in pressuring government to implement or consider them in policy design. Robeyns (2003, p. 70) defines five criteria for the selection of capabilities. These criteria, namely explicit formulation, methodological justification, sensitivity to context, differing levels of generality and exhaustion and non-reduction, serve to defend a list in terms of process and appropriateness. The **criterion of explicit formulation** ensures that a list is explicitly presented to the public for discussion. This a priori presentation of the capabilities list also enables such a list to avoid the obfuscation quite common in quantitative analysis that usually chooses only relevant data for analysis while ignoring white noise in the data that could be relevant to analysis of poverty and inequality. This list was developed from a two-step process that ensured participation of the children, families and schools in defining the issues to be considered. In particular, children's views on the instrumental, positional and intrinsic value of education were considered as the basis of developing the list, satisfying Sen's (1999) focus on relevance and consensus in selecting capabilities. The **criterion of methodological justification** requires clarification and scrutiny of the methodology employed in developing a list to ensure that such methods were appropriate. The method developed to identify this list was derived from philosophical and empirical literature from other scholars who pursued similar efforts. Thus, the methodology had been previously tested and satisfied the procedures outlined in the Capability Approach. The **criterion of sensitivity to context** requires that any list generated should be explicated at an appropriate level of abstraction suitable for the objectives of developing the list. This in essence means that the language in which the list is drafted should be relevant to any forum for debate in which it has to be discussed, be it in a legal or political context. Given that this list was developed for practical application in school development plans, the language was formulated so as to be context-specific and understandable within the intended forum. Rather than a focus on philosophical musing, the process and the list focused on pragmatic choices that resonate with children's realities in schooling. The **criterion of different levels of generality** states that a list should be drawn up in two stages, first by developing an ideal list and a pragmatic list. The pragmatic list would thus take into consideration socio-economic or political constraints, while the ideal list would be unencumbered by such concerns. This is particularly relevant in contexts where social change might eventually reduce the constraints, enabling progress towards the ideal. Given that this list was focused on underpinning a minimum threshold of children's wellbeing in regions where poverty and educational inequality was prevalent, the list focused on pragmatic

choices that were not ideal but necessary to achieve an irreducible minimum of educational opportunities. And lastly, the **criterion of exhaustion and non-reduction** requires that the items in the list should not be reducible to other elements. This ensures that a list in essence represents the building blocks of real freedom in the particular context while ensuring that all the necessary items are included. This list was revisited many times and great care was taken to ensure that the individual capabilities were thus non-reducible and exhausted all the possible issues raised by the children in the data collection process.

The resulting focus on an acceptable metric of justice that would underpin an account of educational justice and fairness in distribution of educational opportunities and outcomes is expected lead to an account of educational capabilities that would be contextually acceptable and relevant to assessment and evaluation of educational justice within an education system. A discussion of the actual capabilities to be selected as essential education outcomes starts from a discussion of the value and relevance of education to a particular society, framed within the instrumental, positional and intrinsic value of education to learners in that society. These three goals are only achievable within a framework of instrumental freedoms prescribed by Sen and their achievement enables realization of agency freedom and wellbeing freedom, the key concepts of the Capability Approach that underpin a good life. For educational policy to achieve educational justice, adoption of the Capability Approach's procedures for selection, justification and prioritization of relevant capabilities can thus offer guidance in prioritizing capabilities that *sufficiently* provide for children's wellbeing and agency needs in school. An explicit list can thus be formulated through the evaluative matrix correlated with empirical data generated from consultative debate and valuation of items by relevant stakeholders in the society, including children. Educational justice is in itself a pursuit of children's wellbeing in educational spaces. Educational justice is particularly relevant for children's wellbeing given its role in compensating for other socio-economic and cultural inequalities that children suffer from. It can offer a refuge from the deprivations children suffer in their family and communities either due to material deprivation or discrimination. And in particular education can offer pathways for future wellbeing that are just as important as wellbeing in the present. For the CA to contribute to a better life for children in education, school improvement efforts need to be focused on developing a minimum threshold that education policy and practice can aspire to.

9.4.1. Justiciability of capabilities in education

One of the key foundations of international education and development compacts is that education is an inalienable right that all children should have access to, and opportunities for meaningful outcomes form, regardless of their individual or family backgrounds. While this is theoretically underpinned by notions of human dignity and enshrined in legal norms, it is in practice more difficult to enforce. There exist wide disparities in distribution of educational opportunities, both between and within nations. These disparities are engendered by children's locations in social structures, which affect their access and educational outcomes. EFA and MDG goals have further developed international consensus towards enshrinement of education as a right, but development practice lags behind in the achievement of these goals. And in themselves, the formulation of the goals, targets and indicators are questionable from certain theoretical perspectives, which are critical of the quantitative focus that deals in

averages and data that is anything but robust due to varying data collection and analysis procedures across the globe. While the right to education should indeed be a global issue, contextual norms and practices mean that education has to be viewed in the light of socio-economic and cultural conditions that structure educational opportunities. In essence, it implies that education systems should pursue educational goals that are of value to the communities and relevant to children's wellbeing in the present and future. This approach encompasses the gap between policy formulation and policy implementation, taking the right from its discourse towards reality. One key issue that straddles this gap is the enforceability of the rights as stated in global compacts and it remains a contentious point in implementation ambitious goals for education such as EFA and MDGs. The issue arises from the challenge of accountability that too often plagues development interventions, and is particularly pertinent to education, which in most countries is the policy preserve of governments. Thus pursuing development in and through education necessitates interaction and engagement with national policy and power and the pursuit of accountability in formulation and implementation of policies that would raise access, increase meaningful participation and ensure education is relevant to children's needs and wants. In enforcing educational rights, it is necessary to consider the justiciability of these rights, a concept that encompasses the ability of states, civil society, international organizations or other stakeholders to demand full implementation of educational rights through judicial and quasi-judicial mechanisms.

Access to educational opportunities is in Kenya largely inaccessible to children from disadvantaged and marginalized backgrounds and who lack social, economic and cultural capital to pursue their rights. This necessitates judicial and constitutional enforcement of educational rights as enshrined in international compacts and national legislation. Such action necessitates concerted judicial engagement. In Kenya, children's access to education is enshrined in the Children's Act (2001) and in the Basic Education Act (2013) which outlines state obligations in education and provides outlines for the justiciability of the right to education. These legislative acts derive their tenets from international conventions such as Convention on the Rights of Children and the African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of Children. This legislative and treaty framework thus laid groundwork for obligations and responsibilities towards children, apportioned to various stakeholders. Particular emphasis is laid upon the state's responsibility as the primary provider and policymaker in education. Furthermore, it describes the normative standards for education quality, planning and financing. However, while the rights are in theory justiciable, the justiciability of these rights and obligations have not been tested in Kenya and thus the robustness of the protections provided are to date unknown. However as a state party to the ratified international treaties and conventions which underlie the right, the Kenyan government is bound to honor them, with the international obligations taking precedence over domestic legislation. Furthermore, domestic legislation is expected to outline educational entitlements and sanctions for non-compliance. However, the Children's Act and the Basic Education Act are couched in theoretical terms, without any real sanctions foreseen for non-compliance. While education basic education is expected to be free and compulsory, there is no mention of what remedies are to be taken, judicial or otherwise, in case of a default. Thus while a right is based upon the legal power of a party to bring about a legal suit in case of its non-fulfillment, the Kenyan Acts to a large degree do not provide robust judicial defense of this right to education.

Furthermore, given the lack of judicial precedence in jurisprudence, the process and robustness of any such suit is untested.

With regards to enforcement of educational rights, certain issues are paramount in the defense of rights, particularly the promotion of equality of opportunity in education, protection of marginalized groups, enforcement of the right to quality in education, the rights of minorities particularly with regard to language rights, girls' rights to education and the financing of education (UN, 2013). These issues are quite pertinent to the right to education in Kenya, as reflected in the previous analysis in this dissertation. Addressing these issues requires judicial arms of government to engage in the protection and promotion of rights as enshrined in legislation and the Constitution. This can be through active legislation or investigation of the process of fulfillment of the rights. The Kenyan Constitution in particular provides the judiciary with oversight over enforcement of the Bill of Rights, which includes education and thus provides an avenue for the judiciary to take proactive steps in enforcing educational rights, by ensuring that the State is taking deliberate, concrete and targeted action. To enable courts adjudicate claims of infringement on rights, it is necessary to have clear indicators of rights and the concrete demands that citizens can make from their governments (Nussbaum, 2006). In formulating such demands, the capability Approach can provide a relevant framework for developing demands in education that schools should fulfill. This is particularly relevant given that the legislation in Kenya does not make concrete claims but rather abstract claims about free and compulsory education. Developing a list of capabilities in basic education that reflects the needs, realities and wishes of pupils, families and other stakeholders is thus a relevant first step towards claims making in legal circles. Such capability lists can act as a tool for concise representation of the violations of children's rights, in particular with regards to systematic or systemic discrimination. While current indicators of educational development are based on statistical analyses, this belies the experience of children out of or in school thus hiding the real intersectional impacts of inequality in society.

Such a process of accountability however faces many challenges that have to be overcome to achieve greater enforceability. Many of the groups or individuals affected by violation of their rights are from disadvantaged or marginalized groups that have little awareness of their rights, thus are likely not to demand fulfillment. This is particularly a major issue with marginalized groups in arid and semi-arid areas who exist in a state of detachment from socio-legal processes in the country. This is further complicated by their lack of access to economic and socio-cultural or linguistic resources necessary to engage with the judiciary. Procedural processes of justice and high legal costs also serve to keep possible litigants out of court, as is the long wait due to a huge backlog of cases at the Kenyan judiciary. Thus, while national and international jurisprudence indicate that the right to education is justiciable, actual enforcement is complicated and limited by both normative and procedural challenges given the vague formulation of the right to education and the procedural constraints attached to litigation. This points to the need for strengthening of legislative frameworks and institutions responsible for monitoring and enforcement of educational rights. This is particularly relevant to the independence of judicial institutions. Civil society can play an important role in the pursuit of enforcement for educational rights, particularly in creating awareness among stakeholders of the rights, identifying

violations of rights and campaigns for stronger legislative protection of educational rights. The Uwezo initiative in Kenya has been quite effective in exposing the poor quality of basic education and leading an awareness campaign to raise stakeholder engagement. The initiative conducts independent annual assessment of children's learning in Kenyan schools and offers analysis that focuses on lack of provision and lack of quality pedagogy. This has been influential in pushing the government to establish its own evaluation that focuses more on competencies rather than test scores (Uwezo 2012, KNEC 2010).

10. CONCLUSION

The study undertaken in this dissertation aimed at identifying the impact of educational inequalities on children's capabilities in Kenyan education, with the Capability Approach providing a normative framework for assessment of educational outcomes. The dissertation began by pursuing inquiry into how the Capability Approach, and the wider Human Development Approach, can be used to identify ideal and pragmatic educational priorities or Kenyan education policy and practice. The theoretical framework of the dissertation was thus developed in relation to these findings and expanded to develop from the central tenets of the Capability Approach, namely agency and wellbeing, a normative approach that explicitly outlines how to pursue education as a tool for social change through focus on minimum capability thresholds. This framework is particularly relevant to developing countries where entrenched socio-economic inequalities, lack of political will and limited government financing capacity limit provision of education that is relevant to children's lives. The Structure-Disposition-Practice model provided an analytical framework for conceptualizing and explicating intersectional inequalities that affected children's educational participation and outcomes. Although Bourdieu's thesis of socio-cultural reproduction in education has been widely employed to identify the reproduction of inequalities in education, it has been widely seen as limited in its empirical application due to Bourdieu's focus on French society leading to lack of clear guidelines on how to operationalize the concepts of habitus and capital in other contexts. Thus, critical realist perspectives on socio-cultural reproduction were employed to enable effective operationalize Bourdieu's thesis in a Kenyan concept. Gender, poverty, culture and regional disparities were identified as the key factors that acted as conversion factors in educational provision and participation. This dissertation was based on the experiences of children in three Kenyan regions, namely Kakamega (a rural agricultural region), Mombasa (an urban slum area) and Loitokitok (a rural pastoralist region). The regions were chosen on the basis of their socioeconomic profile, which reflect the regional, cultural and gendered disparities evident in Kenyan basic education. One public school that is involved in FPE in each region was selected as a case study and a boy, a girl, a class teacher and the school principal were respondents in the data collection process. The dissertation aimed to identify how the intersection of pupils', families' and school educational aspirations and practices affected the educational outcomes of pupils in Kenyan schools

10.1. Reflections on the Findings

This section summarizes the main findings of the study by connecting them to theory and empirical research on inequalities in educational access, participation and outcomes. The findings will also be discussed in relation to their implications for policy and practice in mitigating educational inequalities and ensuring educational justice in Kenyan education. Obtaining a detailed understanding of the mechanisms that underlie persistent educational inequality is necessary for policy making that enables the Kenyan education system to overcome inequality.

How do schooling and family regimes construct difference and inequality in Kenyan educational spaces?

This question explored how family habitus and institutional habitus of the school, coupled with contextual conditions (poverty, rural area, urban area, slum area, culture) and personal characteristics (gender, cognitive competence) construct difference/inequality among primary school pupils in Kenya. Given the understanding that educational inequality originates in cognitive and behavioral development at home, it is essential that home-school links be strengthened. This can begin with greater access to early childhood education and extend to better home-school linkages at the primary level. Such linkages would enable policy to mitigate against the impact of structurally-contingent socialization patterns that develop at home and continue to affect children's participation in schooling. Given that it is the most disadvantaged children who lack access to ECE, it is imperative that the government invest in cost-effective measures to rectify this. Improving quality of primary education is also quite relevant to ensuring education has a robust effect on reducing inequality in education and society. Improved education quality would be effective in sustaining the positive effects of early childhood education while ensuring that parents and pupils are able to appreciate the value of education. The poor quality of schooling is a major factor in parental lack of motivation to send children to school.

Though family involvement in schooling is celebrated in literature as a key resource for enhancing learning outcomes, it is the actual quality of involvement, determined by the family's level of social, cultural and economic capital that makes a difference in the learning outcomes. In particular, the education system in itself frames the ability of parents to contribute to differential outcomes as education systems legitimize standards of parental involvement in schooling. The social, cultural and economic resources embedded in a social group shape dispositions of families in relation to their roles in children's schooling and thus activate or suppress employment of these resources in children's education. A middle class habitus predisposes and enables families to invest their available resources, of which they already have a greater share, in their children's education. The children's everyday experience of a belief in the value of education, coupled with the visible results as seen in their parents' success, play a great role in motivating children. However, children from lower class families without much cultural capital have no reinforcement. This makes it difficult for both families and children to align themselves to the institutional standards that are conducive to school success. Lower class families are unable to present educational goals as coherent and habituated aims that cut across all domains of the children's familial lives thus failing to reinforce academic norms. The internalization of these habitus at home thus has an impact on children's participation in schooling once they get to school. Moreover, this lack of a coherent academic goal incapacitates the parents and denies them the chance to invest pointedly in the success of their offspring due to lack of social capital in regards to schooling. Thus even in instances where they could afford to channel some economic resources in schooling, they are unsure of how to invest it and which options offer the best educational returns. Their lack of understanding of the educational standards of society, which are tied to the middle class habitus, limits their ability to harness social capital in pursuit of educational success. Parental involvement in schooling occurs as a form of social practice that only achieves meaning when located in a classed institutional context. When class locations limit parental understandings of educational standards and norms, families are unable to effectively contribute to children's learning and outcomes. Education systems in this

way favor a middle class habitus that has social, economic and cultural capital to harness education success, thus perpetuating the entrapment of children into their parents' class through lack of educational success. Even though the parents from lower classes aspire to the middle class ideals through their children, they are faced with a system that is not comprehensible to their worldviews and one that conspires to lock them out.

In Kenya, much has been discussed about the negative role of families in keeping children out of school through cultural and social norms. However, by far the greater hindrance to children's success is the family habitus, conditioned by capability deprivation rather than willful parental hindrance of children's educational participation. Many parents portray agency in pursuit of better lives, attempting to play against the system and win. The families contrive to have sporadic moments of contestation of social structures and some succeed, but the majority fails to transcend the inexorable advantages that the system offers to richer middle class families. Thus even taking into account the agency exercised by families in pursuit of success, the complexities of social structures overwhelm resources they are able to harness to the success of their children. While the parents exhibited clear interest in supporting their children's education in the hope of widening their opportunities, particularly in the employment market, the processes of schooling were clearly mostly not into their favor, and over time, the parents internalized the socially and culturally determined experiences of their social location, thus conflicting with their positive expectations of educational success. The families were particularly concerned about their children's educational trajectories. This indicated the impact of familial aspirations on children participation in schooling. Families undertook to support their children's educational aspirations, going to the extent of reducing socialization demands and also cultural expectations. This made a large difference, as the children were freed up from the demands to focus on schooling. It was thus evident that these aspirations were a key component for children's wellbeing. However, even with high family aspirations, it was also evident that the socio-economic conditions were a stumbling block. This supports the Capability Approach's focus on instrumental freedoms as a basis for social change. The five instrumental freedoms should thus form an irreducible basis for social change, enabling individuals to thus pursue their aspirations. The families and schools investigated in this study were all affected by poverty, political and cultural conditions that reduced access to schooling and opportunities within schooling. This shows the lack of economic security due to unemployment or rural poverty, the lack of political representation in educational processes at national, local and school level, the inadequate access to social arrangements for education at all levels particularly early childhood education and primary school, lack of protective security for children from harmful practices both in and out of school and lack of transparency guarantees and freedom of information regarding educational opportunities and processes. Families were also concerned about the social arrangements that underpinned schooling. Notwithstanding the high aspirations of the families in this study, it was evident that disillusionment with the system was a major cause of the high dropout rates and lack of interest in education exhibited by many communities in Kenya the disconnect between schooling and livelihoods, the lack of opportunities for transition in particular, was a key issue. This calls into question the design of schooling and curriculum and requires greater engagement with children's realities rather than high-flying theoretical ideals that have nothing to do with children's lives and wellbeing. This calls for schooling to be more focused on children's wellbeing.

Social justice should be the main pursuit of any social institution including schools. And institutional norms and practices should be geared towards this. This requires both distributive justice in redressing underserved inequalities and recognition justice that embrace diversity. With respect to diversity, education is one of the primal social institutions that can negotiate social change through exploration of difference. However Kenyan schools have failed to consider such issues and thus ameliorate injustice through fair distribution of resources and embracing diversity. The ontological reality of organizations can be altered through human agency to better handle structural flaws in institutional habitus, especially with regards to poverty and discrimination through Adoption of values as a moral and ethical basis for systematic reform. The salient documentation of injustice in schooling has brought educational institutions to the point where inequalities cannot be ignored. However, piecemeal reforms have not worked thus need for a fundamental shift in how education is conceptualized and practiced in society. Teachers' roles in children's education were particularly complicated. In principle, all teachers were of the opinion that children's rights to education should be secured. However, they complained that despite their commitment, the conditions of schooling were a major challenge that even teacher commitment to social change could hardly overcome. Although the teachers were arguably more privileged than the families, their narratives of their professional frustrations indicated that in the larger picture, they were just as disadvantaged as the parents as their visions of professionalism and ethical practice were constantly let down by the institutional regimes at play in the teacher profession, hobbling their desire to pursue change through education. Teachers' experiences of educational management dictated that they are required to be non-agentic actors in education, merely following government directives. However, this belies the crucial role teachers can play as the first point of contact with children in schools. While the government promotes ideals of universal education and development, children and families are more concerned about the local arrangements of schooling and teachers are the key actors in this process. Yet inadequate facilitation of teachers roles due to irrelevant and sometimes harmful norms, procedures, lack of transparency and coordination makes teachers role difficult, thus doubly affecting teachers motivations to pursue social change and families trust ins schooling processes and the promise of education. It is thus evident that family, school and leaner habitus intersected in complex ways to affect educational aspirations, practices and outcomes of children. The family habitus affected children's aspirations and socio-economic ability to participate successfully in schooling. School habitus on the other hand structured children's opportunities to achieve instrumental, positional and intrinsic benefits of education. This affected children's perceived chances at educational success, as children developed either positive or negative dispositions towards schooling based on their families expectations and support, their ability to match to schools expectations and cultures and their own pragmatic choices regarding the future. In particular, the compulsion to either conform to traditional norms of their community or discard them in favor of the modernity espoused by schooling posed a great challenge that in the end made or broke the children's educational careers.

How is difference and inequality lived by pupils in educational spaces?

This question explores how difference/inequality arising from family and institutional habitus is translated through individual habitus into academic practices and educational outcomes. With regards to pupils' aspirations, it was evident that the children had really high aspirations that were supported by their families' educational practices and the pupils own academic practice. The aspirations for educational

success were linked to the perceived instrumental function of education as a ladder towards future economic success. To succeed in securing paid employment in the future, the pupils were aware of the requirements to have academic success and conform to school regulations and the academic requirements. In particular, success in KCPE was the most important prerequisite for transition to high school and later college. Thus children focused solely on achieving good tests scores rather than a broader notion of that also encompassed the intrinsic value of education as human development. This underscores the human capital orientation of Kenyan education. Despite the evident high educational aspirations and family and school support, the children had a hard time in achieving their educational success. This was limited by institutional structures and socio-economic limitations. Government rhetoric on free primary education was largely not accompanied by substantial effort to reduce educational disparities and ensure schooling was truly universal. While greater effort had been made to enable children go to school, the FPE program did not address key issues that kept the most underserved segments of society, such as children in extreme poverty or from marginalized rural areas to attend school, as many other socio-economic factors prevented these children from accessing school. The removal of nominal tuition fees, which had been a barrier, was not sufficient to lower entry hurdles. This reflected a lack of situational analysis in the introduction of reforms, as the reforms did not sufficiently target the underlying reasons for lack of access. This is particularly evident in the focus on gender as a key issue, whereas the true issue for girls was not gender in itself but the intersection of gender with familial concerns about reputational safety and prioritization of boys' education due to future concerns of girls leaving the family upon marriage. Family poverty was one of the main challenges, as although parents were hard pressed to support their children's basic education. Although schooling was nominally free, parents were still required to contribute certain fees. And due to family poverty, children's inputs into the family livelihood activities were indispensable, yet schooling as a fulltime occupation left children with very little time to focus on their expected duties in family livelihoods. Thus the pupils were caught up in the disparities between schooling and their social lives, where modern schooling was in stark contrast to the socialization processes within their community. Schooling was a process of becoming estranged from their cultural norms and backgrounds, and this led to tensions in children's efforts to pursue a balance between modernity and tradition. Children thus had to make difficult decisions about how realistic the dream of educational success was and make choices of staying in school or pursuing traditional livelihoods

How do policy discourses create or limit space for the performance of difference and inequality in educational spaces?

This question explores if and how educational reform arising from adoption of the MDGs and EFA ameliorate difference/inequality in academic practice and educational outcomes, thus undoing barriers to successful participation in education and ensuring equitable and quality educational outcomes for all. The adoption of the MDGs and EFAs in Kenyan developments served as an ideal starting point to consider changing global paradigms that influence how education is conceptualized as a tool for social change in developing countries. This was explored further through investigation of FPE in Kenya starting with a historical review that examined previous iterations of FPE and the challenges that led to their failure. This was deepened by an examination of the policy motivations and imperatives that led to re-introduction of FPE in 2003. It was evident that global priorities and shifting development paradigms

had considerable influence over educational reform that led to FPE and the Sessional Paper No. 1 of 2005 which instituted radical reform in educational management in Kenya. On paper, policy adopts the idea of education as tool for social change, with commitment to access, equity and relevance in educational policy and practice. Moreover, there is expected reform to education policymaking, governance and management processes to avoid political interference, introduce checks to corruption, decentralization of education management and greater consultative processes. However, the reality on the ground as experienced by teachers, pupils and families indicate that implementation challenges, lack of political will and policy oversights lead to lack of substantive progress towards the policy goals outlined in Sessional Paper 1 of 2005, KESSP and the Vision 2030. In particular, it is evident that the institutional frameworks of primary school provision are still highly influenced by the regional and social inequalities that have for long prevented achievement of equity, access and relevance of education. A review of literature and policy reveals the entrenchment of inequalities in education, as gender imbalances, regional disparities and economic inequality still remain a major challenge to education, coupled with the continued lack of relevance of curriculum, pedagogy and education outcomes to children's needs.

While it is evident that Kenyan education policy in theory reaffirms the supremacy of instrumental freedoms, the practical implementation of policy indicates otherwise. Thus, Pogge's framework for institutional analysis provides a relevant starting point for discussion of implementation processes. A situational analysis would enable identification of key obstacles to policy implementation and guide reforms. The processes of justice are thus as important, and this is borne out in the Capability Approach's focus on principles as well as processes. The process aspect of freedom is quite important, particularly with regards to social justice. The quality and relevance of education provides a key starting point to address these concerns. Educational policy and practice needs to engage closely with what kind of education is to be provided, if the goals of MDG and EFA are to be realistically achieved. Instead of a focus on statistical data that belies the reality on the ground, there needs to be more decentralized planning of education that takes recognition of educational inequalities, redistribution of resources and participation of stakeholders in education into account. While family and learners aspirations are key to educational success, they can only be supported if the communities perceive education as relevant to their lives. Thus if children attend schools which are finely attuned with the local culture and can engage with the communities on educational policy and practice, then families would be more likely to send their children to school. In this regard, the overwhelming focus of most development on gender as a straw man argument, without consideration of the real issues that keep girls out of school is a great problem. While it is evident that many of the regions investigated in this study had patriarchal societies that to a large degree were biased against girls, girls schooling, and familial considerations of whether to send and support girls in school, were based on socio-economic realities rather than arbitrary decisions of keeping girls out of school. In particular, patriarchal societies are concerned with reputational safety of girls, and improving schooling environments would address such concerns. It was evident in this study that many fathers and mothers were particularly concerned about the safety of their daughters in school and this was a greater concern than even the demand for bounded autonomy. Moreover, the linkages between schooling and instrumental benefits need to be strengthened. Kenyan education is to a large degree seen as a sifting mechanism that sorts out the best to proceed whereas the left are left behind. However, increased provision of quality

technical and vocational education could provide a solution to this problem. Given that KCPE certificates were deemed worthless as they only provided highly limited access to the labor market, reorganization of curriculum and transition opportunities could reduce the focus on academic credentials and academic pipelines to college. Instead, schooling could be a key to future livelihoods, either through academic credentials and college or vocational training. This was clear in the pupils' pragmatic choices of vocational training as a back-up plan to their college-oriented first choices. Thus, if schooling offered clear vocational and technical training opportunities; it would be much better received by communities, as this would reduce the perception that basic education in itself was worthless. This would require a change in epistemological traditions about which forms of knowledge are relevant. While the curriculum largely ignores traditional and cultural knowledge that is highly relevant to children's lives, it presents knowledge that is divorced from children's lives. Textbooks are particularly focused on memorization and replication of knowledge that is to be reproduced in exams without any application. This could be bettered through presentation of knowledge attuned to children's lives, with investigatory methodology and emphasis on reflection and application, thus enabling pupils to develop critical cognitive capabilities that would be more useful to children's lives and choices, particularly in terms of career, health and social participation.

How can these policy discourses be reformed to achieve the good life for children in education spaces?

This question explores how current educational policy and practice in Kenya can benefit from consideration of the Capability Approach as a normative framework for conceptualization and implementation of educational reform aimed at achieving educational justice. The Capability Approach has focused on inequality, criticizing the economical focus on income and ranking of social states, an approach which blurs the reality that most rankings can mostly only achieve a partial description of various social states (Sen 1973; 1995). Sen argues that normative evaluations of wellbeing and poverty should focus on real freedoms that individuals have to pursue a life that is of value to them. This implies that access to resources is only valuable insofar as it enables individuals achieve intrinsic goals. In this regard, education, as a good can only contribute to human development if it enables learners achieve goals of value to them. This approach is supported by the fact that mere access to schooling in itself is not sufficient to achieve human development, and the various externalities associated with basic schooling in international development, given that the achievement of these externalities is based on change of social structures that reproduce inequalities. It is important to approach education from a critical realist perspective that explicates the role of education in reproduction of social inequalities, and thus addressing the limitations that social structures built into social institutions such as education limit pupils' educational outcomes. While the Senian approach conceptualizes poverty in terms of capabilities and functionings, it does not provide an explicit account of which capabilities are to be pursued. This requires localized studies to develop procedures and methodology for development of lists that reflect contextual needs. Nussbaum's version of the Capability Approach explicitly develops a list of capabilities that underpin her conceptualization of a universal minimum threshold for human dignity. While acknowledging that the list requires further elaboration and contextual adaptation, she argues that drawing up a list is a necessary starting point (1995, 2000). While many capability theorists disagree with her as to the universality of her

list, the pertinent issue is that capability lists require to be attuned to the context of the population being studied. This necessitates in-depth exploration of the context to develop empirical rationale for such a list, thus avoiding universal generalizations while explicitly representing the needs of the community. Sen's approach supports this method through its under-specification, which requires contextual studies to fill in the blanks. This is informed by the need to take individual and collective agency into consideration in the selection of capabilities. In the context of education, this would entail building consensus from stakeholders in schools such as families, pupils, teachers and educational administrators. Such consensus building is relevant in giving any such list and the processes involved in drawing it up political legitimacy, a necessary element or adoption in policy design.

While many development policies pursue redistribution of resources as key to human development and poverty reduction, it is also just as important to consider Fraser's distinction of redistribution, recognition and participation in the pursuit of social justice provides a relevant starting point. Redistributive justice addresses inequalities in distribution of educational resources, especially with regards to gender, social class and cultural grouping. While the general principle of equality should be applied in distribution of resources, the Rawlsian principle of fairness, and also the CA approach, calls for equitable distribution. Recognition and participation are also very important for undoing injustices, particularly with regards to cultural domination, non-recognition of needs and disrespect. Cultural domination in the Kenyan system arises due to the colonial history of education in Kenya, as the education system has largely adopted a curriculum and pedagogy divorced from the realities of Kenyan children's lives. Thus while the Western way of life is promoted through education as a modernity which all should aspire to, the reality of children's lives is that they still exist in societies imbued with traditional norms, practices and forms of socialization. Thus children are left in a dilemma, where they have to reject their cultural background if they are to succeed in schooling. This is succinctly expressed in schools where children are forbidden to speak their native languages and in essence forced to speak English even in social interactions out of class. This principle in effect applies to curricula, pedagogical interactions and assessment practices that favor middle class practices at the expense of other social groups such as cultural groups that are marginalized and girls who are discriminated against on gender grounds. Education should be construed not simply as a technical exercise in getting as many children through school as possible but rather an emancipatory process that is basic to human nature and dignity. It is, however, difficult to conceptualize programmes for social justice education without considering the interconnection between various social identities and how such identities can feed into critical agency and education for social justice.

For educational policy and practice, it is evident that the Capability Approach provides a relevant and effective framework for assessment of educational difference and inequality in Kenya. Thus, the foremost implications of this study are that educational authorities should undertake a comprehensive situation analysis of the educational system in Kenya to develop a minimum threshold of educational provision that ensures representation of all stakeholders, redistribution of education opportunities to all children and recognition of diverse needs. Such a threshold should be evidence-based, drawing on a firm foundation of evidence from theory and empirical research and supplemented by democratic consultation and debate. The Capability Approach has been variously employed in analysis of social realities and

policies in many countries (Unterhalter, 2007; Walker, 2007; Robeyns, 2005; Nussbaum, 2003; Terzi, 2005; Brighouse & Unterhalter, 2010; McLeod, 2010) and these serve as an excellent starting point. While there is a dearth of operationalization of the Capability Approach in the Kenyan context, this dissertation attempted to provide a starting point. However, given its limited scope, it is appropriate to undertake more large scale assessment. The Uwezo initiative provides an excellent large scale and comprehensive research study that has identified key issues of social justice in Kenyan education. The methodological principles developed in this literature can thus serve well in a situational analysis of the Kenyan education system. The development of a minimum threshold should be conducted in a participatory manner that includes all stakeholders in education, rather than in a technocratic manner that only incorporates input from experts or government officials. Families, communities and civil society should thus be actively engaged. This can be achieved through a transparent exercise that is subjected to democratic debate and scrutiny, including both the methodology as well as the list of capabilities. Robeyns (2005) provides an excellent procedure for ensuring the democratic nature of such a process.

10.2. Implications

If educational experiences are supportive, pupils show tendency to have higher aspirations and with a little support to overcome material limitations, have high achievements. This enables them to pursue autonomy and the good life. Given education's role as an aspirational human endeavor, it is indeed a truism that educational success can enable children evade the vicious cycle of being trapped in society's underclass. Thus educational policy and practice can achieve this by structuring educational spaces to counteract negative effects of gendered orders and their intersection with poverty, culture and space. However, education policy and practice can only be successful if it solves the dissonance between global, national and local goals of education and if it takes into account the needs and preferences of the children. Given the diversity of identities and socio-economic and geographic differences in Kenyan education, decentralization of education is the best solution to match the newly introduced devolution of government. While the national government can play the role of policymaker in setting broad policy goals and aligning global compacts with national priorities, decentralized school management can enable integration of regional priorities and realities into educational policy and planning. This is quite relevant in Kenya as various regions have widely variant socio-cultural structures that affect children's education and the universal approach currently in place does not give room for consideration of these issues. As outlined in this study, although all the children in the three regions had similar problems with regards to educational access, participation and outcomes the origins of the problems lie in widely varying social and cultural reasons, thus addressing the real problems, rather than the symptoms, would require decentralized management and planning. In particular, schools require wide latitude in implementation of educational policies, to enable them adapt the policy to their own institutional arrangements and requirements.

The evidence thus points to the need for Kenyan educational policy to adopt a wellbeing perspective that encompasses all facets of children's lives. This would

necessarily avoid *a priori* assumptions about education and its role in development as it is evident that mere provision of schooling does not enhance human development. Instead, a holistic approach to childhood and wellbeing would inform educational policy and practice through consideration of the intrinsic value of childhood wellbeing and the instrumental benefit of education in enhancing children's abilities to achieve present and future happiness. To achieve this, it is first necessary for educational systems to focus on instrumental freedoms in society. In the particular field of education, it is necessary to ensure that provision of schooling under FPE provides children with the resources necessary to safeguard children's wellbeing in and out of school. Secondly, policy should focus on the opportunities and achievements that schooling offers. This would run the gamut from development of relevant indicators of education quality and relevance as it is evident that statistical data does not present a holistic picture but rather an aggregate that hides realities in marginalized and poor areas. Such indicators would in particular encompass all dimensions of children's wellbeing in school rather than a mere focus on tests. The Capability Approach in this respect provides an effective framework for conceptualization of outcomes. In relation to this, the meaning of these achievements and outcomes should be explored in relation to children's socio-economic contexts as educational outcomes are only important to children's wellbeing if they enable them to achieve a valuable life within their society. The current situation in Kenya is problematic as success in schooling to a large degree requires children to become estranged from their cultural and socialization arrangements. Thirdly, children's and family aspirations have been proven to be essential to educational success of learners. Thus educational policy and practice should consider motivations for schooling and develop frameworks to address parental, children's and community aspirations in education. Children's motivation to participate in schooling is essential to children's wellbeing in education, since it enables them to persist in schooling even in conditions where challenges are great, as proven by the pupils in this study who persisted in schooling to achieve success against economic, cultural and regional disparities that had made many other children to drop out. Policy should thus consider programs to ensure parents and children's motivations are aroused and sustained through greater engagement with families and communities. Fourthly, it is evident that schooling should be structured to ensure children's safety is protected in educational institutions. Schooling in Kenya offers many social and environmental risks in the poor and marginalized regions and children's wellbeing in school and achievement of human development can only be secured if the ability of schooling to harm children is removed or reduced. This would be possibly achieved through focus on ensuring that policy and practice is structured to recognize and mitigate avoidable harm. While crime, drug abuse and sexual assault were considered to be key problems by families and teachers there are also certain institutional practices that harm children's psychosocial wellbeing, particularly harsh discipline practices, lack of ethical care for children in choosing institutions and neglect of children's safety by schools.

To support these processes, Kenya needs to develop a robust monitoring and evaluation system. While it is considerably difficult to determine robust indicators that can capture the quality and relevance of education, there have so far been two successful efforts in the form of NASMLA and Uwezo, both of which have been successful in capturing a wide range of learning outcomes rather than only relying on test scores. Thus wider integration of these methodologies in formative assessment can enhance the systems monitoring and evaluation capabilities. The success of the Uwezo arose from close engagement with families and communities in development of proxy

measures of education quality. Thus, policy processes should focus on encouraging stakeholder participation. It is admittedly difficult to conduct robust and significant research on causal pathways from schooling participation to outcomes and the plethora of methods and approaches that exist make this task more difficult for both researchers and policymakers. But from a basic point of view, it is obvious that the views of families, pupils and teachers provide a valuable starting point for any investigation of outcomes and their impact on children's present and future wellbeing. In this respect, Kenyan policymaking fails as it is largely determined by political considerations and international policies. In this sense, the Capability Approach provides an effective framework to support participation of these stakeholders in the policymaking process. Robust monitoring and evaluation would enable policymaking to be evidence-based, informed by rigorously established quantitative and qualitative evidence. It is notable that most major shifts in Kenyan educational policy have been largely reactionary, driven by perceived political or global pressures rather than rationally planned interventions to address problems. To this extent, the measures undertaken have largely been aimed at addressing the symptoms of educational inequality rather than the deep-seated causes. Evidence-based policy requires close engagement with educational realities and long-term planning. Firstly, this would require comprehensive situational analysis of the Kenyan education system to ascertain the main challenges to children's wellbeing in schooling and the relevance of outcomes, leading to clear definition of educational goals and their expected outcomes. Situational analysis in particular requires engagement with various ideological and methodological approaches to education to develop a conceptual framework for developing indicators and evaluation methodology for formulation and monitoring of educational policy. Such situational analysis would then be supported by empirical study of educational processes in the country to ascertain the educational realities of children while enabling participation of stakeholders through gathering data on the aspirations and realities of families, teachers and other stakeholders. Such empirical evidence is necessary to buttress *a priori* assumptions and conclusions on the forms and purposes of schooling. Policy should first and foremost pursue the foundations of human freedom that lie in instrumental freedoms. Only then can educational policy, particularly distributive policies such as FPE, succeed in ensuring equal opportunities in education.

The main implication for educational research is that Kenyan education should pursue evidence-based policymaking and educational researchers should thus direct their efforts towards supporting this strategy. In the post-independence era, education policy was mostly guided by political ideologies that were either reactionary post-colonial ideals or political maneuvering to reward or punish certain regions. These have led to educational upheavals due to policies that were inadequate and unsuitable, such as the earlier attempts at FPE which in the long run petered out due to mismanagement and lack of capacity to implement (Nzomo, 2005). From the eighties to date, educational policy has been largely crafted by donors according to their priorities or international agreements. While this has led to more stability in terms of goals and implementation and increasingly efficient management, educational priorities have largely been out of touch with the realities and needs of Kenyan communities due to lack of participation from stakeholders and lack of recognition of the diverse needs and identities involved. This is worsened by lack of effective monitoring and evaluation systems which could offer feedback on the implementation of educational reform (Ojiambo 2009, Uwezo 2011). Thus, the Ministry of Education should develop a strong research base that could underpin development and

implementation of educational reform that recognizes what children and communities require from schooling. This would also ensure effective long-term planning ties in with broader human development goals rather than reactionary planning that fails to identify and rectify the actual problems. Evidence-based policymaking provides accurate and defensible policy guidelines while developing interventions that are based on good practice and what has been proven to work. The major challenges of developing evidence-driven policies in Kenya lie in the lack of adequate policy-relevant research, lack of access to data, poor integration of researchers into practice and political marginalization of academic views. For a long time, the politicization of education ensured that academics avoided criticism of the government, thus stunting research contributions to educational improvement (Nzomo 2005). However, given the increased political space in the country, this can be corrected by greater engagement with not only academic experts but also local communities and civil society. Furthermore, government involvement in research would be effective in communicating its research priorities thus ensuring research reflects pertinent policy issues and building a knowledge infrastructure between academic and practice (UNESCO 2005). Such a knowledge infrastructure would enable systematic dissemination of research in policymaking and democratic discussion about educational priorities, goals and structures. One effective example is the Uwezo evaluation scheme which has been successful in encouraging greater collaboration between government and civil society in Kenya, while including all stakeholders in assessment of education quality in Kenya (Uwezo 2011). The Sector Wide Approach for education has also been partly effective in developing research priorities in Kenya as it encompasses many stakeholders and pursues a participatory approach to sector planning, including developing evidence for educational reform.

Given these implications for policy and practice, and the need for evidence-driven policymaking in Kenyan education, future research on education in Kenyan should particularly focus on both large scale and small scale qualitative and quantitative research that explicates the intersection of different dimensions of inequalities in the educational experiences of pupils. This can then be supplemented by policy- and system-level research that identifies effective and efficient policy measures to address these issues. Particular areas of concern identified in this study were;

1. The interaction between family livelihoods and schooling, and how patterns of socialization affect children participation and valuation of schooling. Thus research should focus on better school-community-family linkages that address family concerns and needs while ensuring schooling is cognizant of the demands of children's lives outside school, thus identifying processes of structuring schooling to be flexible with regard to socialization and livelihoods.
2. In-school policies and practice that affects participation of children in schooling, including attendance, classroom pedagogies, homework and tuition, including identification of expectations, good practice and effective indicators of relevance. Teacher-pupil interactions at pedagogical and social level had major influence on children's participation and wellbeing at school, thus more research is required on the micro-processes of interaction within the framework of in-school policies.
3. Transitions to high school and college were a key issue of concern to many parents, as they influenced the achievement of families' instrumental aspirations in education. Thus, there is need for more research on the factors that affect pupils' transitions and

how the system can be better organized, in particular with regards to transitions to vocational education as an alternative to academic tracks.

4. Schooling and its linkage to the labor market are related to transitions as they actualize or hinder pupils' achievement of their instrumental aspirations. Thus, there is need for greater research aimed at making the linkages effective, either with regard to transitions or the relevance of schooling offered.

5. Teacher training and professionalism, which are key issues in educational reform, as teachers play a key role in the pursuit of social justice in and through education.

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12. APPENDICES

12.1. Research Authorization

12.1.1. Kenyatta University



KENYATTA UNIVERSITY
OFFICE OF THE REGISTRAR (ACADEMIC)

Our ref: E35/0494/2001

P.O. Box 43844
Nairobi, Kenya
Telephone: 8710901-8710912
E-mail: reg-acad@ku.ac.ke

Date: 14th August 2012

National Council for Science and Technology
P. O. Box 30623- 00100
NAIROBI

Dear Sir/Madam

RE: A LETTER OF AFFILIATION FOR AMUNGA CALEB JOSHUA
=====

This is to verify that the above named person registered in Kenyatta University in the academic year 2001/2002. He graduated with a Bachelor of Education (Arts) degree, Second Class Honours (Upper Division) in a graduation ceremony held in this University on the 14th day of October 2005.

Joshua is currently a student on a PhD programme in Germany and intends to do his research work here in Kenya and we highly support him in the endeavours.

Any assistance accorded to him will highly be appreciated.

Thank you,


DR. F. S. A. K'OKUL
FOR: REGISTRAR (ACADEMIC)

FSAK/en



12.1.2. National Council for Science and Technology



NATIONAL COUNCIL FOR SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

Telephone: 254-020-2213471,2241349
254-020-310571,2213123, 2219420
Fax: 254-020-318245,318249
when replying please quote
secretary@ncst.go.ke

P.O. Box 30623-00100
NAIROBI-KENYA
Website: www.ncst.go.ke

Our Ref:

NCST/RCD/14/012/1205

Date:

3rd September 2012

Joshua Caleb Amunga Esuchi
Bielefeld University
Germany.

RE: RESEARCH AUTHORIZATION

Following your application for authority to carry out research on “*MDGs, EFA and Educational Justice: The impact of gender, poverty and culture on education outcomes in Kenya*,” I am pleased to inform you that you have been authorized to undertake research in **Kakamega, Loitokitok and Mombasa District** for a period ending **30th October, 2012**.

You are advised to report to **the District Commissioners and the District Education Officers, Kakamega, Loitokitok and Mombasa Districts** before embarking on the research project.

On completion of the research, you are expected to submit **two hard copies and one soft copy in pdf** of the research report/thesis to our office.

A handwritten signature in blue ink, appearing to read 'M. K. Rugutt'.

DR. M. K. RUGUTT, PhD, HSC.
DEPUTY COUNCIL SECRETARY

Copy to:
The District Commissioners
The District Education Officers
Kakamega District
Loitokitok District
Mombasa District.

12.2. Consent Form

STUDY CONSENT FORM

You are hereby requested to consent to your participation in the data collection phase of my doctoral dissertation titled “*The Millennium Development Goals, Education for All*”

and Educational Justice: The impact of poverty, gender and culture on essential education outcomes in Kenya". The research question under investigation is the intersection of pupils', families' and teachers' educational aspirations and practices and how these affect the education outcomes of pupils in Kenyan primary schools. You are hereby requested to participate in this study because the researcher considers you to be an important source person with regards to provision of data and perspectives on the research question.

Study procedures

The data collection encompasses six unstructured interviews with pupils, nine semi-structured interviews with the pupils' parents and class teachers and a questionnaire completed by the school head teacher/principal/designate. The interview will provide insights into recurring themes and significant factors in the pupils' educational experiences.

Confidentiality

The information gathered will be treated with all the confidentiality it deserves. The information will only be accessed by the researcher or a member of his supervisory team. The information will in no way be linked to you by name but rather by identification code and your name will not be mentioned in the final report.

Participation

Participation into the study is voluntary and does not attract any direct financial benefits. You have the right to decline participation or withdraw from the study at any point of the process. Moreover, you do not have to enumerate your reasons for quitting.

If you agree to participate into the study, please give your signature hereunder.

Signature of the respondent

Date

Signature of the researcher

Date

12.3. School Questionnaire

The PISA 2009 School Questionnaire is available online for download free of charge at

http://pisa2009.acer.edu.au/downloads/PISA09_School_questionnaire.pdf

12.4. Pupil Interview Guideline

1. Being able to acquire and use knowledge

-material resources at home (desk, chair, study room, books, dictionary, computer, internet etc)

-educational help from parents/siblings/relatives and others at home

2. Being able to attend school without fear of persecution, harassment or abuse

-Is it safe to go to school?

-Is schooling valued in your community?

-Do you have other responsibilities that could prevent you from attending school?

-Are there any socio-cultural norms and practices that could prevent you from attending school?

-Does your school have sufficient facilities to provide a reasonable level of comfort during your stay in school? (sanitary facilities, desks etc)

-Please describe the discipline regime in the school. Is it so harsh that you would skip school to void punishments?

3. Being able to express your identity (cultural, social, gender etc)

-As a boy/girl, do you feel comfortable staying in school?

-Please describe relations between pupils/teachers of different genders and ethnicities within the school

-Please describe yourself. Are you able to be yourself in school?

-Are you able to freely express yourself in school?

4. Being able to have valuable social relations in the school.

-Please describe your relations to other pupils in school

-Please describe your friends

-What is the basis of your friendships?

-Do you receive any help from your friends?

-What are the attitudes of parents/teachers/communities towards your friendships?

-Please describe your relations to your teachers

-Do you think your teacher cares about you?

-What is your attitude towards your teachers?

5. Being able to participate in the teaching and learning process

- Do you like going to school?
- Please describe your experience in school so far (enrolment, progression, changes, transitions, performance)
- Do you attend school regularly?
- What is your daily routine (time allocation for schooling vis-à-vis household/livelihood/leisure activities)?
- Does your out of school activities affect your schooling (attendance, progression, performance)?
- Are you able to freely express yourself and your ideas during lessons?
- Do you contribute regularly during lessons?
- Do your teachers give you time to express your ideas, thoughts, questions?
- Do you think your teachers take your contributions during lessons seriously?
- Which subjects do you like most? And which ones do you like least? Why?
- Do you think your teachers help you to learn the subjects well?
- What could prevent you from participating in the lessons?
- Do you think you are able to manage the requirements of your teachers and the subject content?
- If not, what extra help do you think you require?
- How do you deal with subject content that is difficult for you to understand?
- How much effort do you put into your schoolwork/homework?
- Do you always complete your schoolwork/homework on time? If not, why and how often?
- Approximately how much time per week do you spend on homework and self-study in Mathematics, English and Science?
- Do you skip some lessons? If so, why and approximately how many per week?

6. Being able to aspire to valuable education outcomes

- Who motivates you the most in your pursuit of education (teacher, family, friends, and relatives)?
- What kind of help do you receive in pursuit of education (financial, advice, instruction, and extra tuition)? From who (family, teachers, friends, school, government, NGOs, church)?
- What is your opinion on your overall performance in school?
- What is your opinion about the upcoming KCPE exams?

- In your opinion, what is the value of education to you?
- What is your secondary school of choice? Do you think you will be able to go there?
- What is your expected level of educational attainment, one that seems feasible?
- Do you think you need to go to higher education to achieve your life goals?
- If you go to university/college, do you think you will like being there?
- Do you think your academic performance is good enough to qualify for higher education?
- What does your family expect from your education (opinions on schooling, idea of a good child, future expectations)?
- What are your career aspirations?
- What are you doing to achieve this?
- Do you have any information regarding how to pursue this career (educational requirement, career guidance)? How did you obtain it?
- What is your ideal future? Do you think it is achievable?
- How would you like to participate in your community after schooling (career, civic, charity etc)?

12.5. Parent Interview Guideline

1. Please describe your family.
 - composition
 - parental education
 - parental occupation
 - livelihood and material resources
 - decision-making
 - provision of educational resources for school (e.g. books, tuition)
2. Which educational and cultural goods do you possess at home? (examples include books, newspapers, films, paintings, cultural artifacts)
3. What are your reading habits?
4. To what extent are you exposed to mass media such as television, radio and internet?
5. Which leisure activities does your family participate in?
6. What are the differences between the lives of the parents and that of your child?
7. What are your future plans for your family and your children?
8. What is your opinion on your child's
 - academic ability
 - academic practices
 - discipline
9. What could explain your child's behavior (as narrated above)?
10. What was your motivation or enrolling your child in school?
11. Do you think your child's current school provides your child with a good education?
12. Do you receive any external assistance with regards to your child's education? (e.g. from family, friends, school, government, religious organizations, non-governmental organizations)
13. If you receive any assistance, why does <provider> give you the assistance?
14. If you receive any assistance, how helpful is it with regards to your child's schooling?
15. What is your child's daily/weekly routine?
16. Does this routine interfere with his/her schooling?
17. When at home, does your child receive any assistance with their schoolwork/homework?
18. If they do, from who and how?
19. Do you discuss your child's schooling with the child?
 - motivation
 - performance
 - difficulties
 - discipline
 - progression
 - careers
20. How do you obtain information relevant to your child's schooling?
 - school-related information
 - educational opportunities
 - scholarships
21. How do you as a parent relate to your child's school
 - teachers

- other parents in the school
 - educational authorities
22. What are your obligations towards and expectations of your child's school, teachers and other parents?
23. How do socio-economic norms and practices in your community impact on your child's schooling?
- culture
 - gender
 - livelihoods

12.6. Teacher Interview Guideline

PART 1: TEACHING AS A PROFESSION

1. Could you please describe your education and training as a teacher, including any professional, in-service or further training you undertook.
2. What are your responsibilities as a teacher/class teacher?
3. In your opinion, what are the characteristics of a good teacher?
4. What is the process of accountability as a teacher in this school?
5. What is your ideal working environment with regards to teaching resources, remuneration and facilities?
6. Please describe your experience as a class teacher in this school
7. Which constraints and challenges do you face as a teacher in this school?
8. How does educational policy in the country affect your performance of your job?
9. Are you satisfied with your job as a teacher in this school?
10. What are your career aspirations and plans as a teacher?
11. What is your level of interest in professional issues regarding the teaching profession?

PART 2: THE TEACHING/LEARNING PROCESS

12. Please describe the Class 8 cohort in this school
 - streams
 - subjects
 - teachers
 - pupils
 - teacher/pupil ratio
 - class 8 timetable (obtain copy)
13. Please describe the teacher-pupil and pupil-pupil interaction in your class.
14. Please describe what you consider to be a good teaching/learning situation
15. Do you think this is achieved in your classroom? If yes/no why?
16. What do you consider to be a quality education?
17. What help/guidance do you offer your pupils to enable them achieve a quality education?

18. What is your strategy for identifying your pupils' strengths and weaknesses in learning?
19. Do you offer any remedial help if you identify weaknesses? How?
20. Please describe your classroom management strategy with regards to attendance, record-keeping and discipline.
21. What is your opinion on the educational content in this school/country with regards to the syllabus, textbooks, and exams.
22. How do you relate to children's family backgrounds?

PART 3: ROLE OF EDUCATION IN SOCIETY

23. What do you believe to be the purpose of schooling and education?
24. How does schooling/education impact upon the school's community and the nation?
25. How do you guide your pupils towards achieving the purpose of schooling?
26. What is your opinion of the government's role in schooling?
27. Please describe any recent reforms in schooling and their impact on achieving the purpose of education.

PART 4: GENDER IN SCHOOL

28. Please describe to me gender relations in the school context and in the classroom
29. What is your opinion on the impact of gender on children's participation in school?
30. What is your opinion of gender in the wider society?

PART 5: CULTURE AND SCHOOLING

31. In your opinion, does culture affect the teaching learning process and children's participation in schooling?
32. If so, is this effect negative or positive?
33. If negative, how can the school and teachers ameliorate the negative effects?

PART 6: POVERTY AND SCHOOLING

34. In your opinion, does poverty affect the teaching learning process and children's participation in schooling?
35. If so, is this effect negative or positive?
36. If negative, how can the school and teachers ameliorate the negative effects?

PART 7: THE INDIVIDUAL CHILD

37. Please describe to me your opinion of Child A/Child B's participation in school and in the classroom with regards to;

-participation in the teaching/learning process

-academic persistence and work ethic

-behavior and discipline

-attendance

-academic performance (mock exams, ranking throughout Class 8)

12.7. Legislation and Policy Documents

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