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교육학박사학위논문

An Analysis of the Universal Primary  
Education in Kenya:  
the Impact of International Development  
Agenda in National Policy Practice

케냐 보편초등교육 분석:  
국가정책 프랙티스에서의 국제개발원조 의제 영향력

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교육학과 글로벌교육개발협력전공  
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An Analysis of the Universal Primary  
Education in Kenya:  
the Impact of International Development  
Agenda in National Policy Practice

by  
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An Analysis of the Universal Primary  
Education in Kenya:  
the Impact of International Development  
Agenda in National Policy Practice

2010-31080

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# **ABSTRACT**

## **An Analysis of the Universal Primary Education in Kenya: the Impact of International Development Agenda in National Policy Practice**

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The research presented here is a study of the global educational development discourse in national policy practice of universal primary education (UPE) in Kenya. This study provides an opportunity to identify and analyze the effects of global development agenda and national response in policy practice in Kenya with a focus on primary education.

In Sub-Saharan Africa, education policy for universal primary education has long been a popular policy choice for many countries although lacking continuity due to global and domestic constraints. Yet, much debate on the challenges and shortcomings on similar UPE policies driven by the international development agencies pushing the millennium development goals (MDGs) as the ultimate goal continued when simple and numerate expression of the MDGs became dominant development agenda in global development society. Decline in the quality of education, vicious cycle of overcrowded classrooms and high dropout rates, and questionable sustainability resulted from financial constraints are common outcomes of impromptu policy implementation in most countries in the Sub-Saharan Africa (SSA) region that introduced UPE including Kenya.

Suffered from the British colonial rule for a long time, Kenya endeavored to expand educational opportunity through the introduction of UPE policy. In order to rise above the initial setting of colonial education system from the onset of independence, education system reform was conducted for the introduction of

UPE policy. Political, economic and social changes in the society, in turn, affected the segmental development of the UPE policy in Kenya. The expansion of UPE in the 1970s, decline in the 1980s, and the new emergence from the 2000s, particularly with the 2003 UPE initiative supported by the international development community through the Kenya Education Sector Support Program (KESSP).

Among many developing countries in the SSA region adopted UPE policy as a major strategic plan for national educational development, Kenya has achieved notable progress with regards to the MDGs and Education for All (EFA) targets and indicators with the substantial aid from major international development agencies in the implementation process. Despite the quantitatively progress toward the attainment of universal primary education, this progress is not reaching the marginalized. Kenya still confronts many challenges in enhancing access, equity, quality and relevance of education including regional disparities, low capacity and weak governance in education, lack of human and financial resources, and ineffective and uncoordinated monitoring and evaluation systems.

The UPE policy in Kenya has been underpinned by the dominant global educational development agenda promoted by international development agencies where the global-national dynamics prescribed in embracing universal primary education into national policy practice. As observed in the case of Kenya, the national educational development policy in developing country is often swayed by the direction of hegemonic international agenda. Lacking financial stability and state accountability for sustainable implementation may alter the goal of universal primary education to the outcome of universal 'poor' education. Therefore, the UPE in Kenya provides a good case study to examine the global-national dynamics in the educational development practice and challenges in the course of interaction, representing a developing country responding to powerful global educational development agenda in its national policy practice.

Key Words: universal primary education, international educational development, international development agenda, educational development policy, global-national dynamics, Kenya

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# **CHAPTER 1**

## **INTRODUCTION**

### **1.1 Overview**

The research presented here is a study of the global educational development discourse in national policy practice of universal primary education (UPE) in Kenya. This study provides an opportunity to identify and analyze the effects of global development agenda and national response in policy practice in Kenya with a focus on primary education.

Universal primary education has long been pledged as a major priority of international development initiatives. The first significant commitment was observed in 1990 when the global community gathered at the World Conference on Education for All (EFA) in Jomtien, Thailand to pledge to make primary education accessible to all children and to reduce illiteracy rate substantially by 2000. Adopting a World Declaration on Education for All, delegates from 155 countries, as well as representatives from some 150 governmental and non-governmental organizations, vowed to intensify efforts to address the basic learning needs of all under the Framework for Action to Meet the Basic Learning Needs (UNESCO, 1990a, 1990b).

The Jomtien EFA conference confirmed the contribution of primary

education toward poverty reduction providing foundation for skill training and literacy through basic knowledge building on life skills, health, nutrition and society in general. Also recognized was its role in empowering marginalized women and youth to acquire functional literacy and numerate ability.

Ten years later, with many countries far from having reached this goal, the international community gathered again at the World Education Forum in Dakar, Senegal and re-affirmed their commitment to achieve EFA by the year 2015. Specifically, 164 governments at the forum collectively identified six goals to be met by 2015 under the Dakar Framework for Action. In the same year, at the Millennium Summit, heads of governments from 189 countries signed the Millennium Declaration of which the main objective was to define a common vision for development by setting eight Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) to be achieved by 2015. Two MDGs relate specifically to education, and the EFA goals also contribute to the global pursuit of the MDGs.

In Sub-Saharan Africa (SSA), education policy for universal primary education has long been a popular policy choice for many countries although lacking continuity due to global and domestic constraints. Historically, to name a few, Ghana, Kenya, Lesotho, Malawi, Nigeria, Tanzania and Uganda pursued the UPE policy in the region. Despite the uniform and numerical expression of UPE in relation to the MDGs, not only the impact and challenges beyond school enrollment rate but also diversity in response from each individual state are often

concealed beyond the highly aggregated data.

According to the recent report, Sub-Saharan Africa has achieved the most notable progress of 62 percent increase in total primary enrollment and 27 percent decrease in out-of-school children since 1999 (UNESCO, 2012). In East Africa alone, out-of-school children was reduced from 12.5 million in 1999 to 4.6 million in six countries<sup>1</sup> with data in 2010 (UNESCO, 2013). Yet, many developing countries in the SSA region have subsequently progressed at very different speeds.

For example, in Nigeria the number of out-of-school children increased 3.6 million between 2000 and 2010, and currently its 10.5 million out-of-school children accounts for one sixth of the world's total out-of-school children while Ethiopia successfully reduced their numbers significantly (UNESCO, 2012). Kenya in particular more or less halved its number of out-of-school children from 1,980,000 in 1999 to 1,010,000 in 2010 with the percentage of female student accounts for 49 percent and 48 percent respectively (UNESCO, 2013).

Much debate on the challenges and shortcomings on similar UPE policies driven by the international development agencies pushing the MDGs as the ultimate goal continued when simple and numerate expression of the MDGs became dominant development agenda in global development society. Decline in the quality of education, vicious cycle of overcrowded classrooms and high

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<sup>1</sup> These countries are Djibouti, Ethiopia, Eritrea, Kenya, Mauritius, and Tanzania.

dropout rates, and questionable sustainability resulted from financial constraints are common outcomes of impromptu policy implementation in most countries in the SSA region that introduced UPE including Kenya.

A gender gap remains the challenge in the most developing countries in the SSA region with the regional gender parity index at 0.93 in 2010 despite significant progress over the last decade (UNESCO, 2013). Again, countries in the region have progressed at different speeds. The gender parity index of Ethiopia was increased from 0.65 in 1999 to 0.91 in 2010, whereas Eritrea decreased from 0.90 in 1990 to 0.84 in 2010 with the female primary gross enrollment ratio falling from 47 to 41 percent between 1999 and 2010 (UNESCO, 2013).

According to the recent EFA Global Monitoring Report, the inequality between the poorest and richest children in access and progression is also serious challenge in most of the SSA countries. Children from rich households than from poor households, and those from urban households than rural ones are more likely to have not only better access to education but also better progression in education. Throughout the primary schooling cycle from access to completion, inequality in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Kenya, and Uganda persists while some West African countries with the unequal access later demonstrate better equality in progression to complete the cycle (UNESCO, 2012).

Existing literature on UPE policy argues that many developing countries in

the SSA region sought the UPE with substantial aid from Western development agencies promoting MDGs (Allison, 1983; Alubisia, 2005; Avenstrup, Liang, & Nellesmann, 2004; Bray, 1986; Omwami & Keller, 2010; Riddell, 2003). Yet, until recently they have confronted problems resulted from top-down, supply-driven policies, ad hoc arbitration in implementation and declining quality of education (Chimombo, 2005; King, 2005; McGee, 2000; Mehrotra & DelaMonica, 1998; Mukudi, 2004; Ngware, Oketch, Ezeh, Mutisya, & Ejakait, 2012; Oketch & Somerset, 2010; Somerset, 2011).

Suffered from the British colonial rule for a long time, Kenya endeavored to expand educational opportunity from the early 1960s after the independence<sup>2</sup>. In order to rise above the initial setting of colonial education system from the onset of independence, education system reform was conducted for the introduction of UPE policy, which is to be elaborated later in this study. Political, economic and social changes in the society, in turn, affected the segmental development of the UPE policy in Kenya.

In addition to being a signatory to the UN Declaration, the Government of Kenya also adopted a poverty reduction strategy paper (PRSP) that incorporates the MDGs in seeking economic development with the assistance from the World Bank, and later declared that the overall education sector goal is to achieve Education for All and the relevant MDGs by 2015 in accordance with national

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<sup>2</sup> For the general account of Kenya, See Annex 1.

and international conventions and commitments (GOK, 2005).

In the 1970s, Kenya already introduced UPE policy each time the newly elected government was installed: the first in 1974, the second in 1979. Influenced by the global development discourse established in the preceding decade, in January 2003 newly elected government adopted the third UPE policy in pursuit of achieving universal primary education by 2010 and Education for All by 2015. Immediately observed was a 20% increase in the enrollment of primary education from 6.0 million in 2002 to 7.2 million pupils in 2003 (Riddell, 2003). The net enrollment rate (NER) has substantially improved from 77.3% in 2002 to 79% in 2003 and continued rising to 92.9% in 2009 (GOK, 2009).

The third UPE policy articulated in 2003 attended extensive support from international development community for the successful realization of MDGs and EFA. In 2004, the GOK and the Joint Financing Agreement (JFA) partners<sup>3</sup> developed the Kenya Education Sector Support Program (KESSP) and its implementation commenced in the financial year 2005-2006. The Free Primary Education (FPE) program for UPE is prioritized in the KESSP I (2005-2010) and the proposed KESSP II (2010-2015) with the significant budget support from the international development community. KESSP operationalized the long term national development strategy, Vision 2030, and the Sessional Paper No. 1 of

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<sup>3</sup> The JFA partners comprised four development partners including the World Bank, the United Kingdom Department for International Development (DfID), the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) and the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) (UNESCO, 2010).

2005 on Policy Framework for Education, Training and Research, which deemed the implementation of FPE critical to the attainment of UPE as a key milestone towards the realization of EFA (GOK, 2005).

International development aid to education stagnated or fell globally in recent years, and total development aid to education sector in Kenya was subsequently reduced from 84 million US dollars in 2002-3 to 48 million US dollars 2010 while national spending on education as a percentage of gross national product (GNP) was increased from 5.4 to 6.7 percent in the same period (UNESCO, 2013). Despite the decrease in the volume, significant amounts of development aid have been provided in conjunction with the national framework. With the national development plans and strategies within the KESSP framework the government of Kenya had continuously spent more than 5 percent of national income on education over ten years, which resulted in an unprecedented increase in access to primary education with the net enrolment ratio rising dramatically from 62 percent in 1999 to 83 percent in 2009 (UNESCO, 2013).

Among many developing countries in the SSA region adopted UPE policy as a major strategic plan for national educational development, Kenya has not only achieved notable progress with regards to the MDG and EFA targets and indicators in results, but also driven the UPE policy within the national development framework upheld by the substantial aid from major international development agencies in the implementation process. The UPE policy in Kenya

has been underpinned by the dominant global educational development agenda promoted by international development agencies where the global-national dynamics prescribed in embracing universal primary education into national policy practice. Therefore, the UPE in Kenya provides a good case study to examine the global-national dynamics in the educational development practice and challenges in the course of interaction, representing a developing country responding to powerful global educational development agenda in its national policy practice.

## **1.2 Statement of the Problem**

The universal primary education policy became prevalent in the Sub-Saharan Africa particularly after 2000 due to the introduction of the Millennium Development Goals and the Education for All in the global development discourse. Education sector in general has received since then much global attention unprecedented while UPE was endorsed as the core principle. Substantial political and financial support and assistance to improve education have poured into the developing countries in the SSA region since the region was often regarded as both the qualified priority in focus and the great failure in results.

In spite of the prevalence of UPE policy adopted in the SSA region, scholars

has called for further studies to examine variety in practical introduction of UPE within countries of different capacity and needs, so that the issues in the process of policy formation and implementation could be discussed in particular context of each countries (Brown, Foster, Norton, & Naschold, 2001; Foster, 2000; Klees, 2001; Lewin & Sabates, 2011; Mehrotra & DelaMonica, 1998; Omwami & Keller, 2010; Samoff, 1999; Sasaoka & Nishimura, 2010). Economic environment and political leadership are often indicated as important factors affecting UPE policy practice (Obasi, 2000; Sifuna, 2007).

Since the national independence in 1963 Kenya has been pursuing UPE to meet national development needs and improve access to education. Kenya initiated a campaign for UPE from the year of independence, but the first UPE policy was implemented about a decade later because many African countries at that time regarded post-primary education as a major concern. The Addis Ababa Plan for African Educational Development and the Tananarive Conference exerted a heavy influence on the overall education policy in Africa, which emphasized higher education to meet the labor needs for the economic and social development of the new states (UNESCO, 1997). Suffered from prevalent illiteracy among people, however, young independent states in Africa including Kenya slowly recognized the needs to expand access to primary education for national development through education system reform abolishing racially-segregated school system and school fees.

Similar to many developing countries in Sub-Saharan Africa, Kenya has a high incidence of absolute poverty notwithstanding a significant decrease in the number of people living below the poverty line in the last decade <sup>4</sup> (USAID/Kenya, 2010). Although the Kenyan economy experienced rapid growth at an average rate of 8% during the first decade after the independence, it fell into a downturn in the subsequent decades due to declining terms of trade against agricultural commodities and substantial contractionary policies under structural adjustment programs (SAPs). The economy reached the lowest point with a gross domestic product (GDP) growth rate of 0.5% in 1997 (WDI, 2012). Social indicators have deteriorated in parallel with the economic recession until 2003 when Kenyans elected a government campaigned for fundamental reform of governance.

The past experiences show that UPE policy implementation was easily affected by economic crisis (Obasi, 2000; Sifuna, 2007). Kenyan economy, however, has been on a path of recovery in the last few years. The annual GDP growth rate reached a high of 7% in 2007 despite of severe drought and flooding in 2005/06 and the high import price of oil, and marked 5.6% GDP growth rate in 2010 (WDI, 2012). Yet, Kenya still remains a highly unequal society by income, gender and geographical location, and inequality is reflected upon

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<sup>4</sup> Absolute poverty is defined as having levels of consumption that are insufficient to meet basic food and nonfood needs. The proportion of Kenyans living below the poverty line declined from 52.6% in 1997 to 46.6% in 2005/06, according to data from the 2006 Kenya integrated household budget survey (GOK, 2007a; USAID/Kenya, 2010, p. 4)

education sector increasingly becoming a source of political and social conflict.

Kenya has introduced the UPE policy with the establishment of new government in 1974, 1979 and 2003. The first and second UPE policy articulated in the 1970s was by no means successful due to lack of fundamental support system to ensure the sustainability of UPE particularly based on budgetary and strategic education development plan in the long term. It was the 2003 UPE policy that was formulated and implemented in education sector with substantial influx of development aid from the 1990s onward. The World Bank and the Department of International Development of the United Kingdom provided significant budget support in favor of UPE from the 1990s. The GOK not only sought the external aid program, but also launched national development schemes to embrace aid program within the bigger picture of national development and make progress in education sector. Kenya launched KESSP I (2005-2010) and KESSP II (2010-2015) with the Vision 2030, the long term national development strategy, supported by political leadership through the Sessional Paper No. 1 of 2005 on Policy for Education, Training and Research.

Considerable improvements in enrollment rates and gender parity have been observed in the primary education cycle each time the UPE policy was implemented in Kenya. Nonetheless, regional disparities and the quality issue in teaching and learning, such as high pupil/teacher ratios, overcrowded classrooms, poor infrastructure and inadequate teacher training, remain persisting problems

although gradual positive changes have been noted.

The success of international educational development policy such as UPE is often judged by increased enrollment rates representing increased access or gender parity as in the case of Kenya. Many developing countries in the SSA region, including Kenya, that adopted the UPE policy with substantial aid from international development agencies promoting MDGs, however, have also confronted problems resulted from supply-driven and top-down policies, ad hoc arbitration in implementation, and declining quality of education (Allison, 1983; Bray, 1986; Chimombo, 2005; King, 2005; McGee, 2000; Mehrotra & DelaMonica, 1998; Mukudi, 2004; Somerset, 2011).

In the course of UPE implementation, a powerful global development discourse with money power gave the “big push” to install quite similar policies in the whole SSA region without discrimination. On the surface, the seemingly indistinguishable UPE implementation process and consequences have been observed in Kenya. Nevertheless, the driving forces and impediments rooted in preceding tradition, educational context, and social consensus on educational development within a country have simultaneously constructed a dynamic policy narrative in the adoption of global UPE agenda in terms of the philosophy, objectives, aims, goals, targets, procedure and appraisal, which brings out the global-national interaction in policy practice. This dissertation juxtaposed national policy practice with global development discourse and discussed the

role of global educational development agendas in national policy practice from the perspective of global-national dynamics.

### **1.3 Research Questions**

The particular purpose of the study is to address the dynamics between the global development agenda on education and the universal primary education policy practice in Kenya as a national response. The study explores the origins and implementation process of universal primary education at the international and national level to discern how the UPE policy in Kenya has been shaped, to some degree, by global trends and adopted in national practice. Particularly, the study analyzes the UPE policy in Kenya in terms of (a) the influence of socio-economic context in the formation and execution of the policy in practice, and (b) the global-national dynamics negotiated in the process of international educational development practice. The study therefore aims to examine the impact of global development agenda on the national education policy practice in Kenya, and to address a range of issues and challenges raised in the implementation of UPE policy from the perspective of global-national dynamics while identifying the socio-economic context pertinent to the structural change and reforms in national education system of Kenya.

To this end, the following research questions were formulated for this

dissertation. The central research question is: To what degree is the formation and implementation of universal primary education policy in Kenya attributed to the global development discourse on education and what are the impacts and implications of the UPE agenda in terms of the global-national dynamics in development practice? The study seeks to answer three principal questions:

- (1) How has the social context affected the changes in education system and reforms, and what are the consequences in the current education system in Kenya?
- (2) How has the national primary education policy in Kenya been shaped, executed and reformed in the implementation of global development discourse and agenda around universal primary education, and how has the global-national dynamics prescribed in the interaction?
- (3) How has Kenya responded in embracing global universal primary education agenda in national policy practice, and what were the principal issues and challenges regarding its implementation, consequence and impacts on education system?

By situating the discourse and practice of universal primary education within a broad international context while simultaneously examining the course of adoption, interpretation, and implementation at the national level, this

dissertation attempted to address these questions with the focus of national stakeholders who are influenced by and have influenced policy practice in Kenya.

## **1.4 Conceptual Framework**

A discourse can be defined as “ensemble of ideas, concepts and categories through which meaning is given to social and physical phenomena, and which is produced and reproduced through an identifiable set of practices” (Hajer & Versteeg, 2005, p. 175). ‘Ideas, concepts and categories’ are Foucauldian terms of knowledge and power, controlling human subjects by the definitions and categories imposed upon them (Foucault & Gordon, 1980). Discourses define the world in certain ways in the process excluding alternative interpretations, and thus shape problems by differentiating a certain aspects of a social situation while marginalizing others (Grillo, 1997; Schram, 1993; Sutton, 1999).

Dominant discourses involve a practice of ‘naming’ and ‘framing’ (Apthorpe, 1996) resulted in serious material consequences on the process of policy-making while stressing associated ideologies and values (van Niekerk, 2000). In the initial stages of agenda-setting and the identification of alternative courses of action, discourses identify appropriate and legitimate ways of defining and practicing development (Grillo, 1997; Shore & Wright, 1997).

Discourses simultaneously have a structuring capability, providing the

parameters within which people act and shaping the way actors influence the world around them (Keeley & Scoones, 2000). They are actively produced through the human agency by undertaking certain practices adopting certain perspectives. Discourses are therefore a product of institutional practices and individual activities that reflect particular types of knowledge (Hajer, 1995).

The concept of development as discourse applied to the wider context of educational planning and policy, therefore, provides a more critical perspective on development practice, acknowledging the ideological dimensions of the process of policy formulation and implementation (Robinson-Pant, 2001). The study on how discourses overlap and the relationships between them allows to analyze how certain discourses become more or less dominant and shed new lights on the role of countries often assumed to be passive or ‘discourse-less’ (Apthorpe, 1996).

Acknowledging the discursive nature of development, one can examine the power dynamics inherent in international development policy when the recipient, now called “the partner”, country must respond prior to the agendas set by the dominant global development discourse formed by donor countries and institutions. More attention is called for the multiplicity of discourses and practices in development policy by incorporating typically marginalized voice (Clay & Schaffer, 1984; Crewe & Harrison, 1998; Holland & Blackburn, 1998; D. Smith, 2005; Vavrus & Bartlett, 2009).

Based on the same premise that certain interests dominate the development process to the exclusion of others, development narratives define an approach to a specific development problem whereas discourses relate to modes of thought, values and fundamental approaches to issues as a broader concept. Development narratives are stories, outlining a specific course of events which have gained the status of conventional or 'received wisdom' (Leach & Mearns, 1996) within the development field (Sutton, 1999, p. 11). These narratives simplify complex development situations neglecting conflicting evidences, and often used by policy makers to guide their decision-making. Policy narratives are thus attempt to bring order to the multitude of interactions and processes in development situations (Roe, 1991).

Narratives reduce the 'policy space' (Grindle & Thomas, 1991) or 'room for maneuver' (Clay & Schaffer, 1984) of policy makers by prescribing specific approach that represents and serves certain interests (Keeley & Scoones, 1999). Narratives are transmitted through policy networks and communities to serve certain interests of various actors in development, government agents, donor organizations and independent 'experts', transferring ownership of the development process from indigenous groups to outsiders in the policy process (Clay & Schaffer, 1984; Fairhead & Leach, 1995; Fortmann, 1995; Roe, 1991, 1995).

Narratives are embedded in particular institutional structures or actor-

network groups, and have strong cultural and historical roots, developing their own 'cultural paradigm' through particular types of development programs, and methodological approach (Leach & Mearns, 1996). Policy narrative can be a part of discourses delineating a certain specific story under the broader set of values and priorities.

Nevertheless, discourses in education have never been adopted in a unidirectional way but through the multidirectional forces playing simultaneously at the juncture of global and local (Olssen, Codd, & O'Neill, 2004). Despite the pressure of different agendas derived from global discourses, countries do not respond uniformly to the trends in that national systems translate and re-contextualize those discourses according to their particularities and national priorities (Ball, 1998). When global discourses are accepted and tailored to different realities at the national level, there is counterforce resisting and rejecting. Therefore, it is crucial to acknowledge the role of the national level as a kind of intermediate between the international agenda and the local differences within the countries.

## **1.5 Methodology**

As a form of power, 'policy' operates through a constellation of organized practices in various sectors in society including education to maintain an unequal

and unjust distribution of resources (Collins, 2000). At the same time, policy is essentially a matter of choice while constrained by a sense of possibility molded by legacies and forebodings, the choice of objectives, reasons for action, policy instruments and means to respond to the consequences develop despite the uncertainty of policy process (Kay, 2006). The choice, however, is not a mere result of “rationality project” produced in a fairly ordered production model (Stone, 2002).

As a complex system, policy process calls for the dynamic analysis dealing with multiple layers changing with different speed. Within the policy system, various structures at different scales act as “institution” in shaping the decision-making of agents in the formulation and implementation of policy through the provision of temporal context (Kay, 2006).

In the policy process, narratives are used as a tool of political strategy through the general use of metaphor (Stone, 2002) while these metaphors control action and ultimately change actions through meta-narrative that constrains the examination of alternatives in a dispute (Bridgman & Barry, 2002). As critical constitutive forces in politics and policy making, policy narratives therefore mediate reality and construct political space (Schram & Neisser, 1997).

Roe (1994) defines policy narrative as “stories (scenarios and arguments) which underwrite and stabilize the assumptions for policymaking in situations that persist with many unknowns, a high degree of interdependence, and little, if

any, agreement” (p. 34). A policy narrative seeks to explain subsequent steps between different states of the policy system, and uses the socially situated agent as its basic unit of analysis (Kay, 2006, p. 73). Additionally, meta-narratives are “policy narratives in a controversy that embrace, however temporarily, the major oppositions to a controversy without in the process slighting any of that opposition” (Roe, 1994, p. 52). They enable uncertainty to be managed and action to be taken by bringing into the precautionary principle (Garvin & Eyles, 1997).

Narrative policy analysis provides a means to examine how policy stories shape policy making by building a more comprehensive and complex picture of policy issues (Gerstl-Pepin, 2006) because policy narratives provide an alternative to explain “how we arrived at a current dilemma, what we should do to address the dilemma and why a particular proposal about what to do is a good one” (Kaplan, 1986, p. 770). As a super-ordinate frame, meta-narrative thus joins otherwise incompatible positions and may resolve power dynamics within a policy dispute (Bridgman & Barry, 2002). Hence, narrative policy analysis contributes to the enterprise of deliberative and discursive democracy through meta-narratives that integrates public preferences with policy analysis (Hampton, 2009).

This dissertation builds on the narrative policy analysis literature in seeking to find the dynamics in the educational development practice, particularly

between global agenda and national agent, and “the influences on how policy is formulated, how policy is transformed into plans and how plans translate into action on the ground” (Robinson-Pant, 2001, p. 325) while translating and re-contextualizing global discourses as per national particularities and priorities.

Posing global development discourse as meta-narrative that joins dominant international educational development agenda in uniform and national educational policy with a particular socio-economic context of its own, the study examined policy narratives that constructed political space around the formation and the implementation process of the UPE in Kenya. Identifying critical constitutive forces in the UPE policy making and policy practice from the perspective of global-national dynamics, the study applied policy narrative analysis to survey how the UPE policy practice in Kenya was formulated, implemented and re-contextualized, if any, in response to global development discourse on education.

This research initially began from 2010 when I first visited Kenya for a research on basic education in Kenya, and the intensive field research was conducted in Nairobi and vicinity from September 2012 to February 2013 with the additional research during May-July 2013. The research required data collection from various sources including data drawn from individual teachers/researchers/government officials/NGO workers, and national and international policy documents. The documents and data prepared and provided

by the international development agencies, the Ministry of Education, local NGOs and others were carefully reviewed and analyzed. Interviews were conducted with education stakeholders at the national level, such as government officials, academic researchers, teachers and administrative staffs and NGOs workers.

The use of document analysis and interviews combined was crucial for analyzing eclectic understandings of UPE policy and practice in Kenya while allowing me to situate the experience of national actors in relation to national policymaking and the international development discourses. Through the interviews with local schools and NGOs, I was able to conduct a comparison between the rhetoric from global development agenda of “what *ought* to be happening [italics in original]” (Crossley & Vulliamy, 1984, p. 198) and the local practice of what is happening that yields unintended consequences of the policy in action.

Both in respects of quantity and quality of education, the global development discourse such as MDGs and EFA resulted in critical transformation in education policy and system of Kenya through the implementation of UPE policy. This study examines in this regard the global-national dynamics in the educational development policy and practice in Kenya with a particular focus on primary education. This research therefore could broaden awareness and understanding of the dynamics between global

development agendas and national policy practice in a developing country seeking international development cooperation. Yet, the findings may also be limited as the study conducted in a single country of Kenya with a limited time and resources. Further study on similar cases in different region with diverse socio-economic background is called for the future research.

## **CHAPTER 2**

### **BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY**

#### **2.1 Global Discourses on the Educational Development**

##### **2.1.1 Education for All (EFA)**

Following the recommendation of the International Conference on Public Education concerning compulsory education and its prolongation in 1951, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) organized a series of regional conferences for South Asia and the Pacific (Bombay, 1952), the Arab States (Cairo, 1954) and Latin America (Lima, 1956) to expand basic education while assessing the need for increased international assistance. These conferences were resulted in the launch of several significant initiatives to achieve universal primary education in the region: the 10-year Major Project on the Extension of Primary Education (1957-1966) in Latin America, the 1960 Karachi Plan in Asia, the 1961 Addis Ababa Plan in Africa and the 1966 Tripoli Conference in the Arab States. Notable progress in the enrollment was thus observed in the 1960s and the early 1970s although rapid population growth threatened the quality of education.

Between the mid-1970s and the early 1990s a fundamental change in both domestic and international economic structures occurred by globalization. Many developing countries suffered from declining raw material prices and mounting international debt while most traditional donor countries adopted neoliberal approaches aimed at adjusting national economies to the globalizing world economy, which accelerated the marginalization of their economies. Development assistance to education as a percentage either stagnated or fell in the 1980s, and basic education became less of a priority receiving minimal support from international organizations and aid agencies except the World Bank (Bennell & Furlong, 1998).

As UNESCO faltered after the withdrawal of the United States, the United Kingdom and Singapore in the mid-1980s, the World Bank reformulated the international educational development discourse to fit the global neoliberal ideology (Mundy, 1998). Based on the idea that education promotes individual productivity and overall economic growth resulted in greater equality for political stability (Psacharopoulos, 1981, 1985), the World Bank emphasized educational effectiveness and efficiency, privatization and cost-sharing with sector-wide educational financing and adjustment programs while expanding investments in basic education in the 1980s. Many scholars criticized of its rationale and strategy (Bennell, 1996; Colclough, 1996; Heyneman, 2003; Hinchliffe, 1993; Jones, 1997; Mundy, 2002; Psacharopoulos, 2006; Samoff,

1996). The macroeconomic reform and structural adjustment programs of the bank also failed to raise economic growth and further undermined vulnerable population in developing countries (Alexander, 2001). The United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) particularly criticized the social costs of World Bank's approach and promoted the re-direction to basic education during the 1980s (Jolly, 1991).

As a result, the first World Conference on Education for All, sponsored by UNICEF, UNESCO, the World Bank and the United Nations Development Program (UNDP), was held in Jomtien, Thailand in 1990. The World Declaration on Education for All and a Framework for Action to Meet Basic Learning Needs resulted from the 1990 EFA conference stipulated the goal of 'Education for All' to be achieved by 2000 and provided the expanded vision of EFA to meet the basic learning needs of all children, youth and adults both within and outside school. The framework particularly proposed six "target dimensions" that national governments could refer in setting their own targets, which became a basis for the six "goals" agreed at the World Education Forum in 2000.

As the access to basic education increasingly emphasized not just for the purposes of economic development but as a universal human right, education emerged as a central part of new international development discourse through the Jomtien conference. Mundy (2007) argued that EFA discourse changed the overall development discourse by embedding education in a new consensus on

global development, constructing new forms of donor coordination and target setting and inviting new actors and partnerships, which evolved new aid flows and modalities.

In regards to the new direction in the development discourse, concerns over the influence of international agenda to national policies followed as the policy priorities and development practice were increasingly defined by a global agenda regardless of national environment. King (1992) argued that the donors define and lead the local policy development, and Samoff (1999) found that education policy and development projects had remained driven by the agendas and procedures of the funding and technical assistance agencies whereas national participation was limited. In particular relation to the EFA discourse, King (2004) argued that the donor preferences narrowed the original EFA agenda to “Schooling for All” and powerfully promoted primary education than adult literacy, early childhood education or nonformal skills development.

The importance of basic education despite of the differences in scope was agreed among all participants to become the prime goal that international donor agencies, national governments and NGOs supported in uniform. Yet, some scholars argued the danger of EFA discourse in relation to globalization. Ndoye (1997) argued that the globalization of economy set in the role of Africa to provide low cost labor and production and thus the exclusive priority was given to basic education to ensure Africa remained as underdeveloped client for

advanced technology and innovation of the North. Curtin and Nelson (1999) also criticized the fundamental flaws in donor's education policy limiting public education spending to the primary level, which not only perpetuated poverty but thwarted the improvement in the economic status of women.

The Jomtien conference has also referred as a site for new educational development discourse conceived in a broader rapprochement between the neoliberal and pro-globalization approaches to development promoted by the Bretton Woods institutions, and the equity-focused approaches adopted by the United Nations (UN) (Ruggie, 2003; Thérien, 2002, 2004). Four agencies had different motivation to sponsor the conference based on their long-term vision and short-term needs. Through the Jomtien conference, the World Bank intended to restructure educational development agenda as they expanded investments to address poverty while UNESCO re-established credibility and re-asserted leadership in education (Chabbott, 1998).

Furthermore, there was a clear difference in the emphasis between agencies that UNICEF and the World Bank emphasized education as a formal primary schooling for children while UNESCO literacy for all age groups (Chabbott, 1998). UNICEF and the World Bank therefore regarded basic education the same as primary education while UNESCO included nonformal and adult education as a part of basic education. Hence, the Declaration was also designed to avoid offending any of these agencies but to include multiple possible fault lines

(Robertson et al., 2007).

In parallel, the interpretation of the overall concept of EFA and basic education differs across the agencies. Buchert (1995) analyzed the differences in overall goals of development and education, emphasis on learning versus life skills among the individual agencies, and later argued that the translation of the concept into practice often depends upon particular priorities and comparative advantages of the agency, aiming at different target groups and using different instruments (Buchert, 1996). The lack of standardized data recording and tracking system for EFA was therefore inevitable due to diverse understanding among national and international agencies. These multiple interpretations of the EFA discourse with differential capacity across the agencies were referred as a major obstacle for the success.

A decade after the Jomtien conference, the International Consultative Forum on Education for All, a body created in 1991 to monitor the progress of EFA, organized the World Education Forum in Dakar to share the global evaluation of the Decade of EFA. In preparation for the Dakar forum, the EFA 2000 Assessment process began in mid-1998 with national monitoring reports drawn on the basis of 18 core EFA indicators (See Table 1) in order to review progress since the Jomtien conference and identify priorities and strategies for overcoming obstacles (Verger, Sayed, Hiroshi, Croso, & Beardmore, 2012).

**Table 1 Core EFA Indicators**

Indicator 1	Gross enrollment in early childhood development programs, including public, private, and community programs, expressed as a percentage of the official age-group concerned, if any, otherwise the age-group 3 to 5.
Indicator 2	Percentage of new entrants to primary grade 1 who have attended some form of organized early childhood development program.
Indicator 3	Apparent (gross) intake rate: new entrants in primary grade 1 as a percentage of the population of official entry age.
Indicator 4	Net intake rate: new entrants to primary grade 1 who are of the official primary school entrance age as a percentage of the corresponding population.
Indicator 5	Gross enrollment ratio.
Indicator 6	Net enrollment ratio.
Indicator 7	Public current expenditure on primary education a) as a percentage of GNP; and b) per pupil, as a percentage of GNP per capita.
Indicator 8	Public expenditure on primary education as a percentage of total public expenditure on education.
Indicator 9	Percentage of primary school teachers having attained the required academic qualifications.
Indicator 10	Percentage of primary school teachers who are certified to teach according to national standards.
Indicator 11	Pupil teacher ratio.
Indicator 12	Repetition rates by grade.
Indicator 13	Survival rate to grade 5 (percentage of a pupil cohort actually reaching grade 5).
Indicator 14	Coefficient of efficiency (ideal number of pupil years needed for a cohort to complete the primary cycle, expressed as a percentage of the actual number of pupil-years).
Indicator 15	Percentage of pupils having reached at least grade 4 of primary schooling who master a set of nationally defined basic learning competencies.
Indicator 16	Literacy rate of 15-24 year olds.
Indicator 17	Adult literacy rate: percentage of the population aged 15+ that is literate.
Indicator 18	Literacy Gender Parity Index: ratio of female to male literacy rates

Source: UIS (2000)

Acknowledging the failure to achieve EFA by 2000, the Dakar forum adopted the Framework for Action to reaffirmed the vision of EFA and set the six goals to be achieved by 2015. Torres (2001) analyzed the emphasis added to the six target dimensions of the Jomtien to become the six goals of the Dakar: free, compulsory and good quality primary education; visible and measurable outcome; gender equality and the integration of adult education (See Table 2). From Torres' analysis, we can infer three fundamental reasons for this change.

**Table 2 Comparison of Jomtien and Dakar frameworks**

Jomtien Target Dimension (1990-2000)	Dakar Goals (2000-2015)
1. Expansion of early childhood care and development activities, including family and community interventions, especially for poor, disadvantaged and disabled children.	1. Expanding and improving comprehensive early childhood care and education, especially for the most vulnerable and disadvantaged children.
2. Universal access to, and completion of, primary education (or whatever higher level of education is considered as "basic") by the year 2000.	2. Ensuring that by 2015 all children, particularly girls, children in difficult circumstances and those belonging to ethnic minorities, have access to and complete free and compulsory primary education of good quality.
3. Improvement in learning achievement such that an agreed percentage of an appropriate age cohort (e.g. 80% 14 year olds) attains or surpasses a defined level of necessary learning achievement	3. Ensuring that the learning needs of all young people and adults are met through equitable access to appropriate learning and life skills programs.
4. Reduction in the adult illiteracy rate (the appropriate age cohort to be determined in each country) to, say, one-half its 1990 level by the year 2000, with sufficient emphasis on female literacy to significantly reduce	4. Achieving a 50 per cent improvement in levels of adult literacy by 2015, especially for women, and equitable access to basic and continuing education for all adults.

the current disparity between the male and female illiteracy rates.	
5. Expansion of provision of basic education and training in other essential skills required by youth and adults, with program effectiveness assessed in terms behavioral changes and impacts on health, employment and productivity.	5. Eliminating gender disparities in primary and secondary education by 2015, with a focus on ensuring girls' full and equal access to and achievement in basic education of good quality.
6. Increased acquisition by individuals and families of the knowledge, skills and values required for better living and sound and sustainable development, made available through all educational channels including the mass media, other forms of modern and traditional communication, and social action, with effectiveness assessed in terms of behavioral change.	6. Improving all aspects of the quality of education and ensuring excellence of all so that recognized and measurable learning outcomes are achieved by all, especially in literacy, numeracy and essential life skills.

Source: UNESCO (1990c, 2000)

The World Bank was disappointed by the slow progress of the EFA goals while UNESCO was seen incapable of leading the Global Initiative. The World Bank therefore launched the Fast-Track Initiative (FTI) in 2002 with the support from the UN Development Committee, the G8 and educational development NGOs such as the Global Campaign for Education. The FTI aimed at ensuring additional technical and financial resources for the EFA pledged in the Monterrey Consensus and the Dakar forum.

The FTI required for PRSP and education plan for funding, and thus FTI endorsement was given to countries fulfilled assessment guidelines and a common indicative framework: government spending on education (20% of

budget, with 50% of that on primary education), resource mobilization, student flows, number of teachers, teacher salary about 3.5 times per capita GDP, teacher-student ratios of about 40: 1, and enrollment (Robertson et al., 2007). The World Bank established a 'Catalytic Fund' in 2003 to provide transitional financing for the scaling-up of FTI country programs and added 'Education Program Development Fund' in 2004 to assist education planning process of non-FTI countries for the FTI endorsement.

Yet, the FTI has often criticized for its selective approach of accelerating progress towards the goals in particular countries, making already neglected countries far more marginalized (Rose, 2005). Colclough (2005) argued that the FTI's exclusive focus at the primary level narrowed the EFA agenda to certain goals.

### 2.1.2. The Millennium Development Goals (MDGs)

The Millennium Development Goals are the outcome of consensus among international development community created through a number of international conferences in the 1990s. Antecedents that represent global efforts to eradicate poverty include the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) in 1948, the Development Decade of the 1960s and the UN goals adopted as guidelines and benchmarks to influence national and international action and development assistance. Yet, as the so-called Washington Consensus based on neoliberal ideas

prevailed in the 1980s, early initiatives stalled while structural adjustment programs of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank dominated the international development community (Jolly, 2004).

In regards to the approach upon poverty and international development, Thérien (1999) argued the competition between the Bretton Woods paradigm and the UN paradigm. The former reflects the discourse and practices of the IMF, the World Bank and World Trade Organization (WTO) focusing on the economic policy while the latter emphasizes social equity and sustainability resonating in the UN Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC), the UNDP, the International Labor Organization (ILO) and UNICEF.

As many developing countries in Africa and Latin America, contrary to the promise of SAPs, experienced poverty even worse in the 1990s the frustration over the Washington Consensus under the Bretton Woods paradigm resulted in a number of international conferences emphasizing social and ecological development (Table 3). Attached with the high political importance these world conferences in large scale established the multidimensional goal system and strategic approaches under the new development paradigm based on the holistic view of global problems and the causal links between them (Loewe, 2008).

**Table 3 Milestones in MDGs**

Year	Event/Document	Achievements
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1990	World Summit on Education for All (Jomtien, Thailand)	Education for All agenda
	World Summit for Children (New York, USA)	World Declaration on the Survival, Protection and Development of Children
1992	UN Conference on Environment and Development /Earth Summit (Rio de Janeiro, Brazil)	Rio Declaration, Agenda 21
1995	World Summit for Social Development (Copenhagen, Denmark)	Copenhagen Declaration and Program of Action
	Fourth World Conference on Women (Beijing, China)	Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action
1996	OECD/DAC Document	Shaping the 21st Century: the contribution of development cooperation
2000	IMF, OECD, UN, World Bank report	A better world for all: progress towards the International Development Goals
	UN Millennium Summit (New York, USA)	Millennium Declaration
2001	Report of the Secretary-General	Road Map Towards the Implementation of the Millennium Declaration: MDGs
2002	International Conference on Financing for Development (Monterrey, Mexico)	Monterrey Consensus: Reaffirmation of the MDGs, increase of ODA volume
	World Summit on Sustainable Development (Johannesburg, South Africa)	Add two targets concerning sustainable development to MDGs
2005	World Summit (New York, USA)	Reaffirmation of the MDGs
2008	High-level Event on the MDGs (New York, USA)	Commitment reaffirmation from governments, foundations, businesses and civil society groups
2010	UN Summit (New York, USA)	Keeping the Promise: United to Achieve the Millennium Development Goals: global action plan
2011	Annual report of the UN Secretary-General	Accelerating progress towards the Millennium Development Goals: options for sustained and inclusive growth and issues for advancing the United Nations development agenda

		beyond 2015
2012	UN Conference on Sustainable Development /Rio+20 (Rio de Janeiro, Brazil)	Sustainable development goals (SDGs).
	UN System Task Team on the Post-2015 UN Development Agenda report	Realizing the Future We Want for All (June 2012) A renewed global partnership for development (March 2013)
2013	Secretary-General's High-level Panel of Eminent Persons on the Post-2015 Development Agenda	Report with recommendations on the post-2015 development agenda (May 2013)

Source: Author

The 1990 World Summit for Children in New York organized by UNESCO was considered as the origin of the MDGs in defining global educational goals particularly concerning the completion of primary goals for all children by 2000. The World Summit for Children in 1990 in New York and the Earth Summit in Rio de Janeiro in 1992 were important international conferences that influenced subsequent UN conferences as the organizational model for global mobilization for development. The Copenhagen World Summit for Social Development in 1995 was particularly significant for the Declaration on Social Development providing the basis of the MDGs while the UN Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing in the same year mainstreamed the gender perspective.

Departing from the economic target oriented development policy in the 1980s the new consensus based on the multidimensional understandings on development was shared among the broad international development community. The UNDP began to publish the Human Development Report from 1990

highlighting the multi-dimensional understandings on poverty and the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) Development Assistance Committee (DAC) developed International Development Goals (IDGs) in their 1996 report “Shaping the 21<sup>st</sup> Century: the contribution of development cooperation”.<sup>5</sup> The World Bank also began to acknowledge the needs to incorporate social policies for economic reform and embraced a multidimensional concept of poverty.

As a result, the leaders of the IMF, OECD, UN and the World Bank published the report “A better world for all: progress towards the International Development Goals” in June 2000 and later on September 8, 2000 the Millennium Declaration was adopted. In 2001, eight Millennium Development Goals were announced at the UN Secretary-General’s report “Roadmap towards the implementation of the Millennium Declaration” (See Annex 2). The Monterrey conference for the first time affirmed the MDGs and the World Summit in Johannesburg expanded MDGs. The World Summits in 2005 and

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<sup>5</sup> The goals are concerning three areas of economic well-being (goal 1), social development (goal 2, 3, 4, 5) and environmental sustainability and regeneration (goal 6): (1) a reduction by one-half in the proportion of people living in extreme poverty by 2015; (2) universal primary education in all countries by 2015; (3) by 2005, demonstrated progress toward gender equality and the empowerment of women by eliminating gender disparity in primary and secondary education; (4) by 2015, a reduction by two-thirds in the mortality rates for infants and children under age 5 and a reduction by three-fourths in maternal mortality rates; (5) access through the primary health-care system to reproductive health services for all individuals of appropriate ages no later than the year 2015; (6) current implementation of national strategies for sustainable development in all countries by 2005, so as to ensure that current trends in the loss of environmental resources are effectively reversed at both global and national levels by 2015 (OECD/DAC, 1996).

2010 reaffirmed the commitment for MDGs.

The latest report claimed a broad progress on the MDGs in poverty reduction, gender parity and access in primary education, child survival, HIV and other diseases yet inequalities are worsened within and across the region (UNDP, 2012). Nevertheless, a decade after the creation of MDGs, five years from the end of proposed time span of the goals, a heated debate on the outcome of MDGs as well as the discussion on the post-2015 agenda began to take place.

Particularly in the UN framework, the UN Secretary-General published an annual report “Accelerating progress towards the Millennium Development Goals: options for sustained and inclusive growth and issues for advancing the United Nations development agenda beyond 2015” in July 2011 and established the UN System Task Team on the Post-2015 UN Development Agenda in January 2012 comprising more than 60 UN agencies and international organizations to provide analytical supports. While the Rio+20 developed Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) in 2012, the Secretary-General also launched the High-level Panel of Eminent Persons on the Post-2015 Development Agenda, which will publish its report with its vision and recommendations on a global development agenda beyond 2015 in May 2013.

As the target date approaching to the end, many studies on the MDGs examined the impact of global crises (Communities, 2009; IMF, 2009; UN, 2009), and structural impediments such as global market inequality, transparency

and lack of good governance (Al-Samarrai, 2006; Birdsall, 2006; Gore, 2010; Joshi, 2011; Stein & Horn, 2012). Particularly the results-based management that led MDGs focusing on the measurable quantitative goals as well as monitoring and evaluation of the narrowly defined targets and indicators attracted severe criticism (Chibba, 2011; Fukuda-Parr, Greenstein, & Stewart, 2013; Hulme, 2010; Langford, 2010).

Yet the debate around MDGs is more focused on the fundamental assessment as a development discourse framework rather than measuring the success or failure as goals. MDGs could be viewed as a vehicle for human development (Pronk, 2005; Sachs, 2011; Vandemoortele, 2011a) or a platform for strategic global alliance (Clemens, Kenny, & Moss, 2007; Fukuda-Parr, 2004; Hulme & Scott, 2010; Jolly, 2004). Despite the intention of the architects MDGs are often regarded with a great amount of skepticism, failing to expand the development narrative beyond economic growth (Gore, 2010; Vandemoortele, 2011b; Ziai, 2011).

Several critics accused MDGs of misleading global attention away from the fundamental issues such as growing inequality and confining narrowly defined time-bounded quantitative goals (Antrobus, 2005; Bond, 2006; Eyben & Napier-Moore, 2009; Pogge, 2004; Saith, 2006). Therefore, many called for a new development paradigm for a post-2015 development agenda to supplement the MDGs (Barnes & Brown, 2011; Chibba, 2011; Eyben, 2006; Nayyar, 2013; Poku

& Whitman, 2011; Sumner & Tiwari, 2009), particularly incorporating the core values of human rights based approach and capability approach (Fukuda-Parr, 2011; Fukuda-Parr & Hulme, 2011; James, 2006; McGregor & Sumner, 2010; Nelson, 2007; Schmidt-Traub, 2009).

## **2.2 Universal primary education in Sub-Saharan Africa**

It was the Jomtien EFA conference that achieved the agreement among policy makers on the necessity of making primary education free of school fees, and provided a robust rationale for the goal of universal basic education. Despite the continuous advocacy for universal basic education, there was little consensus for “free” primary education to fulfill “universal” primary education including children from poor families and with disability.

In many cases, costs are a major constraint to be deprived of education. Direct costs including tuition, fees under various account (general fees, examination fees), Parent Teacher Association (PTA) dues, salary supplement, textbooks, materials, uniform, feeding, transportation, sports and culture related costs are the most prominent barriers to them. Moreover, indirect costs incurred by sending children to school who would otherwise contribute to the household economy by working for income or providing labor for collecting water and

firewood or looking after younger children are often more critical than direct costs particularly to poor families (Kattan, 2004). Under the influence of the Jomtien conference, many countries including Kenya adopted free primary education policy during the 1990s.

Ten years after the Jomtien conference, however, many countries realized that they were far from the set goals and thus reaffirmed their commitment at the World Education Forum in Dakar, Senegal extending the target date to 2015. As the world's attention on universal primary education heightened again around the UN Millennium Summit in 2000, universal primary education was adopted as one of the MDGs at the UN Millennium Development Conference while the elimination of gender disparities in primary and secondary education was also pledged by 2015. Due to increased attention on the educational opportunity and access among international development communities particularly after the establishment MDGs, significant improvements has been observed during last few decades in literacy rate, school enrollment and completion rate.

Yet, problems still persist to achieve UPE by 2015 as time, resource and efforts are to be continuously increased to meet the goal, which raised criticism on effectiveness of aid for development. Despite the emphasis on UPE became popular with the recognition of MDGs, the quality of education is a matter of great concern. In the process of policy implementation of UPE, the enrollment rate was regarded as crucial indicator for EFA, attracting criticism of diverting

attention from the urgent need of quality education to rapid quantitative expansion (Sawamura & Sifuna, 2008).

Despite the recent rapid progress toward the goal of universal primary education with notable advances in SSA, still the target is far from reach partly due to uneven improvement and slowing pace in the region. Recent survey forecasts the EFA target will be missed because of lost of momentum after the Dakar with the stagnation of the number of out-of-school children between 2008 and 2010 as well as low survival and completion rates (UNESCO, 2012). School entry at the right age and the completion are the most important buttress in achieving UPE in SSA. The report found out that children who enter school above the official entry age do not benefit from their schooling experience in equal terms and are more likely to drop out than their younger peers. Also, the higher enrollment rates do not always yield higher completion rates.

From 1999 to 2008, an additional 52 million children enrolled in primary school while notable improvements were observed in sub-Saharan Africa and South and West Asia that started from the lowest baseline (UNESCO, 2011). Sub-Saharan Africa has particularly increased its net enrollment ratio from 59 percent in 1999 to 77 percent in 2010 even though the school age population was largely increased, and reduced out-of-school children by 27 percent at the same time (Table 4).

**Table 4 Key Indicators for UPE (Worldwide)**

	Total Primary Enrollment		Primary Gross Intake Rate		Primary Adjusted Net Enroll. Ratio*		Survival Rate †	Out-of-school Children	
	2010 (thousands)	Change since 1999 (%)	1999 (%)	2010 (%)	1999 (%)	2010 (%)	2009 (%)	2010 (thousands)	Change since 1999 (%)
World	690,665	6	105	110	84	91	91	60,684	-44
SSA	132,809	62	92	115	59	77	62	30,641	-27
Arab	41,741	19	89	101	79	88	93	5,036	-40
C. Asia	5,461	-20	100	100	94	94	98	317	-28
E. Asia & Pacific	185,304	-17	101	106	95	96	...	6,579	-36
S. & W. Asia	188,366	21	116	115	77	93	66	13,261	-67
L. Ame & Caribbean	66,413	-5	120	119	94	95	89	2,652	-26
N. Ame & W. Eur.	51,140	-3	104	100	98	97	...	1,267	41
C. & E. Eur.	19,433	-22	97	99	93	95	98	931	-43

Source: UNESCO (2012)

\*. The primary adjusted net enrollment ratio measures the proportion of children of primary school age who are enrolled either in primary or secondary school.

†. Survival rate to last grade of primary education

The number of out-of-school children in South/West Asia and sub-Saharan Africa were similar in 1999. Yet, two regions have shown very different progress over the last decade. The figure in sub-Saharan Africa fell by 13 million between 1999 and 2008, but it increased again by 1.6 million between 2008 and 2010 when that of South/West Asia continuously fell with faster speed (UNESCO, 2012). As a result, now SSA accounts for half of the world's out-of-school children (See Figure 1).

**Figure 1 Out-of-school children of primary school age, 1999–2010**



Source: UNESCO (2012, p. 60)

In Sub-Saharan Africa, education policy for universal basic education has long been a popular policy choice for many countries although lacking continuity due to global and domestic constraints. To name a few, Ghana, Kenya, Lesotho, Malawi, Nigeria, Tanzania and Uganda pursued UPE policy in history. Despite the uniform and numerical expression of UPE in relation to the MDGs, not only the impact and challenges beyond school enrollment rate but also diversity in response from each individual state are often concealed beyond the highly aggregated data.

Much debate on the challenges and shortcomings on similar UPE policies driven by the international development agencies pushing the MDGs as the ultimate goal continued when simple and numerate expression of the MDGs

became dominant development agenda in global development society. Decline in education quality in education, vicious cycle of overcrowded classroom and high dropout rates and doubtful sustainability resulted from financial constraints are common outcomes of impromptu policy implementation in most countries in the SSA region that adopted UPE.

## **CHAPTER 3**

### **THE CONTEXT OF EDUCATION IN KENYA**

#### **3.1. History of Educational Development in Kenya**

The traditional form of education in Kenya involves the local community as a whole teaching cultural traditions and customs, families passing on know-how and specialized individuals initiating apprentice into specific skills, usually not in a particular setting of classroom. Indigenous local knowledge was transmitted from one generation to another. After the settlement of European missionaries, formal education was introduced as a strategy for evangelical success, and missionaries taught not only religious studies but also practical skills including carpentry and gardening for their own needs to support their missions (Alwy & Schech, 2004). Several studies have investigated how these missionaries influenced the racial inequality in education (Battle & Lyons, 1970; Court & Ghai, 1974; Sheffield, 1973).

During the British colonial regime (1895-1963), the formal education system was set up yet in a form that reflects severe discrimination as most Africans suffered from political, economic and social discrimination from their colonial rulers (Otiende, Bogonko, Wamahiu, & Karugu, 1992). The Frazer

report of 1909, a British government-sponsored study of education in East Africa, recommended the establishment of separate educational systems for Europeans, Asians and Africans.<sup>6</sup> Colonial education system was stratified and segregated, and the system was maintained until independence in 1963. To solidify the racial basis of the division of labor through education, the colonial state provided an unequal allocation of educational resources between the three racial groups.<sup>7</sup>

In 1930, the expenditure per pupil was more than five times higher for Europeans than for Africans, and even greater compared to the total population. Two decades later, the situation did not change, but even deteriorated. Still the expenditure per pupil for Europeans was more than seven times higher than for Africans (See Table 5). Since the schools for Africans received little support from the state, expensive school fees had to be imposed, which frustrated many Africans in their attempts for education from the initial stage.

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<sup>6</sup> In 1924, separate advisory committees were established for the three racial groups in the colony, which formalized the colonial education system in Kenya (as cited in Alwy & Schech, 2004, p. 270).

<sup>7</sup> Europeans, who in 1948 comprised 1% of the total Kenyan population dominated large-scale farming and estate agriculture, large enterprises in the commercial sector and controlled the country's administrative, legal, cultural and coercive apparatuses. Asians, who numbered about 2%, occupied middle-level positions in European enterprises and in the colonial administration with their dominance of the commercial sector. Africans, who comprised about 97% of the population, were engaged in mostly subsistence farming (Mwiria, 1991).

**Table 5 Education Expenditure by Racial Groups in Colonial Kenya**

Ethnicity	School Pop.		Total Expenditure (GBP)		Expenditure per Pupil (GBP)	
	1930	1950	1930	1950	1930	1950
European	8.1% (776)	1.6% (5,922)	31.6% (49,995)	33.4% (351,243)	64.4	59.3
Asian	19.7% (1,900)	6.7% (5,731)	31.3% (25,107)	25.6% (268,583)	13.2	46.9
African	72.2% (6,948)	91.7% (50,373)	52.4% (82,929)	40.9% (429,619)	11.9	8.53
Total	100% (9,624)	100% (382,026)	100% (157,931)	100% (1,050,700)	16.4	2.8

Note: Original data of 1930 converted at the average of official OECD exchange rate (0.357) calculated for the available years; Expenditure for others in 1950 was recorded as 1,255 (GBP), 0.1%.

Source: Colony and Protectorate of Kenya, 1930, quoted in Alwy and Schech (2004, p. 270); Colony and Protectorate of Kenya, 1950 quoted in Mwiria (1991, p. 263)

After the independence in 1963, the government of Kenya needed many changes in different areas in order to reflect the needs of people in a nation building process.<sup>8</sup> In the year of independence, the Ominde Commission was set

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<sup>8</sup> A number of fundamental changes in the education system were influenced by different commission reports; the Ominde Report (1964), the Gachathi Report (1976), the Mackey Report (1981), the Wanjigi Report (1983), the Kamunge Report (1988), the Ndegwa Report (1991), the Mungai Report (1995) and the Koech Report (1999). Among the reports, the Gachathi Report and the Mackay Report contributed significantly to the change of education policy. For the summary of main purpose and key recommendations of the reports, see Oketch (2007, pp. 146-147).

up to make changes in the formal educational system.<sup>9</sup> The focus of the first commission was to build a national identity and unity among different ethnicities through history and geography education in school as well as civic education for the masses (Kivuva, 2002). The first important change made was the introduction of the 7-4-2-3 structure, which will be further discussed in comparison with the current system in following section.

The Ominde Commission influenced the education sector in subsequent years particularly incorporating the perspective sees education as the instrument for development. Human capital theory that regards education is a productive investment at the level both of the individual and of society as a whole became popular since the 1960s, and it had a great influence on the education policies in many countries including Kenya. Education, therefore, was considered as means to provide the nation with well-trained personnel as well as the driving force of development (Rharade, 1997).

Accordingly, the organization of education in Kenya was structured closely linked to the management of human resources and the labor market. Universal primary education therefore was not deemed a priority whereas the government supported secondary, commercial, technical and higher education at the expense

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<sup>9</sup> The Ominde Commission was the first commission on education in Kenya after the Independence, named after its chairman, Professor H.S Ominde. The main objective was to carry out a survey on the existing education system and offer recommendations for the improvements.

of primary education.<sup>10</sup> At the same time, popular pressure for the secondary education was not met by the existing schools, and thus “harambee schools” were built to meet to social demands while local leaders often transformed it into a political argument.<sup>11</sup> The number of harambee schools increased rapidly exceeding that of state-funded schools, yet the standard of education was very low due to the lack of teaching materials and qualified teachers.<sup>12</sup> The government of Kenya thus wanted to suppress the Harambee schools in order to ensure the success of its education policy, but in the end it provided qualified teachers and took some of these schools into the State system due to popular protests.

In 1981, a Presidential Working Party examined curriculum reform of the entire education system and submitted a recommendation to change the 7-4-2-3 education system to the current 8-4-4 system of education, whose overall

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<sup>10</sup> The Gachathi report of 1976, however, emphasized the provision of free primary education and recognized the needs to integrate secondary education with the non-formal sector in order to take care of school dropouts. This called for the need to introduce more technical subjects in secondary schools. The last grade in higher secondary education (Form 6) was deemed to be a major recruiting stage as only a few students could be absorbed by the single university in Kenya, University of Nairobi.

<sup>11</sup> “Harambee” literally means “joining or pulling together” in Swahili language, and indicates ‘self-help’ activities and efforts by local communities. Communities came together to build Harambee schools at their own expense. When the Minister of Education tried to introduce compulsory fee of 2,000 shillings for opening a Harambee school in 1965, the minister faced not only protests from families but also criticism from local leaders accusing of colonial and imperialist practice.

<sup>12</sup> In 1964, eighty Harambee schools admitted pupils who had finished the primary stage, and thirty new schools were opened in 1965, altogether accounting for one-third of the secondary schools in the country. In 1966, the number of Harambee schools stood at 266, as compared with 199 State-funded schools (Kivuva, 2002).

structure was similar to the U.S. education system. The purpose of the reform was to adjust the education system to the needs of the country, reduce inequalities by building new schools in disadvantaged regions and most importantly to provide young people entering the labor market with some vocational training (Rharade, 1997). Accordingly, the primary stage was designed to be a terminal level for the majority of pupils while the introduction of technical education in the four-year secondary stage was intended to incorporate practical skills on top of academic knowledge. The emphasis on vocational education was assumed to support school dropouts at all levels to be either self-employed or to get employment in the non-formal sector.

## **3.2. Education System and Reforms in Kenya**

### **3.2.1. Colonial education system before the Independence**

The colonial education system introduced by the British government was the 4-4-4 structure; four years of primary schooling, four years of intermediate education and four years of secondary schooling (See Table 6).

**Table 6 The 4-4-4 Education System before the Independence**

Stage	Level	Certificate
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Primary	1	
	2	
	3	
	4	Common Entrance Examination (Africans only)
Intermediate	1	
	2	
	3	
	4	Kenya African Preliminary Examination
Secondary	1	
	2	
	3	
	4	Secondary School Examination

Source: Author's research

Resonating colonialist culture in general society in Kenya, a strategy to discourage Africans was embedded in the education system. Unlike others, only African pupils had to sit for the extremely competitive selection examinations, the Common Entrance Examination (CEE), at the end of the fourth year of primary school in order to proceed to upper primary cycle. The CEE was very competitive in that only one or two students could pass and qualify out of classes of thirty and more (Mwiria, 1991). At the end of the upper primary cycle, then all the pupils regardless of races had to sit for the Kenya African Preliminary Examination (KAPE) to join secondary school. Yet, the performance of African candidates in this examination and other post-primary examinations such as the Secondary School Examination and the Teacher's Examination showed the discouraged reality (See Table 7).

**Table 7 Performance of African Candidates in Post-primary Examinations in 1930**

Types of Examination	Entered	Passed
Elementary B School Cert.	1,006	633
Elementary C School Cert.	220	124
Junior Secondary School Cert.	62	39
Senior Secondary School Cert.	2	2
Elementary B Teachers' Cert.	273	198
Elementary C Teachers' Cert.	51	34
Junior Secondary Teachers' Cert.	18	11
Junior Secondary Clerks' Cert.	14	9
Senior Secondary Teachers' Cert.	1	1

Source: Colony and Protectorate of Kenya (1932)

### 3.2.2. The 7-4-2-3 education system between 1964-1985

After the independence, there had been several changes in education laws, policy plans and reforms introduced. During 1960s and 1970s, secondary education was considered as a priority for its merits in producing human capital. In 1980s, however, an increased attention was paid to the higher education due to recommendations from the IMF and other international development agencies as a prescription for the economic recovery (See Table 8).

**Table 8 Major Education Milestones in Kenya, 1964-1985**

Year	Law/Policy/Reform	Summary
1964	The Ominde Report	Emphasis on the importance of education in accelerating national development.
1964-70	The First Development Plan	Emphasis on Kenyanization of education for manpower skills.
1965	The Sessional Paper No. 10	Education regarded as means to supply skilled domestic labor to reduce economic inequalities.
1967	The Teachers Service Commission Act	Established a single employer entity offering unified terms of service for all teachers.
1968	Education Act	Policy guidelines on the establishment and development of institutions, development of curricula, and teacher education.
1970	The University of Nairobi Act	Establishment of national university
1970-74	The Second Development Plan	Emphasis on vocational skills for self-employment
1972	International Labor Organization Report (Employment, Income and Equality: A strategy for increased productive employment in Kenya)	Abolition of the primary education certificate, introduction of vocational institutions and the quota system in the education system recommended.
1974-78	The Third Development Plan	Emphasis on the under utilization of human resources and the lack of appropriate skills for development.
1976	The Gachathi Report (National Commission on Educational Objectives Policies)	Redefinition of educational objectives and policy recommendations.
1979-83	The Fourth Development Plan	Emphasis on the improved provision of basic education.
1980	The Kenya National Examinations Council	Establishment of national body for examinations.
1981	The Mackey Report (Presidential Party on the establishment of a Second University in Kenya)	Review on the education system recommending the 8-4-4 education system.

1983	The Wanjigi Report (Presidential committee on unemployment)	Examination on the role of education to solve unemployment problem in Kenya.
1983	University Grants Committee Report	Recommendations on the university education financed by public funds and loan system.
1985	New University Act	Establishment of the Commission for Higher Education to establish public and private universities.

Source: Author's research, Eshiwani (1990)

The most immediate change was the introduction of the 7-4-2-3 system; seven years of primary education, four years of lower secondary education, two years of upper secondary education, and three years of university (See Table 9).

**Table 9 The 7-4-2-3 Education System (1964-1985)**

Stage	Class.	Level	Certificate
Primary	Standard	1	
		2	
		3	
		4	
		5	
		6	
		7	Certificate of Education
Secondary	Form	1	
		2	
		3	
		4	East African School Certificate
		5	
		6	East African Advanced School Certificate
University	Year	1	
		2	

		3	
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Source: Eshiwani (1990); Rharade (1997)

The 7-4-2-3 system was, however, criticized for lacking practical curriculum for a wide range of employment opportunities. In 1975, due to serious unemployment problem, the National Committee on Educational Objectives and Policy was formed to review the achievements of the educational objectives after the independence. The dropout rate of primary school was high, and eighty percent of them were jobless.<sup>13</sup> The Gachathi report of 1976 also urged the integration of secondary education with the non-formal sector in order to take care of school dropouts as well as the introduction of more technical subjects in secondary schools.

### 3.2.3. The 8-4-4 education system from 1985 onwards

In January 1985, the 8-4-4 system was launched; eight years of primary education, four years of secondary, and four years of university education (See Table 10). The 8-4-4-4 system was based on a broad-based curriculum with pre-vocational skills and technical education.

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<sup>13</sup> In 1963, the total number of candidates for the Kenya Certificate of Primary Education (KCPE) was 103,400 and the number of Form 1 pupils in the secondary schools was 19,000 at the opportunity index of 18%. In 1983, the total number of the KCPE candidates was 354,407 and the number of Form 1 pupils was 123,076 at the opportunity index of 35% (Eshiwani, 1990, p. 23).

**Table 10 The 8-4-4-4 System (1985-present)**

Stage		Age	Level	Tiers			
				Academic		TIVET	
ECDE	Pre-primary	6-	-	Pre-school (not compulsory)			
Basic Edu.	Primary	6	1	Primary School			
		7	2				
		8	3				
		9	4				
		10	5				
		11	6				
		12	7				
			13	8	Kenya Certificate of Primary Education		
	Secondary		14	1	Secondary school		Craft, Artisan (3~5yrs)
			15	2			
16			3				
			17	4	Kenya Certificate of Secondary Education		Technical secondary School (4yrs)
Higher Edu.	Higher	18	1	Univ.	Teacher	Polytechnic Ordinary Dip. (3yrs)	
		19	2	Undergraduate (BA), Tertiary	Cert. (2yrs)		
		20	3		Teacher Dip. (3yrs)		
		21	4	Dip.	Agric./Vet./Med. Dip. (4yrs)	Polytechnic Higher Dip. (5yrs)	
		22+	-	Univ. Post-Graduate (MA, PhD), Institute		Master Technical	

ECDE: Early Childhood Development and Education

TIVET: Technical, Industrial, Vocational Entrepreneurship Training

Source: Author's research, UNESCO-IBE (2010)

Yet, technical subjects introduced in primary schools were not tested to be left unimportant ones while vocational subjects in secondary schools such as crafts, domestic science and woodwork were not popular. Vocational training

centers also did not attract many students (Kivuva, 2002). Furthermore, vocational subjects have removed from regular primary and secondary school curricula after the Needs Assessment Report of 1999.

In 2002, a curriculum revision was introduced to reduce the curriculum overload as well as overlaps within and across subjects, which decreased the number of subject for examination at primary and secondary school level.<sup>14</sup> Also, the new curriculum was intended to address emerging issues such as HIV and AIDS, child labor, environmental degradation and gender issues (UIS, 2012).

In 2005, the Sessional Paper No. 1 stipulated policies and strategies to address the challenges in education and training while the Sessional Paper No. 5 made provision for gender equality and development policy to promote equality within all sectors of national development including education. The new innovations were introduced for equal opportunities to advance to the highest level of learning either through the academic or TIVET tiers. The flexible mechanisms and opportunities for entry and re-entry into both tiers are offered in basic and higher education and training.

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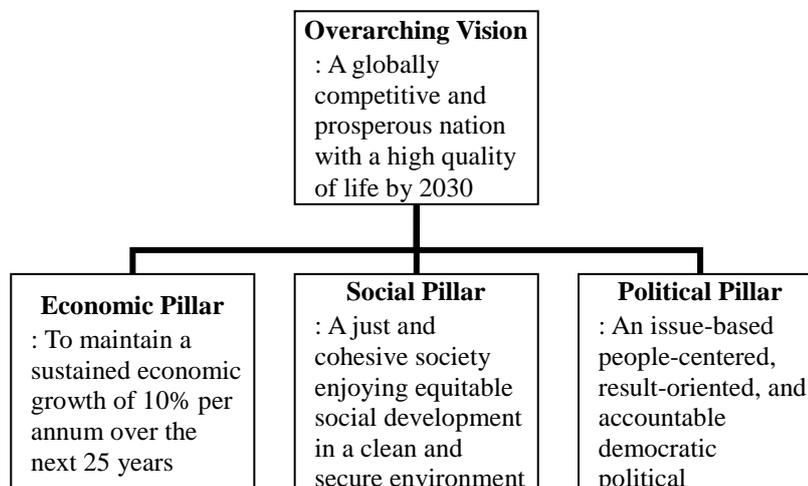
<sup>14</sup> The primary education curriculum includes ten subjects: English, Kiswahili, mathematics, science, social studies, religious education, creative arts, physical education, mother tongue and life skills education. The secondary education curriculum includes thirty subjects grouped in six learning areas: languages (English, Kiswahili, Arabic, German, French); sciences (mathematics, chemistry, physics, biology, mathematics alternative B, alternative science); applied sciences (home science, agriculture, computer studies); humanities (history, geography, religious education, life skills education, business studies); creative arts (music, art and design); technical subjects (drawing and design, building construction, power and mechanics, metal work, aviation, woodwork, electricity).

As a result, in April 2008, the structure within the Ministry of Education, Science and Technology was restructured into the Ministry of Education (MOE) while the Directorate of Adult and Continuing Education was transferred from the Ministry of Gender, Sports, Culture and Social Services to the MOE. Also, the Directorate of Higher Education was raised to the current Ministry of Higher Education, Science and Technology (MOHEST).

#### 3.2.4. Recent development in education system: Kenya Vision 2030 and the Constitution of Kenya 2010

The government of Kenya developed the new development plan in 2008, Vision 2030, to transform Kenya into a “newly industrializing, middle income country providing high quality life for all its citizens by the year 2030” (GOK, 2007b). The plan is established on three pillars: economic, social and political governance, which anchored on the foundations of macroeconomic stability, enhanced equity and wealth creation opportunities for the poor, infrastructure, public sector reforms, and human resources development among others (See Figure 2). The Vision 2030 is designed to be implemented in successive five-year medium term plans, with the first term covering the period 2008-2012.

**Figure 2 Three Pillars of Vision 2030**



Source: GOK (2007b)

The Vision 2030 states that the education goal is to provide globally competitive quality education, training and research for development and enhanced individual well-being while the overall goal for 2012 is set to reduce illiteracy by increasing access to education, improving the transition rate from primary to secondary schools, and raising the quality and relevance of education. Other goals are the integration special needs education into learning and training institutions, achieving an 80% adult literacy rate, increasing the school enrollment rate to 95% as well as the transition rates to technical colleges and higher education from 3% to 8% (GOK, 2007b). The Vision, however, is often criticized for its negligence on the role of education as it is only considered in broad generalities while the economic and political pillars were emphasized for

their roles in national development.

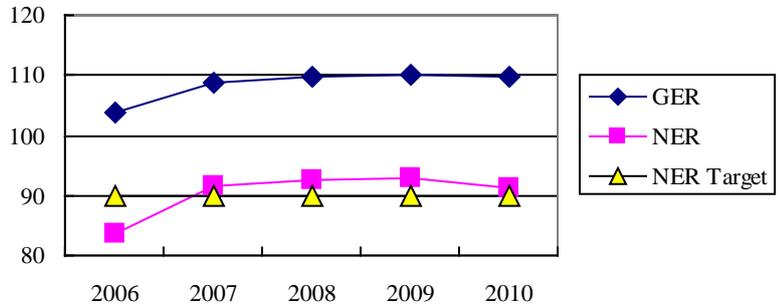
The government developed the implementation strategies which include integrating early childhood into primary education, reforming secondary curricula, modernizing teacher training and strengthening partnerships with the private sector. The flagship projects for education and training for 2012 are to establish 560 new secondary schools, to establish a teachers' recruitment program to employ 28,000 more teachers, to establish a computer supply program for students, to establish at least one boarding primary school in each constituency in the pastoral districts for nomadic populations, to launch the education voucher system program in five districts and to create "centers of specialization" for economic growth sectors (GOK, 2007b).<sup>15</sup> According to the recent progress report, some targets set for the education sector were met but others were not due to lack of funds and population growth.

In primary level, the number of pupils in formal primary schools has increase from 5.9 million in 2002 to 8.8 million (4.5 million boys and 4.3 million girls) in 2009, the enrollment was 9.38 million (4.75 million boys and 4.63 million girls) in 2010 (See Figure 3). Yet, regional disparities still persist in primary education although gender parity index at primary level is improving.

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<sup>15</sup> Specific details of objective, progress and benefits of each flagship projects are published by the government (<http://www.vision2030.go.ke/index.php/projects/social>).

**Figure 3 Primary Education Enrollment Progress**



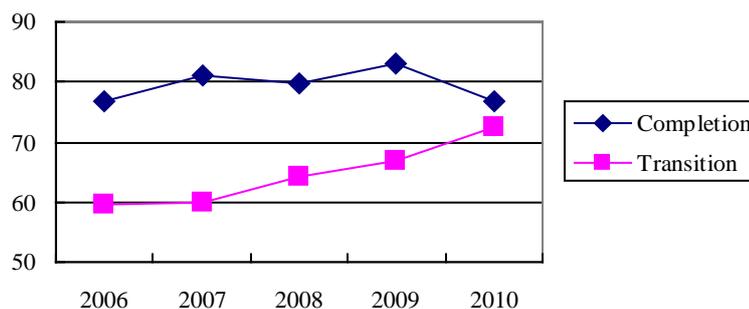
Source: GOK (2012c)

Yet, the shortage of teachers still persists in many schools, most schools retain the ratio above 40:1 while in the high potential and urban areas as high as 85:1. The average ratio of the pupil to teacher at primary schools was 44:1 in 2007, but increased to 45:1 in 2008, 2009 and 2010, although the government set the target to the ratio of 42:1. For the textbook to pupil ratio, the ratio has improved toward 1:1, although challenges in book shortage and maintenance stills remain.

The transition rate from primary to secondary has increased from 59.6 per cent (56.5 percent for male and 63.2 percent for female) in 2007 to 66.9 per cent (64.1 percent for male and 69.1 percent for female) in 2009, further to 72.5 per cent (68.9 percent for male and 75.3 percent for female) in 2010. The pupil completion rate has been fluctuating for years. The rate was 81.0 per cent (86.5 percent for male and 75.7 percent for female) in 2007. The rate was dropped in 2008, increased in 2009, and then decreased again in 2010, to 76.8 percent (79.2

percent for male and 74.4 percent for female) (See Figure 4).

**Figure 4 Primary Education Completion and Transition Progress**



Source: GOK (2012c)

In 2010, the government of Kenya promulgated new constitution approved by public referendum. The task force on the re-alignment of the education sector to the constitution of Kenya 2010 was formed and undertook a detailed situational analysis of the education sector by reviewing the Education Act, various commission reports, other relevant policy and legal documents while benchmarking good practices from countries with national and county governments and also received submissions by various stakeholders.

The task force recommended all-inclusive, flexible and comprehensive education system to provide opportunities for lifelong learning and the achievement of Basic Education for all. The recommended structure is 2 years of pre-primary, 6 years of primary (3 years lower and 3 years upper), 6 years secondary (3 years junior and 3 years senior), 2 years minimum of Middle level

Colleges and 3 years minimum University education, which makes free and compulsory basic education cycle of 14 years and a higher education cycle (See Table 11). In addition, the task force proposed changes in a variety aspect of education including school calendar and curriculum reform.<sup>16</sup>

**Table 11 Recommended System of Education and Training**

Stage		Age	Level	Tiers				
Basic Edu.	Child care	0-3-	-	Child care				
	ECDC	4-5	-	Pre-primary				
	Primary	6	1	Lower primary				
		7	2					
		8	3					
		9	4	Upper primary				
		10	5					
		11	6					
	Junior Secondary	12	1	Junior secondary				
		13	2					
		14	3					
	Senior Secondary	15	1	Technical	Talent	General Edu.	Vocational	Adult/Non-formal Ed.
		16	2					
		17	3					
Higher Edu.	Higher	18	1	Middle level Ins.		University (Undergraduate)		
		19	2					
		20	3	Postgraduate				
		21+	4					

Source: Author's research, GOK (2012b)

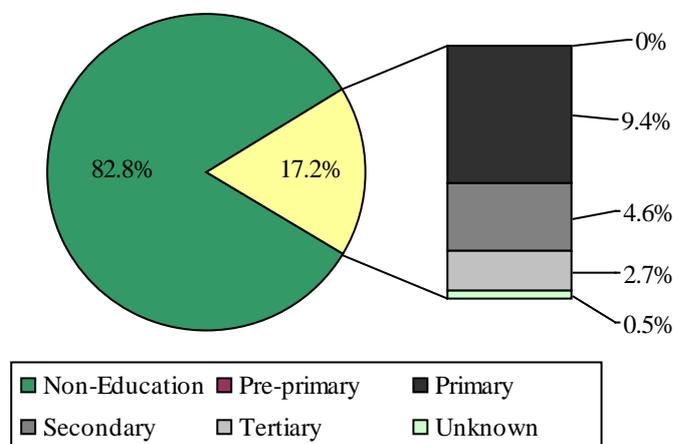
<sup>16</sup> For further recommendation details, see GOK (2012c).

### 3.3 Issues in Education in Kenya

#### 3.3.1. Characteristic of current education system

The government of Kenya states that the mission is “to provide, promote and co-ordinate lifelong education, training and research for Kenya's sustainable development” while focusing on attaining universal primary education by 2005 within the wider context of Education for All by 2015 (MOE, 2012). The education sector accounts for 6.7% of GDP and 17.2% of the total government expenditure (See Figure 5).

**Figure 5 Distribution of Public Expenditure per Education Level**



Source: UIS (2012)

The public spending on education in Kenya has continued to rise over the years, particularly since the introduction of the free primary education in 2003.

The sector's total expenditure increased from 92.6 billion Kenya Shillings in 2005/6 to 160 billion Kenya Shillings in 2009/10 (GOK, 2012c). The education development expenditure as percentage of total education expenditure has also been increasing except the sudden drop in 2009/10. Yet, the percentage of education development expenditure compared to the total development expenditure as well as the appropriation in aid has been constantly decreasing.

**Table 12 Education Expenditure Structure in Kenya**

	2005/06	2006/07	2007/08	2008/09	2009/10
Education recurrent % of total education expenditure	93.0	92.4	91.9	91.0	93.1
Education development % of total education expenditure	7.0	7.6	8.1	9.0	6.9
Education development % of GOK development	10.3	7.4	6.0	7.9	7.8
External financing (Aid) % of Education Expenditures	5.3	4.8	5.7	4.3	3.8

Source: GOK (2012c)

The management structure at the central government level in the MOE and the MOHEST is established around the Minister, Assistant Minister and the Permanent Secretary.<sup>17</sup> Similar structure exists at the province, district, division

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<sup>17</sup> The Minister carries the political portfolio for education while the Permanent Secretary is the executive head and the accounting officer. The organizational structure of MOE includes six directorates of Basic Education, Higher Education, Technical

and zone-levels in the country.<sup>18</sup> At the institutional level, Boards of Governors at secondary and tertiary institutions, School Management Committees at primary institutions, and Center Management Committees at adult and basic education centers manage respective institutions assisted by Parent-Teacher Associations. A variety of government structures such as the Kenya Institute of Education for national curriculum development, the Kenya National Examination Council for student assessment and curriculum evaluation, the Inspectorate of Education for educational standards and in-service teacher training, the Teachers Service Commission, the Kenya Education Staff Institute, and the Kenya Institute of Special Education also provide support to the education system as a whole.

### 3.3.2. Challenges and concerns in education

Since the 1990s, the government of Kenya has renewed its commitment to developing education and made progress toward increasing access, completion and transition rates and gender parity. Priorities are particularly given to universal access to basic education, the relevance and quality of education and

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Education, Quality Assurance and Standards, Policy and Planning, and Research Development while the MOHEST includes four directorates of Research Management and Development, Higher Education, Technical Education, and Technical Accreditation and Quality Assurance (UNESCO-IBE, 2010).

<sup>18</sup> Provincial Director of Education manages administration in each province and supervises district officers while District Education Officers supervise the division and zone officers.

good governance and efficient management of the education system. The government recognized that the provision of education and training to all Kenyans is quintessential in national development while universal access to basic education and training has to be all-inclusive (UNESCO-IBE, 2006). Despite the major reforms and innovations Kenyan government introduced in education to address broad national goals, there still exists a significant gap between goals and progress made so far.

First, out-of-school children issue is a persisting concern in spite of the encouragement for non-formal education involvement when MOE established a Non-Formal Education Unit to facilitate liaison with other relevant stakeholders in 1995. The gap between gross enrollment rate (GER) and net enrollment rate (NER) indicates that the number of out of school children is still high due to high repetition rates, over- age children at schools, which makes the attainment of the EFA targets difficult.

Second, equity in education remains significant challenge in education. There is significant regional disparity as North Eastern, Upper Eastern, Upper Rift and parts of the Coast have recorded low GER and NER compared to the other regions. In terms of gender parity, the situation is improving yet the issue of early pregnancy remains as major problem in education for girls. The government sponsored bursary program for secondary school girls in especially difficult circumstances, in particular those at the upper primary level in the rural

and slum areas for the equity of access.<sup>19</sup> Reaching the un-reached groups, such as orphans, children involved in labor and street children, has not been successful yet.

Third, lack of financing poses critical challenges in the education sector: poor quality and inadequate infrastructure particularly at primary level, inadequate materials and teaching staff, high teacher/pupil ratio and limited support for school feeding program among many. Special needs education (SNE) has been particularly suffered as it often requires costly equipment, well trained teachers and other enabling facilities.<sup>20</sup>

Fourth, human resource utilization has been another major challenge despite the emphasis on their role in the decentralizing process. Inefficient utilization of teaching staffs, limited support for the implementation of reforms and disorganized establishment of new schools especially through the Constituency Development Fund impose a further burden on the existing supply of teachers. As a result, the escalating wage for teachers absorbs 97.5 percent of the budget of the Teachers Service Commission to consist of 73 percent of the recurrent

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<sup>19</sup> In 2010, the gender parity index (GPI) at primary level stood at 1.02 when the GER and NER for girls stood at 109.9 and 92.3 respectively whereas the GPI at secondary level stood at 0.86 when the GER and NER for girls stood at 46.3 and 32.9 (GOK, 2012b). The secondary school bursaries target the vulnerable groups including orphans, girls and children from poor families in urban slum areas, pockets of poverty in high potential areas, and ASAL districts. Disbursement of bursary funds was 600 million Kenyan Shillings in 2008/09 and 500 million in 2010/11 (GOK, 2012a).

<sup>20</sup> Less than 10 percent of children with special needs have been assessed with only less than 3 percent of these being enrolled in educational programs when community support is still very low (GOK, 2012b).

budget of the MOE (GOK, 2012a).<sup>21</sup> As the rapid quantitative expansion in education occurred, mushrooming of private Teacher Training Colleges (TTCs) was observed in parallel, which became a threat to the quality of training.

Fifth, inadequate policy and legal frameworks as well as weak coordination have impeded the development of quality education. While laws and regulations do not provide adequately guidance to ensure equity in education, education management structure is overwhelmingly centralized and rigid to retain the participation of parents and communities minimal. In addition, the current curriculum does not provide appropriate support for reforms.

Sixth, the negative effects of HIV/AIDS pandemic have been observed in the education sector by losing skilled human resources. Teachers are either infected or indirectly affected by the consequences while children have also been affected through the loss of their parents as the participation of orphans in school becomes vulnerable and easy to drop out.

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<sup>21</sup> The total allocation to the Teachers Service Commission was 81 billion Kenya Shillings in the financial year 2008/09 and 99.37 billion in 2010/11.

## **CHAPTER 4**

# **UNIVERSAL PRIMARY EDUCATION PRACTICE IN KENYA**

### **4.1 The Expansion of UPE: 1970s-mid-1980s**

#### 4.1.1. The first UPE initiative in 1974

Disaffection on the colonial education run on racial lines to discriminate Kenyans created high hopes for settling imbalances in Kenyan education as Kenya became independent in 1963. Independent Kenya deemed primary education the fundamental basis to acquire not only literacy and skills but also positive social attitudes and values, ultimately enabling people to become meaningful participants in developing the country. The Kenya Education Commission Report of 1964/65 urged UPE to start in 1965 to be completed in 1971 when facilities and finances permitted. Additionally, the Five-Year Development Plans set the goal of universal primary education as high priority. Living up to the expectations of the people, the government of Kenya has been trying to achieve universal primary education as a national goal since its independence.

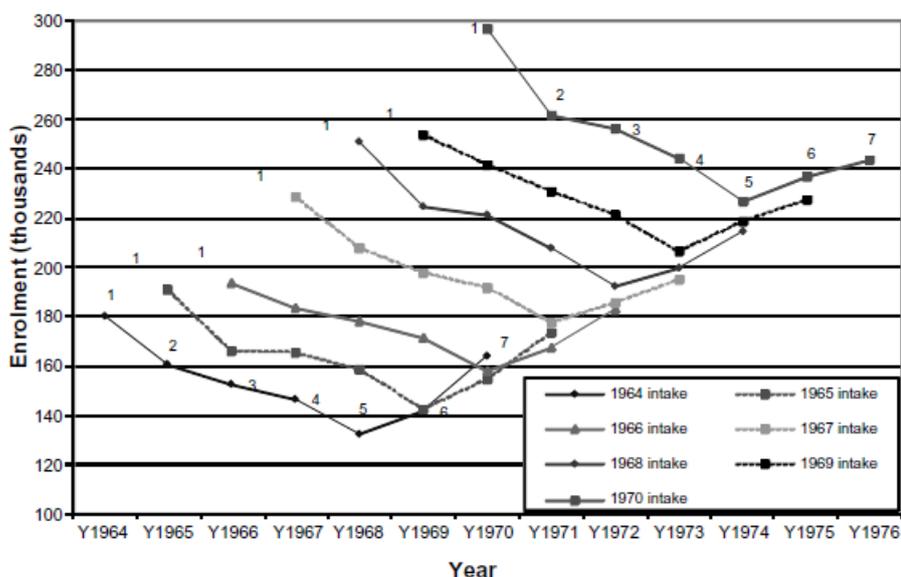
Independent Kenya introduced Free Primary Education (FPE) policies to

assure UPE each time the newly elected government was installed: the first in 1974, the second in 1979, and the third in 2003. The first universal primary education policies in the 1970s were not, however, accompanied by fundamental support system to ensure sustainable UPE particularly based on budgetary and strategic education development plan in the long term. Although the first President Jomo Kenyatta had committed to universal primary education even before he took the office in 1963, in reality the expansion of post-primary institutions was given priority to train civil servant for the independent government as well as to meet the fast-growing social demand for the economic development. Yet, the participation rate of primary school rose consistently after the independence particularly with the provision of the seven-year primary school system.

A remarkable expansion in primary education enrollment appeared already between 1963 and 1970. The enrollment in the upper grades at first surged with the abolition of CEE in 1964. The number of students who proceeded to Standard VIII consequently was doubled from 62,000 in 1963 to 133,000 in 1966 (Bogonko, 1992, p. 111). Another study shows that the Grade 1 enrollment had also increased from 180,000 to 194,000, then 296,000, respectively in 1964, 1966 and 1970 while Grade 7 enrollment quadrupled between 1962 and 1966 (Somerset, 2011). The cohort survival curves were similar to the Figure 6 showing the size of Standard I cohort group based on the cross-sectional data

influenced by repetition and dropout.

**Figure 6 Size of Standard I Cohort Group of 1964-1970**



Source: Somerset (2009)

The first movement toward universal primary education in Kenya began in 1971 when President Kenyatta through a presidential decree abolished tuition fees in the districts in semi-arid area where people were generally in the more difficult situation to send their children to school. The government also launched national school feeding scheme in order to ease the burden of parents.

Hence, in 1971 these districts showed sharp increase in the total enrollment much higher than national average of 6.8 percent, and by 1973 pupils in Marsabit, Isiolo, Samburu, Turkana, Garissa, West Pokot, Mandera, Wajir, Tana-River and Lamu districts were provided free primary education (Bogonko, 1992). Yet it was

only limited within a few districts and economically marginal people to enjoy the benefit.

A trend of expansion in primary school enrollment had continued since the independence and onwards. Especially a significant increase of the number of primary school enrollment was widely observed throughout the 1970s due to the UPE initiatives by the government. It is important that the expansion in this period was notably accompanied by the steadfast increase of both absolute number and percentage of the participation of girls, accounted for 34 percent in 1963 rising to 47 percent in 1977 (See Table 13).

**Table 13 Primary School Enrollment in Kenya, 1963-1977**

Year	Boys	Girls	Total	% Girls
1963	586,724	304,929	891,653	34
1964	657,635	357,084	1,014,719	35
1965	662,753	379,393	1,042,146	36
1966	645,867	397,549	1,043,416	38
1967	689,795	443,384	1,133,179	39
1968	725,030	484,650	1,209,680	40
1969	762,827	519,470	1,282,297	41
1970	836,307	591,282	1,427,589	41
1971	881,007	644,491	1,525,498	42
1972	956,620	719,299	1,675,919	43
1973	1,025,113	790,904	1,816,017	44
1974	1,491,531	1,214,347	2,705,878	45

1975	1,561,501	1,319,654	2,881,155	46
1976	1,554,124	1,340,493	2,894,617	46
1977	1,587,420	1,387,429	2,974,849	47

Source: GOK (1975, 1984)

In 1974, the first nationwide FPE policy was introduced by the second presidential decree to provide free education for pupils in Standard I to Standard IV and a uniform fee for those in Standards V to Standard VII, which followed by a subsequent decree in 1978 that abolished school fees in entire primary school.

The sharp increase in primary school enrollment was therefore observed particularly since 1970 culminating in 1974. The percentage of total primary enrollment growth rates were 10.2 and 32.9 in 1970 and 1974 respectively (See Table 14).

**Table 14 Enrollment in the Primary and Secondary School, 1963-1977**

Year	Enrollment in the Primary School	% Growth	Enrollment in the Secondary School	% Growth
1963	891,653	-	30,120	-
1965	1,042,146	2.5	47,976	33.6
1967	1,133,179	7.9	88,779	40.5
1969	1,282,297	5.7	115,246	13.7
1970	1,427,589	10.2	126,855	10.1
1971	1,525,498	6.4	140,722	10.9

1973	1,816,017	7.7	175,725	8.5
1974	2,705,878	32.9	195,832	11.4
1975	2,881,155	6.1	226,835	15.8
1976	2,894,617	0.5	280,388	23.6
1977	2,974,849	2.7	319,982	14.1

Source: GOK (1975,1984)

Consequently, GER of the primary school in total had also been increased significantly from 1974 to reach over 100 percent level from 71.8 percent from a year before (See Table 15). As shown in the Figure 7, it was only after the introduction of the first UPE initiative that the total GER exceeded 100 percent level with the striking increase in the participation of female student. The GER of female student was doubled from 53.2 to 101.1 between 1970 and 1975. After the surge in 1974, both the GER levels of male and female students were sustained until the second UPE initiative was introduced in 1978 (See Figure 7).

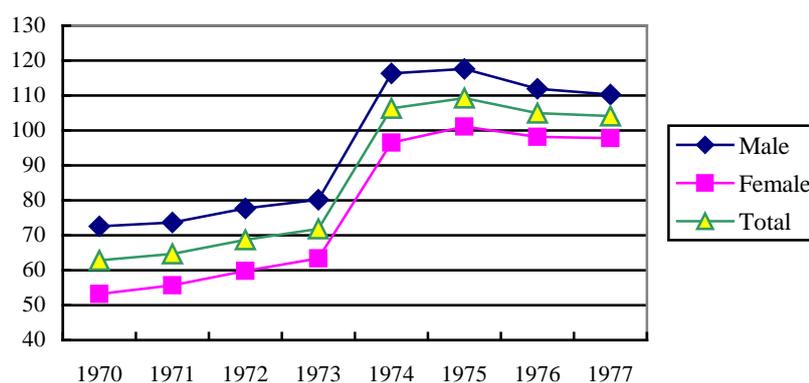
**Table 15 Gross Enrollment Rate, 1970-1977 (%)**

Year	Male	Female	Total
1970	72.6	53.2	62.8
1971	73.7	55.7	64.7
1972	77.7	59.8	68.7
1973	80.2	63.4	71.8
1974	116.3	96.5	106.3
1975	117.6	101.1	109.3

1976	111.9	98.2	105.0
1977	110.3	97.8	104.1

Source: World Bank

**Figure 7 Gross Enrollment Rate, 1970-1977 (%)**



Source: World Bank

The unprecedented growth in the number of schools was also witnessed despite of the emphasis on post-primary laid by the government. Both the number of secondary enrollment and schools were extraordinarily surged between 1963 and 1967 as the new independent government intentionally expanded post-primary education for manpower (See Table 16). Yet, primary education had expanded continuously since 1963 in terms of the number of pupils even when the number of primary schools was decreased. Especially after the introduction of the first UPE initiative in 1974, the trend became salient.

**Table 16 Number of Primary and Secondary Schools, 1963-1977**

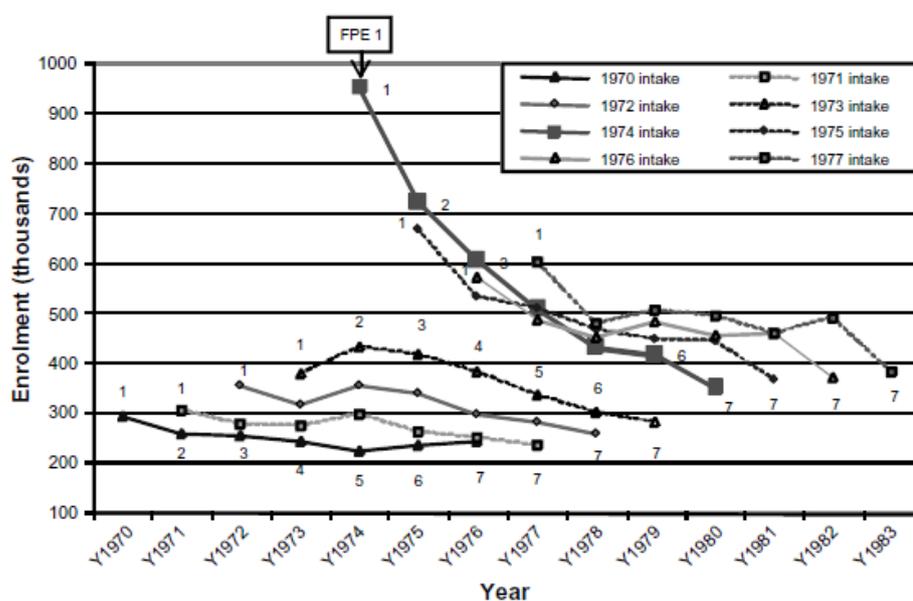
Year	Number of Secondary School	Number of Primary School	% Growth Primary School	% Growth Primary Enrollment
1963	151	6,058	-	-
1964	222	5,150	-15.0	12.1
1965	336	5,078	-1.4	2.5
1966	400	5,699	12.2	0.2
1967	542	5,959	4.6	7.9
1968	601	6,135	3.0	6.3
1969	694	6,111	-0.4	5.7
1970	783	6,123	0.2	10.2
1971	809	6,372	4.1	6.4
1972	949	6,657	4.5	9.0
1973	964	6,932	4.1	7.7
1974	1019	7,706	11.2	32.9
1975	1160	8,161	5.9	6.1
1976	1268	8,544	4.7	0.5
1977	1473	8,896	4.1	2.7

Source: Statistical Abstracts, Economic Survey, UNESCO Statistical Yearbook quoted in Bogonko (1992)

In addition to the notable growth of the total primary student population, the first UPE initiative especially brought a dramatic surge of the Standard I intake similar to the situation after the independence. The dramatic impact of the first UPE initiative is evident. The number of pupils jumped from less than 380,000 to more than 950,000 within a year. After 1974, however, the Standard I class participation level began to fall back to the level of 600,000 intakes (See Figure

8). The GER of the Standard I was rose from 87.6 to 141.4 after the introduction of the UPE initiative in 1974 (See Table 17).

**Figure 8 Size of Standard I Cohort Group of 1970-1977**



Source: Somerset (2009)

**Table 17 Standard I GER, 1970-1981 (%)**

Year	Male	Female	Total
1970	86.4	68	77.1
1971	85.7	67.3	76.5
1972	95.3	76.6	85.9
1973	95.9	79.4	87.6
1974	-	-	-
1975	-	-	141.4
1976	-	-	114.4

1977	122.1	109.3	115.7
1978	115.8	103.1	109.5
1979	-	-	170.3
1980	143.3	136.5	139.9
1981	128	121.2	124.6

Source: World Bank

Because the first UPE initiative only prohibited formal fees for schooling, primary education in this period was still far from free of cost. The construction and maintenance of buildings and housing for teachers has long been a responsibility of local communities supplemented by direct parental levies. Massive growth of enrollments inevitably required new classrooms and facilities to be met by increased levies, often higher than before due to the rising cost of construction. Given that the sudden increase of pupils were only possible with the financial mitigation, escalating levies often affected the high dropout rate of those newly recruited that raised the high enrollment rate in the beginning.

It was students from low-income families and over-aged students comprised a massive influx of pupils seeking equal opportunity in education through the first UPE initiative in 1974. Therefore, when schools fees were reintroduced in 1975, the majority of pupils dropped out as shown in the Figure 8. Only the half of 1974 Standard I cohort survived after 4 years compared to the survival rate around 70 percent in the 1960s. In addition to the massive increase in the new recruitment, sharp rise in dropout rates were also accompanied to the

introduction of the first UPE initiative.

Also, the quality of education suffered from the shortage of teachers and learning materials. Although Kenyan government recruited a large number of untrained teachers to deal with overcrowded classrooms, overall quality of primary education was quickly dropped as the shortage of equipment and materials for education continued for a long time.

#### 4.1.2. The second UPE initiative in 1978

After the first president Kenyatta died in 1978, the second UPE initiative was launched immediately by the successor president Daniel Arap Moi in the same year. The recommendation from the Gachathi Committee Report of 1976 to abrogate school fees for the full seven years of primary education by 1980 was finally implemented. The second initiative thus banned the direct imposition of building levies and other extra burdens on parents, which are to be raised utterly through ‘harambee (self-help)’ activities. President Moi also declared primary education to be for the last three classes from January 1980 except private and government high costs schools.

After the introduction of the second UPE initiative, both the number of participation of boys and girls were immediately surged a year when the second UPE initiative came into effect (See Table 18). A consistent expansion in primary education enrollment was continued while absolute number and percentage of

the participation of girls also kept rising.

**Table 18 Primary School Enrollments in Kenya, 1978-87**

Year	Boys	Girls	Total	% Girls
1978	1,594,359	1,400,535	2,994,894	47
1979	1,953,350	1,744,896	3,698,246	47
1980	2,062,615	1,864,014	3,926,629	47
1981	2,078,576	1,902,586	3,981,162	48
1982	2,178,169	2,006,433	4,184,602	48
1983	2,249,242	2,074,580	4,323,822	48
1984	2,269,240	2,110,992	4,380,232	48
1985	2,434,903	2,267,511	4,702,414	48
1986	2,512,600	2,330,900	4,843,500	48
1987	2,604,000	2,427,400	5,031,400	48

Source: Bogonko (1992); GOK (1975, 1984)

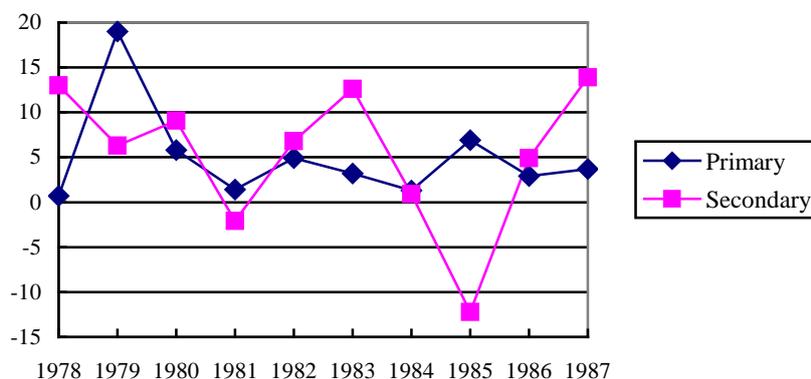
Similar to the response to the first initiative in 1974, the growth rate of primary school enrollment jumped 20 times higher when the second UPE was introduced. The percentage of total primary enrollment growth rate was recorded at 19 percent compared with 0.7 percent a year before (See Table 19). The number of enrollment in the primary school continuously increased after the introduction of the second UPE initiative while in the same period, the number of enrollment in the secondary school was fluctuated widely from year to year (See Figure 9).

**Table 19 Enrollment in the Primary and Secondary School, 1978-1987**

Year	Enrollment in the Primary School	% Growth	Enrollment in the Secondary School	% Growth
1978	2,994,894	0.7	361,622	13.0
1979	3,698,246	19.0	384,389	6.3
1980	3,926,629	5.8	419,201	9.1
1981	3,981,162	1.4	410,550	-2.1
1982	4,184,602	4.9	438,424	6.8
1983	4,323,822	3.2	493,710	12.6
1984	4,380,232	1.3	498,146	0.9
1985	4,702,414	6.9	437,207	-12.2
1986	4,843,500	2.9	458,712	4.9
1987	5,031,400	3.7	522,261	13.9

Source: Economic Survey, Statistical Abstracts, Ministry of Education Annual Reports quoted in Bogonko (1992); GOK (1984)

**Figure 9 Enrollment Growths in Primary and Secondary Schools, 1978-1987 (%)**



Source: Economic Survey, Statistical Abstracts, Ministry of Education Annual Reports quoted in

Bogonko (1992); GOK (1984)

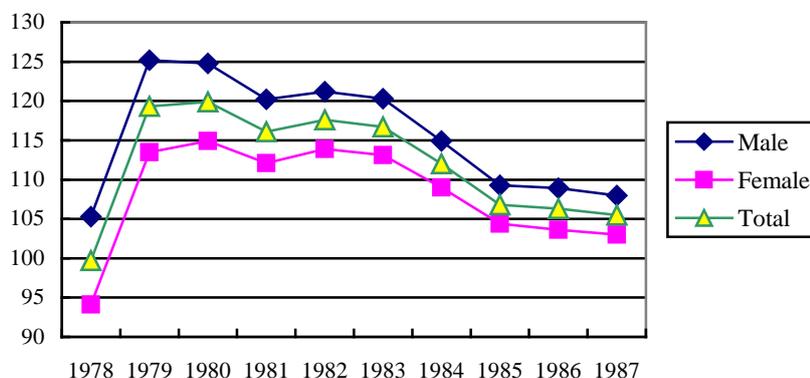
As a result, GER of the primary school was increased over 20 percent from 99.7 to 119.3 in a year while GER of the female student recovered 100 percent level after a short fall (See Table 20). As shown in the Figure 9, another quick surge occurred when the second UPE was practically implemented from the 1979 recruitment. After the surge in 1979, both the GER levels of male and female students were sustained over the 100 percent level until the late 1980s despite the slow declining trend (See Figure 10).

**Table 20 Gross Enrollment Rate, 1978-1987 (%)**

Year	Male	Female	Total
1978	105.3	94.1	99.7
1979	125.2	113.5	119.3
1980	124.8	114.9	119.9
1981	120.2	112.1	116.1
1982	121.2	113.9	117.6
1983	120.3	113.1	116.7
1984	114.9	109.0	112.0
1985	109.3	104.4	106.8
1986	108.9	103.6	106.3
1987	108.0	103.0	105.5

Source: World Bank

**Figure 10 Gross Enrollment Rate, 1978-1987 (%)**



Source: World Bank

The number of primary schools, however, did not catch up with the growth of the enrollment. Contrary to the 11.2 percent increase in the number of schools when the first initiative was implemented in 1974, there was no significant increase accompanied with the second UPE initiative. Furthermore, in 1979 when the second initiative came into effect there was actually the smaller growth in the number of primary schools at 2.9 percent compared with 5.1 percent in 1978 and 6.6 percent in 1980 (See Table 21).

**Table 21 Growths in Number of Primary Schools and Enrollment, 1978-1987**

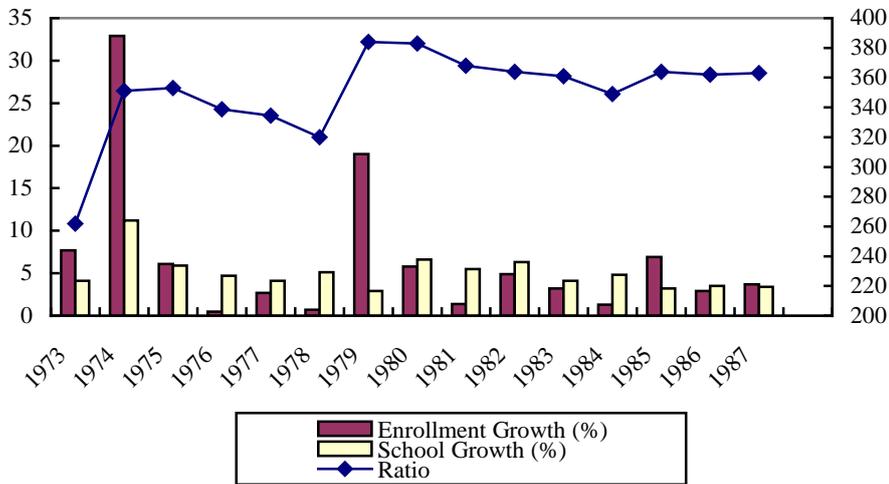
Year	Enrollment	% Growth Enroll.	Number of Schools	% Growth School
1978	2,994,894	0.7	9,349	5.1
1979	3,698,246	19.0	9,622	2.9

1980	3,926,629	5.8	10,255	6.6
1981	3,981,162	1.4	10,817	5.5
1982	4,184,602	4.9	11,497	6.3
1983	4,323,822	3.2	11,966	4.1
1984	4,380,232	1.3	12,539	4.8
1985	4,702,414	6.9	12,936	3.2
1986	4,843,500	2.9	13,392	3.5
1987	5,031,400	3.7	13,849	3.4

Source: Economic Survey, Statistical Abstracts, Ministry of Education Annual Reports quoted in Bogonko (1992); GOK (1984)

When the second UPE initiative was introduced, the enrollment increased 19 percent while the number of schools only 2.9 percent. The average school-pupil ratio thus significantly surged from 320.4 to 384.4 in a year as shown in Figure 11. The experience was the same for the first initiative with even greater surge in the ratio from 262 to 351.1 in 1973 and 1974 respectively. After the second initiative, however, the average school-pupil ratios were stabilized at a higher level around 360.

**Figure 11 Average Primary School-Pupil Ratios, 1973-1987**



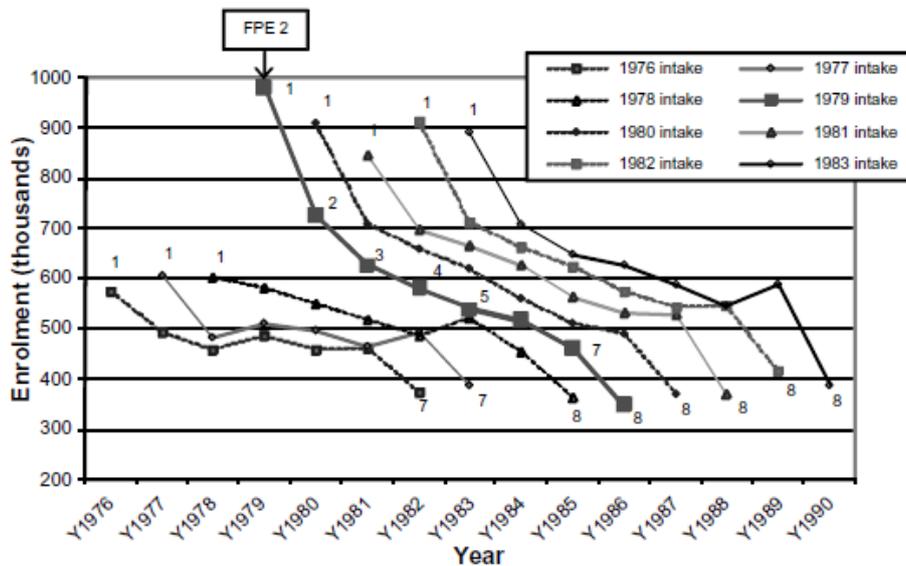
Source: Economic Survey, Statistical Abstracts, Ministry of Education Annual Reports quoted in Bogonko (1992); GOK (1984)

Similar to the response in 1974, the Standard I intakes surged even higher from 600,000 in 1978 to 977,000 in 1979 with the increased dropout rates at the same time as did in the earlier time (See Figure 12). The increase in Standard I intake was better sustained than the first initiative, stabilized at around 900,000 in subsequent years.

Yet, dropout rates were similarly very high. The number of the first cohort after the second UPE initiative fell by 45 percent after 4 years in comparison with 54.7 percent for the 1974 intake while the smaller number of the first cohort of 1978 completed full primary course than the group started a year before (Somerset, 2009, p. 239). High dropout rates, especially between Standard I and II, persisted as did before leaving the enrollment of Standard VIII at the same

level. The newly recruited pupils were lost as most of them dropped before the completion of primary school education.

**Figure 12 Size of Standard I Cohort Group of 1976-1983**



Source: Somerset (2009)

Over-aged students consisted of major population of the new recruitment by the second UPE initiative as the school building levy was abrogated to remove financial burden for them. While the group of aged 8 years and over accounted for 19.5 percent for the Standard I intake in the previous year, it increased to 28 percent after the abolition of the levy. When the parental levies were gradually revived to expand school facilities due to rapid growth in the enrollment, a majority of the newly recruited pupils from marginal families dropped out the school particularly at the very early stage between Standard I and II as shown in

the Figure 12.

## **4.2. The Decline of Free Primary Education Policy: mid-1980s-1990s**

### **4.2.1. The socio-economic context in Kenya**

Despite the two UPE initiatives introduced in the 1970s, the government of Kenya on the other hand promoted “harambee” to mobilize self-help support for schools, health clinics, housing projects, and farmer cooperatives from local communities. This strategy was meant to urge local communities to encourage family demand for schooling and to finance gains in the supply of teachers and classrooms while strengthening civil society (Bradshaw & Fuller, 1996).

As the traditional ethnic-regional political structure kept intact from the colonial period, the political leadership in Kenya respected the authority of local ethnic leadership while incorporating once disenfranchised peasant and ethnic groups into a nationwide definition of civil society along more secular lines (Barkan & Holmquist, 1989). For example, the first president Kenyatta whose political base was lying on the ethnic alliance of the Kikuyus and their tribal allies built up popular supports by respecting the local leadership of other ethnic groups (Barkan & Chege, 1989).

While the local ethnic leaders promoted family demand for schooling and mobilize resources for supplying more classrooms and teachers, the government reduced school fees providing further incentive for school enrollment. Both the central government and local leadership shared the common interests to present themselves delivering of resources and jobs. Schools were used as principal venue for nation-building through unifying efforts by the local ethnic leadership (Bradshaw, 1993).

By the early 1980s, however, the harambee spirit began to erode as the grass-roots harambee initiatives were exploited by the political events for which politicians were to attend such events and to donate generously. Assistance to build schools and other local institutions shrank accordingly. Communities complained that their harambee contributions were not used for local development efforts but instead for political events, undermining the legitimacy of the government (Chege & Barkan, 1989). At the same time, the Moi government dismissed the broad ethnic alliance of the previous government and strongly favored the Kalenjin districts in western Kenya, a hometown of the president Moi, which further corroded the harambee spirit (Barkan & Chege, 1989).

Furthermore, erratic agricultural production, deteriorating terms-of-trade, skyrocketing debt payments, and population growth in the 1980s and 1990s exacerbated the macro-economic decline in Kenya (See Table 22). As the

government faltered in economic management, partly damaged by the uncontrollable external shocks, both the financial assistance from government to local communities and the local faith in central policies was diminished. As the central government assistance and harambee spirit declined altogether, the school demand from families and the financial support from communities were also diminished mostly due to economic constraints.

**Table 22 Economic and Social Development of Kenya, 1965-1999**

	1965	1975	1980	1985	1990	1995	1999
GDP	2488.5	5216.1	7085.4	8024.9	10555.3	11421.6	12629.6
GDP per capita	261.8	386.8	435.6	408.3	450.2	416.5	414.6
GNI	241.9	507.2	686.9	777.6	10149.9	1102.9	1245.6
Total external debt	-	1,290.2	3,386.8	4,181.3	7,055.6	7,309.2	6,525.7
Population growth rate	3.3	3.7	3.8	3.7	3.4	2.9	2.5
Infant mortality rate	102.8	84.3	69.3	62.2	63.5	71.0	72.1
Net ODA received per capita	7.6	9.3	24.3	21.7	50.4	26.7	10.2

Note: GDP and GNI in constant 2000 US\$, millions, GDP per capita in constant 2000 US\$, Net ODA received per capita in current US\$

Source: World Bank, UIS

External debt, political instability, and erratic agricultural output altogether led to the decline in GDP and wage returns. The wage returns to primary and secondary education had continued to decline from the 1970s due to the oversupply of graduates for employment (Bradshaw & Fuller, 1996). As the benefit of schooling for employment was decreasing in the economic downturn, the demand from family on education paralleled with the decreased enrollment growth.

As the unemployment of these increasing graduates caused a great public concern, the government addressed the mismatch between education and employment resulted from the uncontrolled educational expansion by offering even more jobs in the public sector and by encouraging “education for self-reliance” (Hughes & Mwiria, 1989). Between 1978 and 1991, the Kenyan government increased the number of civil service employees from 133,000 to 272,000 to absorb the graduates, particularly expanding the size of teaching force (Buchmann, 1999). During 1986-1989, the annual growth rate of teacher group was 7 percent compared to 2.5 percent in overall government and private sector jobs, even higher than the enrollment growth rate (Bradshaw & Fuller, 1996). In 1989, teaching jobs comprised one-third of all government employment that absorbed more than half of the formal wage job (World Bank, 1989). This later invited a serious criticism from the World Bank on the lax public expenditure issue, resulting in total policy reverse in the late 1980s.

The inconstant signal from the Kenyan government in regards to the implementation of UPE policy had originated from its financial struggle for national and international commitments in the economic downturn. Despite the UPE initiatives declared in the 1970s, there had been much financial burden imposed on parents and communities in reality. The government had only decreed its determination for UPE to expand education opportunity through fee abolition, yet no fiscal countermeasures were considered to provide financial support for the influx of students particularly from the marginalized families.

Without appropriate support from central government, schools had to cope with non-tuition costs such as equipment levy, building fund, uniform, feeding schemes and activity costs from parents and communities (GOK, 1977). Among the masked school fees, the building fund imposed serious financial burden to cause dropouts. Without clear criterion set for these fees, a wide variation between the amounts charged in different districts and schools existed (Nkinyangi, 1982).

With the commitment to expand educational opportunities through UPE initiatives and structural reform of national education system, the government of Kenya promoted the idea that the Kenyan educational system was meritocratic (Buchmann, 1999). Withdrawing itself from the position accounted for the sole responsibility for the supply of educational facilities and costs, the government left most of the financial burden to communities and parents.

#### 4.2.2. Consequences of the structural change in education system

One of the major changes that induced substantial impact on education sector in this period is the adoption of a new structure for the education system, popularly referred to the 8-4-4 system. While the publication of the Kenya Certificate of Primary Education (KCPE) performance tables after the 1978 examination caused the unexpected upper-grade retention and repetition patterns despite of the original purpose as a quality-monitoring measure, the introduction of the 8-4-4 system posed different dynamics for schools, parents and communities.

In January 1985, a new structure for education system replaced the former 7-4-2-3 system in response to the decline in enrollment in the mid-1980s. The primary cycle was extended from seven to eight years while the secondary cycle transformed from the four plus two structure to a single four year. At the university level, the undergraduate cycle was extended from three to four years. The British structure based on the exam following junior-secondary school and the structural differentiation between junior and senior secondary was totally changed transforming Kenyan education system from a British-style education model to a more open American model.

This structural reform resulted in the increase of the number of students eligible to proceed to higher education from 10,000 to 85,000 within a short

period while the Moi government also doubled university intake twice over a 3-year period (World Bank, 1992). Despite the fact that these groups of new graduates were not able to find wage-sector jobs due to economic decline, the government kept promoting the expansion of education (Bradshaw & Fuller, 1996).

Additionally, major curriculum changes came with the structural reforms. Particularly the number of subjects offered at the primary level was increased from 7 to 13, adding art and craftwork, music, business education and agriculture to include practical and pre-vocational skills. In fact, there had been much criticism over the curriculum of primary education especially after the mid-1970s by the Gachathi Report of 1976 and the Mackay Report of 1981. The newly added subject gained social recognition as they were examinable in the KCPE although their contribution toward learners' self-reliance was questionable.

The new 8-4-4-4 system was to be founded on a broad-based curriculum with pre-vocational skills and technical education as emphasized in the "education for self-reliance". The government promoted the education for self-reliance by introducing a new curriculum with practical and vocational subjects in order to "instill realistic attitudes and aspirations regarding employment in both parents and school leavers" (ROK & UNICEF, 1989).

The government intended to encourage students for self-employment in agriculture and other informal sectors, dispersing the attention for higher

education and a government employment (Buchmann, 1999). The education for self-reliance was meant to address long term development concerns to resolve the mismatch between the education system and employment. Yet, the curriculum revision to include vocational subjects intensified the financial burden of schooling for additional staffs and facilities as well as the academic burden of students for exam hysteria and high pressure for increased syllabus.

Since this curriculum reform simultaneously accompanied the structural change in 1985, schools faced a significant professional challenge without much preparation. The new curriculum was introduced across all classes at the same time, leaving little room for teachers to adapt to the new system. Teachers with appropriate skills in the new subjects were therefore in substantial shortage despite that the overall teacher supply was getting better as the pupil-to-teacher ratio had dropped from its 1979 peak of 39.84 to 33.98 by 1984 (GOK & UNICEF, 1992; Somerset, 2009).

In sum, the structural reform and the curriculum revision in the 1980s resulted in imposing new burdens on parents and communities. While parents needed to buy many new textbooks up to extra ten titles for the higher class students, communities were also needed to provide workrooms and other facilities for the new pre-vocational subjects. Thus, textbooks for standard VII and VIII were not available in several rural schools in time while the surge in the enrollment overwhelmed the initial projections on space and facilities

requirements (Eisemon, 1988). Many schools were suffered from the shortage of space for class and activities particularly for the pre-vocational subjects.

#### 4.2.3. The World Bank and the cost-sharing scheme for education

The government of Kenya faced economic decline and rising deficits caused unsustainable public expenditure levels in the 1980s, similar to many Sub-Saharan Africa countries. As the government was in struggle to pay for the social services, the need to restructure financing and public spending policies became evident. The government introduced a cost-sharing scheme to diversify the social service financing and lower the public demand for government spending.

Cost-sharing refers to the contributions and fees financed by individual users and communities for the social services in forms of cash and in-kind. Although cost-sharing had been widely established in the post-colonial Kenya as communities had provided contributions for the construction and maintenance of local schools and health clinics, the scheme exacerbated the access to the basic social service particularly by the marginalized people. As the cost-sharing scheme widened with the increased user fees in the 1980s, the marginalized became further excluded from the basic education and health care.

Initially the cost-sharing through user fees was considered as a means for protecting social equity and the access to social services for the less privileged

while increasing ownership, accountability and economic efficiency (Adams & Hartnett, 1996). User fees meant to be imposed on social services for the non-marginalized, such as tertiary and secondary education and tertiary health services, to encourage more cost-conscious and efficient spending. Instead, the cost-sharing was supposed to shift public expenditures to basic education and health care through free or highly subsidized service provided for the cost effective services with positive social externalities.

Psacharopoulos (1986) emphasized to prioritize primary education in public investment for its high social rate of return. The study argued that the fiscal resources needed to be reinvested in primary education while increasing fees for higher education, supplemented by student loan schemes and selective scholarships. Some World Bank studies also opposed to cost-sharing at the primary level unless provision of acceptable quality of education is impossible without various forms of cost-sharing (Mundial, 1995; World Bank, 1988).

Although the first and the second UPE initiatives were not able to defend the quality shock in classrooms, still they were successful in establishing a foothold toward universal primary education in Kenya. Yet, Kenya was unfortunately not an exception for serious economic stagnation like many other African countries in the 1980s. As the national economy fell deeply into recession, Kenya went through Structural Adjustment Programs (SAPs) in return to the assistance from the IMF and World Bank.

In 1988, the government introduced cost-sharing policies through the SAPs in order to restrain the recurrent expenditure for education to sustainable levels by shifting the cost to the beneficiaries. The public expenditure on education had to be reduced for its large share in the process of a broader structural adjustment process. In 1987, over 35% of the total public sector recurrent budget was taken up by education alone, compared to 15% in the 1960s and 30% in 1980 (GOK, 1988). The cost-sharing scheme in education sector was to reduce the government budget by restoring direct levies from parents.

The cost-sharing scheme urged parents and communities to finance capital development and recurrent expenditure of primary and secondary education while the government continued to pay the salary of teachers (GOK & UNICEF, 1992). The scheme therefore revived the practice that parents contributed directly to non-salary school costs. Under the cost-sharing scheme, school management committees set their levy. The levy often consisted of two components, an initial lump sum of substantial amount to be paid at the first enrollment and regular payments of smaller amount (Somerset, 2009). The levies had direct impact on the enrollment rate drop, which continued for fifteen years.

The quality of primary education as well as the volume of participation was impaired significantly after the introduction of SAPs. Although the number of candidates for the KCPE examination continued to rise, during 1990–1995, the overall performance in key subjects such as English, Kiswahili, mathematics,

sciences and social studies hardly reached the 50 percent score (Abagi, 1999, as cited in Sifuna, 2007). In terms of the participation, the decline in gross enrollment rate was noticeable from 95 in 1989 to 78 percent in 1995 (Sifuna, 2007).

The share of the recurrent budget spent for education in the mid-1950s was at 10 percent level while in the early 1960s substantially increased to 16 percent level due to the expansion of primary and secondary education. The introduction of UPE initiatives in the 1970s had accelerated the share of education in the recurrent public expenditure. The share had risen to 30 percent in 1980, further to 35 percent in 1985 (Somerset, 2011). The household survey in 1992 on direct costs for education showed that households contribute 34 percent of the total cost of primary education, 66 percent of secondary education, and about 20 percent of higher education (World Bank, 1995a). Direct costs survey included costs for uniforms, stationery, books, and 'harambee' contribution excluding in-kind payments.

With the introduction of the cost-sharing scheme, the participation rate of primary education continued to decline. Between 1989 and 1999, primary school enrollments increased by an average of 1.25 percent while the total age group of 6–13-years rose by an average of 2.68 percent per year (Somerset, 2009). Thus, the GER of primary education constantly decreased from 103.5 to 91.5 within a decade after the introduction of the scheme (See Table 23). By 1991 the rate fell

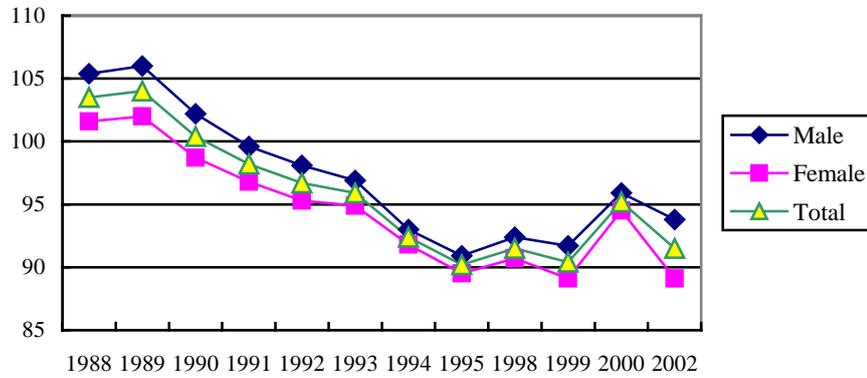
below 100 percent level, by 1999, further to slightly over 90 percent level (See Figure 13).

**Table 23 Gross Enrollment Rate, 1988-2002 (%)**

Year	Male	Female	Total
1988	105.4	101.6	103.5
1989	106.0	102.0	104.0
1990	102.2	98.7	100.4
1991	99.6	96.8	98.2
1992	98.1	95.3	96.7
1993	96.9	94.9	95.9
1994	93.0	91.8	92.4
1995	90.9	89.5	90.2
1998	92.4	90.7	91.5
1999	91.7	89.1	90.4
2000	95.9	94.5	95.2
2002	93.8	89.1	91.5

Source: World Bank

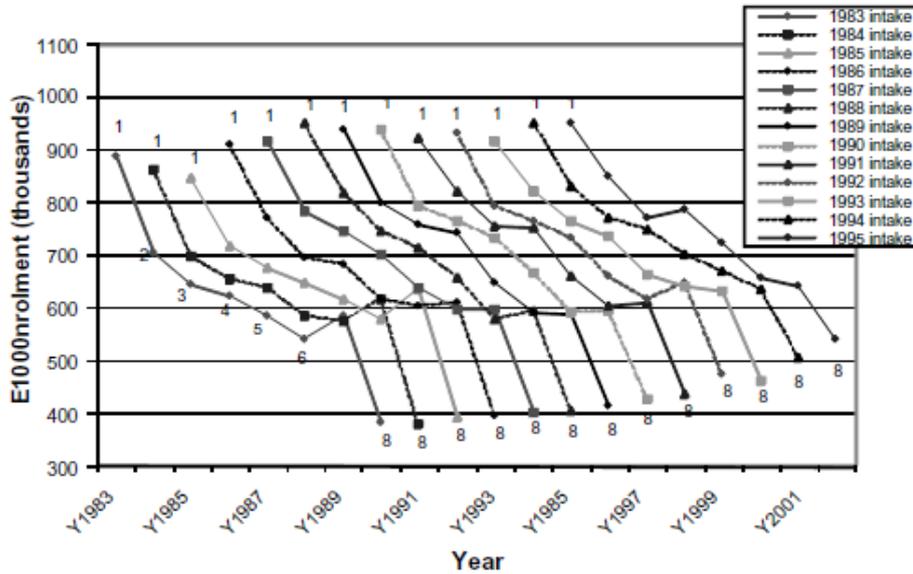
**Figure 13 Gross Enrollment Rate, 1988-2002 (%)**



Source: World Bank

In terms of the Standard I intakes, the figure stayed on a plateau of around 950,000 pupils per year (See Figure 14). Yet, exceptionally high rates of dropout were observed among the student groups enrolled primary school between 1988 and 1992 as their completion rates had been lower than 50 percent.

Figure 14 Size of Standard I Cohort Group of 1983-1995



Source: Somerset (2009)

### 4.3. The New Emergence of UPE: 2000s-present

#### 4.3.1. The third UPE initiative in 2003

With the new government of President Mwai Kibaki in December 2002, a new UPE initiative was launched after twenty five years from the second initiative as it was a major presidential election pledge of the National Rainbow Coalition (NARC). Almost immediately after the election, the new government reversed the cost-sharing policy through the abolition of parental levies to make the primary education entirely cost-free in 2003.

Primary education was to be provided free of all direct costs at all levels in primary schools. The provision of school uniforms was changed to voluntary option unlike previous years when it had always remained a mandatory responsibility of parents. It was prohibited to exclude any students because of their lack of uniforms. The most dramatic change introduced by the Kibaki government was that school management committees could no longer be able to collect parental contributions of any kind without the authorization of the district administration. Therefore, any direct and indirect fee charge was proscribed from 2003.

The third initiative was, however, not benefitted from the previous experiences because it was a matter less of well-planned policy than of political expediency to be implemented only a few months after the presidential election. Since the new UPE initiative was launched to represent a significant difference in the policies against the previous administration as a part of fulfillment of election pledge, rapid implementation overwhelmed the proper planning of the policy. No supplementary assistance from government was available to schools to cope with similar upshot of FPE initiative.

As a result of the new UPE initiative in 2003, enrollments increased from 5.9 million in 2002 to 7.2 million in 2004 (Sifuna, 2007). The GER in primary schools recovered the 100 percent level after a decade it plummeted to 90.2 percent at the lowest during the 1990s (See Table 24). The GER level recovered

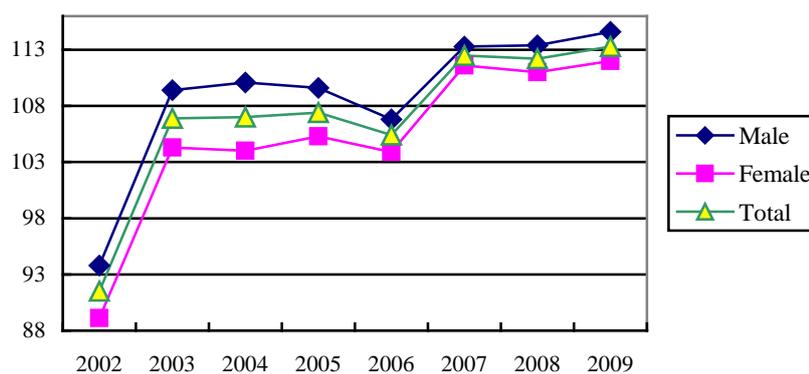
after the third UPE initiative in 2003 has been better sustained than the previous cases in the 1970s while its impact on dropout rates has not been observed as dramatic as before (See Figure 15).

**Table 24 Gross Enrollment Rate, 2002-2009 (%)**

Year	Male	Female	Total
2002	93.8	89.1	91.5
2003	109.4	104.3	106.9
2004	110.1	104.0	107.0
2005	109.6	105.3	107.4
2006	106.8	103.9	105.4
2007	113.3	111.6	112.5
2008	113.4	111.0	112.2
2009	114.6	112.0	113.3

Source: World Bank

**Figure 15 Gross Enrollment Rate, 2002-2009 (%)**



Source: World Bank

Compared to the UPE initiatives introduced in the 1970s, the effects of the third UPE initiative in 2003 have been less dramatic and sustained longer. The Standard I intake increased 35%, from 970,000 in 2002 to 1,310,000 in 2003, while dropout rate to Standard V of the initial cohort was only 27 percent, compared to 55 percent and 45 percent for the same group of the first and the second initiatives respectively (Somerset, 2011).

After the introduction of the third UPE initiative, similar pattern of surge in Standard I intake was observed, yet the GER of Standard I intakes have remained relatively stable (See Table 25). Although the number of the Standard I intakes slightly decreased in subsequent years, the enrollment of the Standard I remained about 20 percent higher than the predecessors in the 1970s (Somerset, 2009).

**Table 25 Standard I GER, 1998-2005 (%)**

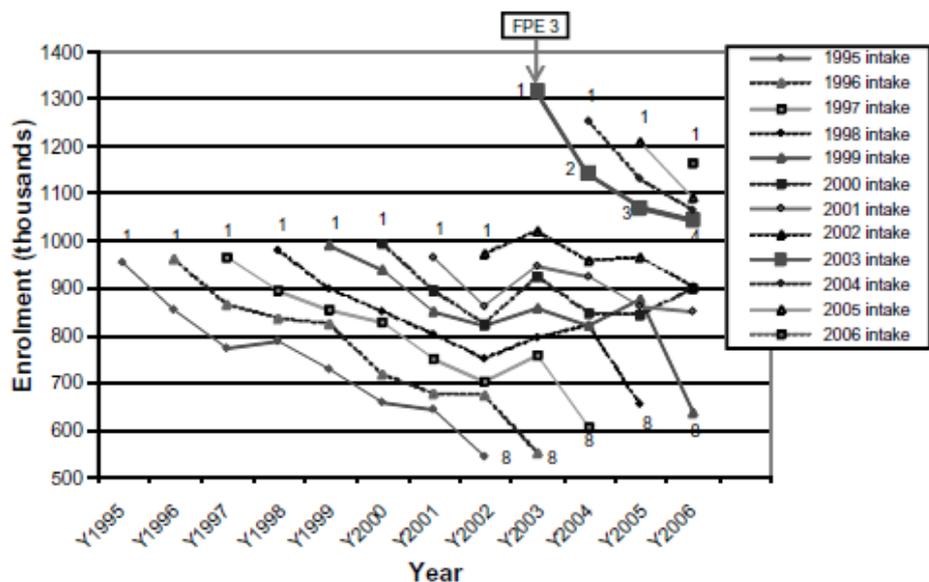
Year	Male	Female	Total
1998	104.5	99.4	102
1999	101.1	97.8	99.5
2000	106.3	106	106.1
2001	-	-	-
2002	93.1	89.5	91.3
2003	125.1	121.6	123.3
2004	121.5	116	118.8

2005	112.4	107.9	110.1
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Source: World Bank

Besides the surge in the Standard I intake, the third UPE initiative also brought significant impacts on the students who had already been enrolled in primary schools before the introduction in 2003. With the exception of the Standard VIII cohorts, all classes in primary schools gained additional students recruited in substantial numbers (See Figure 16). Those who had dropped out during the cost-sharing period came back to school and resume their education with the implementation of the 2003 UPE initiative (Somerset, 2009).

**Figure 16 Size of Standard I Cohort Group of 1995-2006**



Source: Somerset (2009)

#### 4.3.2. Support from the international development community through KESSP

In the implementation of the third UPE initiative the government of Kenya established a system that the Ministry of Education should provide direct capitation grants to all public primary schools. Every student in public primary schools is to receive 1,020 Kenyan shillings (14 US dollars) per year (Sawamura & Sifuna, 2008). The grant is earmarked to purchase educational materials, repair school facilities and ensure quality assurance. As the school receives grants according to the number of enrolled students, the large-scale schools reaped more benefits for their size when schools are no more allowed to collect fees or levies.

The expenditure on education as a percentage of the total government expenditure as well as GDP significantly rose as a result. Soon after the introduction of UPE initiative in 2003, many worried that the expenditure on education would soon approach the limits of sustainability despite the fact that international development community provided substantial funding from the beginning. Total external support amounted to 4.45 billion Kenya Shillings of which the major donors were World Bank at 3.5 billion, the Swedish International Development Agency (SIDA) at 0.47 billion, the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) at 0.48 billion (Alubisia, 2005).

In July 2005, the Kenya Education Sector Support Program (KESSP) was launched with substantial donor assistance from the United Kingdom, Sweden, Canada and the World Bank to buttress the UPE initiative, which provided capitation-based funds for the procurement of learning and instructional materials in schools. The objective of KESSP is to enable Kenyan government to provide quality education and training for development as the Sessional Paper No. 1 of 2005 stipulated.

The 2005 Sessional Paper No. 1 on a Policy Framework for Education, Training, and Research outlined the specific targets: (a) Attainment of UPE by 2005 and EFA by 2015; (b) Achievement of a transition rate of 70 percent from primary to secondary school level from the current rate of 47 percent, paying special attention to girls' education by 2008; (c) Enhancement of access, equity and quality in primary and secondary education through capacity building for 45,000 education managers by 2005; (d) 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; (e) Development of a national training strategy for TIVET in 2005, and ensuring that TIVET institutions are appropriately funded and equipped by 2008; (f) Achievement of 50 percent improvement of levels of adult literacy by 2010; and (g) Expansion of public universities to have a capacity of at least 5,000 students each by 2015 and increase the 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 provides a comprehensive framework for the implementation of the new policy framework to provide educational opportunities to all Kenyans at various levels and aims to achieve the goals specified (GOK, 2005). The KESSP adopted a Sector Wide Approach (SWAp) to the development of the education system and comprised of four components with 23 investment programs (IPs), 18 of which are related to UPE (See Table 26). The four priority goal or thematic areas were ensuring equity of access to basic education, enhancing quality and learning achievement, providing opportunities for further education and training and strengthening education sector management.

**Table 26 KESSP Investment Programs**

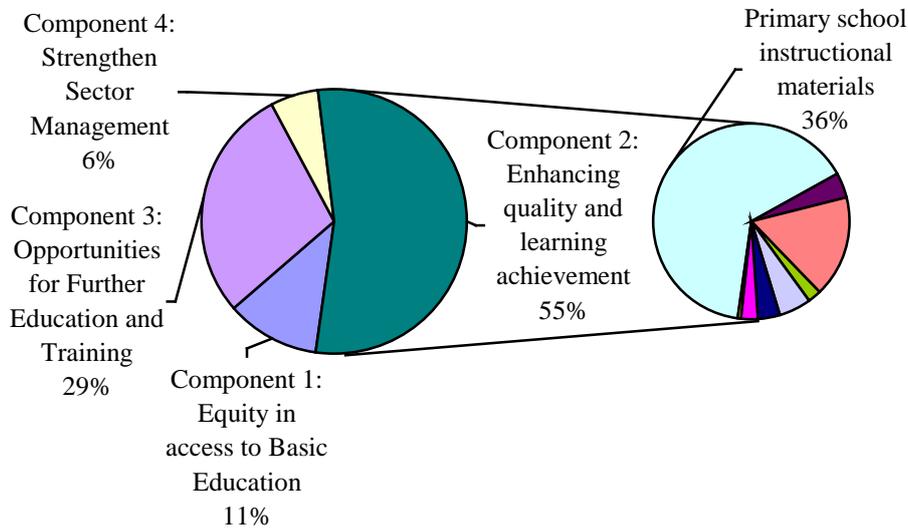
Component	Program	Costs (USD million)
Area 1: Ensuring Equity in access to basic education	Primary school infrastructure	88
	Non-formal schools	26
	Special needs education	20
	Adult basic education	17
	Expanding education opportunities in arid and semi-arid lands	2
	Gender and Education Investment Program	1
	Sub-total	154
Area 2: Enhancing quality and learning achievement	Early childhood and development	32
	School health, nutrition and feeding	121
	Primary school instructional materials	475
	Pre-service teacher education	18
	In-service teacher education	37
	Quality assurance and standards	27

	In-service training for secondary school teachers in mathematics and science	20
	Information and communication technology in education	5
	Sub-total	735
Area 3: Opportunities for further education and training	Guidance and counseling	6
	Secondary education	168
	TIVET	45
	University education	170
	Sub-total	389
Area 4: Strengthen sector management	HIV/AIDS	56
	Capacity building	11
	Education management information system	7
	Teacher management	0.3
	Monitoring and evaluation	2
	Sub-total	76.3
	Total	1,354.3

Source: World Bank (2006, 2011)

The KESSP investment program is centered on the second area of enhancing quality and learning achievement, which comprises more than half of the total program costs. The largest investment program is the primary school instructional materials based on the basic decentralized instructional materials funding system to provide all public primary schools and non-formal schools with instructional materials in order to increase access and address quality (See Figure 17). More than one third of the program costs are allocated for provision of instructional materials alone.

**Figure 17 Component Structure of KESSP**



Source: World Bank (2006, 2011)

With the launch of the KESSP in 2005, development partners adopted the partnership principles to appraise the KESSP, approve bilateral funding and mobilize resource from the EFA-Fast Track Initiative (EFA-FTI) for reducing the financing gap (World Bank, 2011). Development partners, such as IDA, EFA-FTI, DfID, CIDA and UNICEF, also established a Joint Financing Agreement to develop a pooled funding arrangement with the contribution from the government of Kenya (See Table 27).

The World Bank notably reversed its stance from the cost-sharing scheme and contributed the largest share of the KESSP. Since the third UPE initiative has been promoted by development partners as an effective strategy to attain UPE, the World Bank initially supported 50 million US dollars through Free Primary

Education Support Project during 2003-2007 (World Bank, 2007). Later the World Bank provided a supplementary 80 million US dollars to be a part of the KESSP, an umbrella framework to bring various donor-funded projects. The EFA-FTI Catalytic Fund was also used as a valuable funding mechanism to supplement other resources for the implementation of the KESSP, allowing for a continued emphasis on primary education (Thompson, Woods, O'Brien, & Onsomu, 2010).

**Table 27 KESSP Costs and Financing**

Source		Appraisal Estimate				Actual/Latest Estimate	
		Local	Foreign	Total	%	Total	%
Government of Kenya		92	524	616	45.5	410.86	30.3
External Funding	IDA	12	68	80	5.9	56.65	4.2
	Other Multilateral & Bilateral Agencies	58	330	388	28.6	236.36	17.5
	FTI Catalytic Fund	11	62	73	5.4	121	8.9
	Financing Gap	30	167	197.3	14.6	529.43	39.1
Total		203	1,151	1,354.3	100	1,354.3	100

Note: Amount in USD millions

Source: World Bank (2011)

The KESSP has contributed to improve retention level, yet the supply of

teaching staff and learning materials have been still caught short in many districts particularly distant from the urban area.

The study that observed roughly forty lessons during visits to eight primary schools in 2007 and 2008 indicated that at least some KESSP-procured textbooks were available in every class, but the degree to which teachers were using them effectively in their pedagogy varied widely (Somerset, 2011).

Furthermore, volatile political environment deteriorated the performance of the program. The post-election violence in early 2008 resulted in the deaths of over 1,100 people, the displacement of over 300,000 people and immense property damage. Schools in the most affected areas became overcrowded by accommodating additional children of internally displaced families while others were burned down, looted or vandalized (World Bank, 2011). The formation of the coalition government after the violence as well as the adoption of a new Constitution in 2010 intensified impediments with staff changes and re-districting. Furthermore, the findings of large scale fraud and corruption during the election period had a considerably negative effect on the donor financing as well as the operation of the project as some donors ceased funding until the end of project period.

## **CHAPTER 5 DISCUSSION**

### **5.1. Global Educational Development Discourse and Agenda Setting**

#### **5.1.1. The shift of the global development discourse toward social and human development**

Contemporary education policies are seemingly alike whether in the developed or developing region revealing the worldwide convergence in educational perspectives. Similar strategies, programs, and projects are employed in the name of education reform for the educational development as a part of national development scheme, regardless of diverse backgrounds of the states.

This is often based on the global development discourse that had long been centered exclusively on the economic growth selling the idea that it would prompt the trickle-down of greater wealth to resolve poverty problem. As discussed earlier, dominant neoliberalism promoting market principles and privatization shifted the global development discourse and re-crafted educational aims in relation to globalization (Rizvi, 2007). Yet, the economic recession and later growing inequalities in spite of general advancement in the world economy

resulted in the critique over the monolithic approach to development.

Currently the overall size and volume of the world economy is grown to the highest level in human history, and extreme poverty is falling globally including sub-Saharan Africa where the poverty figures are usually the highest. On the positive side, the percentage of people living on less than \$1.25 a day fell from 47 in 1990 to 24 in 2008 while the number of extreme poor in the developing regions fell from over 2 billion to less than 1.4 billion in the same period (UNDP, 2012). On the other hand, poverty still persists in absolute terms because of the uneven progress across regions (Chen & Ravallion, 2008; Wade, 2004), and therefore the gap between global north and south is rather increasing. A paradox of economic growth in Africa, for example, is that steady economic growth in the region has not been successfully translated into either poverty reduction or employment creation (King, 2009).

Traditional global development discourse around the economic growth therefore declined with a rising concern on social policy and investment to improve human condition in developing region. Economic growth was no more trusted to be an elixir for equity and development, and this led to the expansion of discourse embracing social aspect such as education, health and gender (Ingham, 1993). In parallel, interdisciplinary and integrated approaches to development that recognize complex relationships among various factors influencing a particular context comprised a new development discourse (Cremin

& Nakabugo, 2012).

The Human Development Reports published by the UNDP beginning from 1990 initiated the multi-dimensional and comprehensive understandings on poverty, and influenced the shift of global discourse towards human rights and human development (Desai, 1991). The concept of human development is rooted deeply in the work of Amartya Sen (Fukuda-Parr, 2003; Sen, 2000), who considers development as the expansion of people's capabilities thus the goal of development should be increasing their potential to realize life they value through the expansion of access to opportunities, such as education and healthcare (Sen, 1990).

Against this backdrop, education has been increasingly put much emphasis as a new strategy for poverty reduction and integrated into a global development discourse as a new global consensus. While people-centered, bottom-up and learning process approach to development are strongly encouraged (Korten, 1980, 1987), Cremin and Nakabugo (2012) argued that the UN-sponsored world conferences facilitated the shift in development discourse in threefold: the more traditional, narrow, and economic conception of development has been replaced to new consensus focusing on sustainable human development<sup>22</sup>; the relationship

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<sup>22</sup> Particularly the 1990s was a decade of world conferences on human issues include: education (Jomtien, March 1990), children (New York, September 1990), environment (Rio de Janeiro, 1992), human rights (Vienna 1993), population (Cairo, 1994), social development (Copenhagen, 1995), women (Beijing, 1995), human settlements (Istanbul, 1996), food security (Rome, 1996), and climate change (Kyoto, 1997).

between donor and recipient has been redefined through sector-wide approaches and budgetary support, with principles reaffirmed in the Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness of 2005 and the Accra Agenda for Action of 2008; the participation of the people in decision-making with good and open governance has become essential element for sustainable human development.

The Millennium Development Goals was therefore an important milestone to reaffirm the significance of social development and human development together accounting for the dominant global development discourse. The MDGs reflects the new global development agenda growing out of narrow focus on economic towards comprehensive and integrated approach to development based on strong ownership and multi-dimensional global partnership (Cornwall & Brock, 2005).

Following the shift in the global development discourse, international development agencies began to redefine their approaches to education in relation to development. For example, the OECD from the perspective of lifelong human resource development recognized education as a key investment to enhance economic growth, contribute to individual and social development and reduce social inequality in current knowledge-intensive societies (OECD, 1997). The World Bank, based on their research showing strong links between education and productivity in various sectors including agriculture, economy and health, developed a finance framework to invest for education quality and efficiency as

a part of their neoliberal approach in public sector reform (Mundy, 1998).

Although two agencies are the major stakeholders driving global educational development agenda, the OECD and the World Bank have different roadmap for their education policy in a broad development strategy. Whereas the World Bank promotes market-oriented individualism for knowledge and skills development in the knowledge economy, the OECD is more inclined to social liberalism facilitating knowledge exchange and mutual learning (Robertson, 2005).

The fundamental shift in the global development discourse towards human development inevitably led to an introspective reassessment in the field of educational development. The global development community paid growing attention to the role and impact of external development assistance as well as the issue of good governance and human rights dimension. It deems large the role and influence of international funding agencies in education sector while acknowledge the importance of the participation and empowerment of local communities in the governance of education. This point will be further elaborated in the following section.

### 5.1.2. Globalization and its impact on international educational development agendas

Besides the appreciation of social development and human development

aspects in the global development discourse, globalization has substantially affected the emergence and the contents of the current global agenda for development as well as national education policies (Verger, Novelli, & Altinyelken, 2012). The concept of globalization is, however, slippery due to lack of precise definition,<sup>23</sup> although Held, McGrew, Goldblatt, and Perraton (1999) provided a widely accepted framework for the assessment.<sup>24</sup> Based on their conceptual framework, Tikly (2001) examined the relevance of framework in education literature, and proposed a new framework for understanding the effects of globalization on education policy in postcolonial contexts.

Globalization caused a fundamental change in the world politics and socio-economic environment that affects development approach to poverty and inequality. As a new explanatory framework brought up by globalization provides new frames and justification for development policies (Gore, 2000), the role of education in the development policies and programs has been emphasized in terms of the value of human capital in national development under the changed economic order driven by globalization. Education is regarded as a worth investment to succeed in the competitive and flexible job market of global economy, and at the same time an effective strategy for national development.

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<sup>23</sup> See Robertson et al. (2007, pp. 9-12) for key ideas on globalization.

<sup>24</sup> They identified three perspectives in the existing literature: 'hyper-globalism' focusing on the intensification of long-run global processes; 'skeptics' regarding globalization as a myth and viewing regionalism a more evident phenomenon; 'transformationalists' claiming the fundamental change in social relations by qualitative and quantitative shifts.

Education became the new currency of opportunity despite that the understanding of education, efficiency and social justice was unraveled by opportunity trap of globalization (Brown, 2003).

The new global development discourse around the 'knowledge-based economy' was also emerged with the pervasive globalization, particularly with the strong support from the OECD and the World Bank. The power and influence of international actors and agendas over national policy-making in education sector grew larger in parallel for education's strategic value within the development programs in the knowledge-based economy.

The OECD stressed that the productivity and growth of knowledge economies, which is based on the production, distribution and use of knowledge and information productivity and growth, are mainly determined by the rate of technical progress and the accumulation of knowledge (OECD, 1996). Hence, the networks and social interactions are emphasized as a mechanism to expedite human capital formation for greater economic growth and productivity (OECD, 2001). The competency for the knowledge economy within this system is therefore measured by indicators such as Progress in International Reading Literacy Study (PIRLS), Trends in Mathematics and Science Study (TIMSS), and Program of International Student Assessment (PISA) (Naumann, 2005; Smith & Baker, 2001), and became an influential tool of the educational development agenda (Grek, 2009; Riley & Torrance, 2003).

Additionally, the World Bank argued that people with education, skill, and entrepreneurship as well as socio-political infrastructure for information management, and research and development activities for innovation were required for the knowledge economy (World Bank, 2003). In their perspective, traditional learning is associated with not only the one-way transfer of knowledge under the uniform curriculum but elitism on student-side and mediocrity on teacher-side whereas lifelong learning is presented as a new paradigm of education emphasizing the use of ICT for acquiring competencies and distributing knowledge (See Table 28).

**Table 28 The World Bank Analysis of Learning Models**

Model	Traditional learning	Lifelong learning
Teacher	source of Knowledge	guides to sources of knowledge
Learning	receive knowledge from the teacher	Learning by doing
Assessment	means of gate-keeping and rationing	Guidance for learning strategies and identify pathways for future learning
Curriculum	Uniformity	Individualized learning plans
Teacher training	initial training and ad hoc in-service training	Initial training and ongoing professional development
Access	Permitted to only good learners	Access over a lifetime

Source: World Bank (2003)

In regards to the changes in global educational development policies in relation to the globalization, Robertson et al. (2007) offered a comprehensive account of the major shifts in theory, policy and priorities of the international development community (See Table 29).

**Table 29 Educational Policy from Washington to Post-Washington**

Theme	National Development Era	Neoliberal Globalization Era	
		Washington Consensus	Post-Washington Consensus
Period	1945-1979	1980s-early 1990s	After mid-1990s
Dominant theories	Modernization theory/Dependency theory	Human capital theory	Globalization theory
Key actors	Nation states, UN institutions	IFIs(IMF/World Bank), OECD/DAC, US/USSR	Multiple actors (international/national/sub-national)
Finance instruments for education	State funding, limited project-based ODA funding	SAPs, Cost-sharing, decentralization, privatization	PRSP, SWAp, PPP
Educational priorities	Fundamental education (UNESCO), TVET (WB)/ Popular education, Education for self-reliance	Basic Education	UPE as part of MDGs, International testing standards
Role of education	Tool for nation building and national economic development	Human capital formation and investment strategy for higher rates of	Extended function for equity and social cohesion

		return	
Participation/ partnership in development policies	Bi/multilateral along ideological divides, state- centric	Top-down, donor- led	Country-driven PRSP and SWAp, enhanced local participation

Source: Robertson et al. (2007), author's revision added.

### 5.1.3. International development agencies and agenda setting

In the context of globalization, the new forms of supranational governance were created because of the limited capacity of nation states in comparison to the scale and nature of the challenges they confront. This qualitative change in the nature of national- supranational relations made individual states cede their powers to supranational organizations, which has grown into major actors leading the 'globally structured educational agenda' (Dale, 2000). On the other hand, the participation of sub-national actors in the policy process also became widely active and prominent.

Consequently, there are now multiple actors involved in policy-making and implementation in the education sector including the United Nations agencies (UNESCO, UNICEF, UNDP, etc.), donor agencies like the World Bank and the OECD, regional multilateral organizations, national development agencies, universities, multinational firms, NGOs and others, demonstrating the 'pluri-scalar nature of the governance of education' (Dale, 2005).

With the changes in forms of governance resulted from globalization,

education sector has also been substantially affected by the process of globalization. Particularly, a global convergence of national education curriculum is witnessed in recent years. Many studies argue that international organizations have heavily influenced the formation and implementation of global education policy with their political standing, funding power and cross-national competence, which resulted in similar rhetoric of education reforms across the regions (Jakobi, 2009; Robertson, 2005; Samoff, 1999).

The donor agencies such as the World Bank and the OECD particularly asserted their influence in national policies beyond economic development plans through financial mobilizing power to the extent of social policies including educational development programs. The asymmetric, non-democratic and behind-the-door decision making process of the agencies has enabled to drive the global educational development agendas supporting the neoliberal principles applied to the education sector (Moutsios, 2009).

The dominant neoliberal direction of these agencies reinforced the global development discourse around the knowledge-based economy emphasizing effectiveness and competitiveness. The market-driven ideas and practices are more and more occupying the education sector along with the increasing attention for 'value for money' and 'public accountability' posing greater challenges for national governments to meet the higher demands and expectations of the people (Mok, 2005).

The World Bank became the main actor in the educational development community since the early 1980s when they began to involve greatly in the field with its unrivaled capacity and resource (Mundy, 2002). The financial and technical capacity enthroned the World Bank with the highest political standing over other stakeholders in the field, including other international organizations like UNICEF and UNESCO.<sup>25</sup>

The World Bank has substantially increased the lending for education particularly after the Jomtien conference in 1990 (Heyneman, 2003). The volume of education lending was doubled in the 1990s in comparison to the amount during 1986-1990 focusing on primary education sector increased by 360 percent in the funding (Alexander, 2001). In 1995, the World Bank financing for education programs reached 3.1 billion US Dollars accounting for 28 percent of global aid to education, more than 60 percent of the total multilateral ODA (Jallade, Radi, & Cuenin, 2001). The Bank's financial support was particularly important as the overall volume of ODA was declining.

The growing influence of the World Bank on education sector was observed both quantitatively and qualitatively, which resulted in its power making the 'quasi-monopoly' in the educational development agenda setting (Tarabini,

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<sup>25</sup> The World Bank actively supported the 'cooperative programs' in ILO, WHO and UNESCO through a department of technical staff supporting the World Bank lending or sector work operations. Particularly, the three quarters of the UNESCO cooperative program was financed by the Bank, and thus pressing the UNESCO to compromise with the World Bank agendas (Heyneman, 2003).

2010). As the Bank claimed ‘fighting against poverty’ as their top priority from the early 1990s, with their explicit endeavor in search for a new strategy replacing the Washington Consensus, the Post-Washington Consensus was consolidated with their strategies of promoting opportunity, facilitating empowerment and enhancing security (World Bank, 2001).

Alexander (2001) provided an excellent review on how the World Bank and the IMF, the twin Bretton Woods institutions, have affected educational development. Contrary to its promises, however, the global educational development agendas initiated by the World Bank generated the substantial educational distortions in national education sectors (Heyneman, 2003).

As the single largest funder of educational development, policy reforms, based on the state-centric, market-oriented ideas, were spread across the region without much consideration on their variety of backgrounds and the participation from the local governments. From the 1980s, the Bank’s major finance instrument for development was the structural adjustment plans. Because the Bank had a certain hierarchy of conditions required for the loans, national governments had to adopt the cost-sharing schemes in their development strategies through public sector reforms usually accompanied with the budget cut for social sector. As a result, many developing countries including Kenya reintroduced the user fees in education to supplement decreased public spending on the sector, aggravating inequalities and uneven progress in the sector.

Yet, as indicated in its own review of 114 operations in 53 countries from 1980 to 1992, the impact of SAPs on poverty reduction varied widely among countries, and income inequality was rather exacerbated (World Bank, 1995b). The Bank therefore changed its policy instrument with the introduction of the PRSP in 1999, which is intended to describe “the macroeconomic, structural, and social policies and programs that a country will pursue over several years to promote growth and reduce poverty, as well as external financing needs and the associated sources of financing” prepared through a participatory process (IMF, 2013).<sup>26</sup>

Because the approved PRSP is a prerequisite for the application of the EFA-FTI along with the education sector plan, it had a major influence on economics of education. As a main finance instrument of the Post-Washington Consensus, the PRSP enabled the World Bank not only to extend its power into the national development strategy as a whole but to consolidate its dominance in the global educational development agenda setting (Caillods & Hallak, 2004).

The OECD is essentially a transnational organization comprised of wide networks of consultants, researchers and policy makers. It does not uphold any prescriptive mandate but provide an arena for governments shaping policy

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<sup>26</sup> The five core principles underlie the PRSP approach insist: a country-driven strategy, promoting national ownership through broad-based participation of civil society; a result-oriented, focusing on outcomes that will benefit the poor; comprehensive in recognizing the multidimensional nature of poverty; partnership-oriented, involving coordinated participation of development partners (government, domestic stakeholders, and external donors); and a long-term perspective for poverty reduction.

through processes of mutual examination, multilateral surveillance and peer pressure to conform or reform (Taylor & Henry, 2000). It was from the 1990s the OECD expanded its role in global educational development with their research and consultancy networks. The organization exerted its influence over the education policy of the member states through evaluation studies and quality monitoring based on information management at the highest level (Rinne, Kallio, & Hokka, 2004).

The provision of quantitative, comparative and aggregated data focusing on 'performance' such as PISA have increasingly affected the educational reforms across the region, used as scientific evidence for identifying certain issues as global problems and claiming certain policies and programs as appropriate solutions. National education policies are therefore increasingly susceptible to the research-based global educational development agendas led by the OECD.

Rinne et al. (2004) provides a thorough analysis on the OECD education policy development from the 1960s to the present (See Table 30). Although education planning based on statistics and indicators had been reduced in response to the criticism for its simplified and primitive form, the importance of educational indicator development revived with the emergence of International Indicator and Evaluation of Educational Systems (INES) project from the 1980s.

Influenced by the ideologies of economic and social restructuring spread in the western industrialized countries, the OECD promoted the agenda of cost-

effectiveness in education, basic skills and the monitoring of students' attainment. Major political change in the 1990s resulted from the demise of the Soviet Union expanded the membership and activities of the organization with the growing theme of lifelong learning and knowledge economy. In adherence to the human capital theory, the OECD strongly promoted the economics of education emphasizing the role of education in fostering knowledge and competences.

**Table 30 The OECD Education Policy Development**

Period	Theme	Key features
1960s	The Cold War and 'Big Science' Phase	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Emphasis on studying natural sciences</li> <li>- Confidence in economic theories of education</li> <li>- The development of manpower planning</li> </ul>
1970s	The Social Objectives and Recurrent Education Phase	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Social objectives and the ideal of educational equality emphasized</li> <li>- Recurrent education offered as the solution to the economic and social problems of member countries</li> <li>- The failure and criticism of indicator projects</li> </ul>
1980s	The Searching Phase	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- An endeavor to respond to the economic and social problems caused by the restructuring of western industrialized countries</li> <li>- The promotion of the transition from education to working life, improvement in the quality of education and expansion of educational opportunities</li> <li>- The widespread initiation of educational indicators projects (INES)</li> </ul>

1990s-onwards	The Economics of Education and Quality Monitoring Phase	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- An increase in the number of member countries and an expansion of the sphere of activity of the OECD</li> <li>- The return of economic theories of education</li> <li>- The OECD takes on the role of evaluator of the quality of education and learning achievements (PISA) in its member countries</li> <li>- Recurrent themes: human and social capital, the role of education in a knowledge-based economy and lifelong learning</li> </ul>
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Source: Rinne et al. (2004)

The process of globalization has shaped the global educational development agenda with the mixed recipe comprising the finance-driven reforms, competitiveness-driven reforms and equity-driven reforms altogether (Carnoy, 1999). Despite some differences in focus, a broad consensus emphasizing the coordination of human capital, social capital and social cohesion is now widely shared among major international development agencies (Moutsios, 2009). This so-called Post-Washington Consensus initially grew out of the critique on ‘market fundamentalism’ of the Washington Consensus, expanding the global development agenda to include more of social capital and cohesion.

This consensus, however, is often criticized for the persisting dominance of human capital development approach, resonating in the global educational development agendas and further in national education policies (Mundy, 1998; Pender, 2001; Rose, 2003; Sumner, 2006). National education policy practice is therefore shaped by and executed as the outcome of negotiation between fragile

state and diverse policy agendas of multiple international development agencies (Jones, 1998; Mundy, 1998; Tikly, 2001).

## **5.2. National Response through UPE Policy Practice in Kenya**

Immediately after the independence in 1963, the government of Kenya declared education as the key priority for national development in response to the growing demand for educational opportunity from the people as a means to social and economic advancement. The 1964 Kenya Education Commission Report urged the implementation of policy measures to achieve universal primary education in 1971, following the 1961 Addis Ababa Plan agreed at the UNESCO conference for the attainment of UPE in all African states by 1980.

Universal primary education was articulated as an important goal in Kenyan education although the emphasis placed more on the post-primary education to meet the needs for human resource development at that time.<sup>27</sup> Growing out of the colonial education system that segregated Kenyans from Europeans and Asians, the provision of universal primary education was recognized as a

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<sup>27</sup> A variety of government documents recognized the importance of attaining UPE, including Kenya African National Unions manifesto (1963), the Kenya Education Commission (Ominde) Report (1964), the Sessional Paper No 1 on African socialism and its application to planning in Kenya (1965), and several National Development Plans in the 1960s.

fundamental basis not only for the acquisition of literacy and basic skills but for ensuring development in the modern society (Bogonko, 1992).

Although the 1968 Education Act stipulated primary education as the responsibility of the government, the lack of resources in the newly independent government caused the high priority given to the secondary, technical and tertiary education on purely economic grounds (GOK, 1970). Nevertheless, the government of Kenya continuously claimed its support for UPE as a means to enhance national unity and social cohesion as well as to resolve inequality problem inherited by the colonial government. Therefore, the government abolished tuition fees in the most geographically disadvantaged areas by the presidential decree in 1971.

Later the Kenyatta government introduced the first UPE policy in 1974 expanding the abolition of the tuition fees to all areas for the classes of Standard I to IV and a uniform fee for the classes of Standard V to VII. Yet, no fiscal countermeasures were followed to replace lost revenue, but rather the building levy usually higher than the previous school fees was charged to parents along with the 'harambee activities' in the local communities to cope with the surge of primary enrollment. It was the local families and communities that sustained the UPE drive in the 1960s. Furthermore, when schools fees were reintroduced only a year later a majority of new recruitment from low-income families and over-aged students left school fast, resulting in the sharp rise in dropout rates.

The new political leadership in 1978 again announced the second UPE policy to provide all school-age children with primary education free of fees in every class through the abolition of building and other school funds. The second UPE policy of the Moi government was used to reassure Kenyan people in the political change by continuing the same policy of the previous government.

Repeating the previous experience, however, school committees and parent teacher associations were introduced a year after to mobilize alternative funding to deal with the second surge of primary enrollment. Although the government banned the direct imposition of building levies and other extra burdens on parents, education costs were still left with local families and communities in different names through which are again raised by harambee activities.

In addition, the structural reform and the curriculum revision in 1985 imposed extra burdens on already fatigued parents and local communities. As the new 8-4-4-4 education system founded on a broad-based curriculum with practical and vocational subjects, additional textbooks and new workrooms had to be supplied by the families and local communities. As a result, dropout rates were similarly very high resulted from the early dropout of pupils from marginal families and over-aged recruitment.

In the meantime, Kenya faced economic decline and rising deficits caused economic stagnation in the 1980s like many Sub-Saharan Africa countries. Subsequently, the government had to introduce a cost-sharing scheme to

diversify the social service financing and lower the public demand for government spending. In 1988, the government of Kenya finally conceded to adopt the SAPs consisting of public expenditure and fiscal policy revision, market liberalization, user-fee for public services and privatization (Alexander, 2001; Stein & Nafziger, 1991). The process of globalization had also amplified this trend in education with the dominant educational agenda emphasizing efficiency and effectiveness in the knowledge-based global economy.

The Sessional Paper No. 6 of 1988, embracing the SAP imposed by the IMF and the World Bank in return of their assistance, announced that the government was only responsible for limited education finance such as teacher salaries, administrative costs and some school facilities. Thus, parents became responsible for tuition, textbook, activity and examination fees while local communities for building and maintaining physical structures. In addition to the direct charges imposed by government, parent also needed to pay a variety of other charges required by the school administration.

Throughout the 1990s, the attainment of UPE became marginal issue in education sector as SAPs totally reversed the policy direction from universal primary education to efficiency and competency-oriented education, resulted in the decline in access and completion in primary education. Disparities and inequalities in access and quality across regions and social groups became the widest resulted from the dominant educational agendas formulated by

international donor agencies, leading to the decline of UPE discourse in Kenyan education (Alubisia, 2005; Colclough, 1996; Samoff, 1996).

Yet, the extensive public reforms in economic and social policies through SAPs eventually failed to deliver the promised economic growth but exacerbated social instability. A new educational development discourse was thus conceived based on the Post-Washington Consensus, a rapprochement between the neoliberal Bretton Woods institutions and the equity-focused UN agencies with the rise of Education for All discourse from the 1990 EFA conference in Jomtien (Thérien, 2004).

In preparation for the EFA conference, several regional and national education forums were held to revive the attention on UPE in Kenya. Further, the social and cultural experiences in the development of basic education in Kenya became a showcase to inform the EFA process at a global level. Consequently, the process to conform national education practice in favor of UPE was placed to reverse the cost-sharing scheme in SAPs with the capacity and infrastructure building activities supported by UNESCO, UNICEF, World Bank, World Food Program, ILO and civil society.

The new drive for UPE, however, was not able to last long because of declining global ODA volume, lack of common understanding of the concept, and limited civil society involvement in national educational decision-making process (Buchert, 1996). As expected, during 1990-2000 the enrollment and

participation rates declined while transition and completion rates stagnated. Yet, the Dakar forum and the establishment of MDGs in 2000 reawake the global attention to UPE recognized both in EFA goals and MDGs, and Kenya also joined the global pursuit toward UPE with new education master plan for 1997-2010.

Against this backdrop, the newly elected Kibaki government introduced the third UPE policy in 2003 to provide free primary education for the attainment of EFA goals and MDG target of universal primary education by 2015. Whereas the first and the second UPE initiatives were merely the rhetoric of political slogans without budgetary support or countermeasure for the enrollment surge, the 2003 UPE policy followed by several educational development strategies organized by the government of Kenya.

The Education Sector Review and the Kenya Education Sector Strategic Plan 2003-2007 were completed in 2003 followed by the National Action Plan on Education for All 2003-2015 a year later. As a result of the National Conference on Education, Training and Research in 2004, the Sessional Paper No.1 of 2005 was developed to provide a policy framework in a pursuit of EFA goals and MDGs. In parallel, the Kenya Education Sector Support Program (KESSP) was launched in July 2005 as a major support mechanism with the Sector-Wide Approach (SWAp) in quest of achieving universal primary education. More recently, the Vision 2030 and the new Constitution were

established in 2008 and 2010 respectively, resulted in the new policy framework with the performance targets.<sup>28</sup> As of January 2013, the basic education act was also announced to reaffirm Kenya's commitment for UPE through free and compulsory primary education.<sup>29</sup>

The KESSP was developed to provide a stable support mechanism during 2005-2010 by the substantial donor assistance through capitation-based funds for the procurement of learning and instructional materials in schools. Demonstrating a SWAp to the development of the education system, the program provided a comprehensive framework for partnership to realize universal primary education with 18 UPE-related investment programs out of 23 programs. The main focus of KESSP investment program lied in enhancing quality and learning achievement with the support of more than half of the total program costs. The primary school instructional materials program alone consumed 475 million US dollars accounted for more than one third of the program costs.

International development agencies participated in the KESSP established the Joint Financing Agreement to coordinate a pooled funding arrangement, and mobilized the EFA-FTI Catalytic Fund from the EFA-FTI for reducing the

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<sup>28</sup> Proposed targets include: Ensure access, equity and quality across all levels of Basic Education and training by 2020; eliminate gender and regional disparities in Basic Education and training by 2017; improve the quality of education and training so that Kenya's measurable learning outcomes in literacy, numeracy, scientific and communication skills are in the upper quartile on recognized international standardized tests by 2017; equip schools to ensure that all primary and secondary schools meet minimum quality standards of teaching and learning by 2017; and other targets in total of 14 (GOK, 2012c, pp. 26-27).

<sup>29</sup> Parliament of Kenya (GOK, 2013)

financing gap (World Bank, 2011). Therefore, the government of Kenya also completed PRSP that identified inequities in national education system, and emphasized the provision of basic social services to low-income groups. Adding to the initial support to the Free Primary Education Support Project of 50 million US dollars during 2003-2007 (World Bank, 2007), the World Bank contributed the largest share of the program, accounted for 80 million US dollars.

New global development discourse centered on poverty reduction shaped international development agenda toward UPE while Kenya has relied heavily upon the assistance from donor agencies to secure recurrent education expenditure. Kenya persistently committed to a broad-based educational strategy emphasizing its links with the labor market, economic growth and the informal employment sector, which coincided with the comprehensive characteristics of SWAp approach, another important global development strategy supported by major donor agencies (Buchert, 2000). Growing out of the post-primary and vocational education-orientation in the past, the KESSP induced a strategic compromise between external and internal development priorities within its comprehensive approach to the entire education and training system of Kenya (King, 2007).

### **5.3. Challenges in the Implementation of Global Agendas in National UPE Policy Practice**

Universal primary education initiatives have been launched along with the birth of new government, and slowly faded away with the downfall in the earlier times. Since the educational opportunity was not taken for granted by most of Kenyans from the colonial period, the UPE policy has been continuously employed to engage higher approval rating to win election as well as to retain popular support for the government. Even though experienced the lesson of the first and second initiatives to introduce universal primary education system in Kenya, it is regretful that the third UPE policy of 2003 does not show so far significant improvement but repeat the experience of predecessors. The sustainable education support system with appropriate budgetary plan that essentially involves robust partnership with international development agencies through major progress in transparency and accountability is the key for the successful UPE achievement and beyond.

Each time the UPE policy was introduced in Kenya, whether in the 1970s or 2003, substantial increase in the first-year primary school class enrollment was observed while most of primary schools suffered from the overcrowded school facilities, lack of teaching staffs and shortage of teaching materials and school supply. The 2003 UPE policy led to the enrollment increase from 5.9 to 7.2 million in the following year with the recovery of 100 percent GER level

plunged in the 1990s (See Table 24). Whereas the most marginalized people in urban area were still excluded from the influence of the UPE initiatives (Oketch & Ngware, 2010), a massive influx of students was particularly evident in rather poor and vulnerable neighbor where primary schools had been already suffered from inadequate facilities as well as lack of teachers and materials (Somerset, 2009).

Sudden enrollment shocks after the introduction of each UPE policies have always resulted in the compromise in the quality of education while levies and self-help activities usually substituted the abolished formal fees under different titles. Similar to previous experiences, again in 2003, the recruitment of untrained teachers in haste was the only countermeasure adopted to deal with the surge of students, and thus most teachers left in struggle with the overcrowded class without systematic support structure for teachers (Akech & Simatwa, 2010; Otienoh, 2010).

Subsequently, steep dropout rates ensued in following years because of poor education environment (lack of teaching and learning facilities, overcrowded classroom, high teacher-to-pupil ratios), and increasing education cost while the condition of local primary schools was still in dire need of improvements both in quantitative and qualitative standards as observed during the field visits. Yet, the effects of the 2003 UPE policy have been less dramatic and sustained longer with lower dropout rates and relatively stable GER of Standard I intakes than

before (See Table 25).

Despite the increase in education budget of the government and the formation of KESSP to buttress the UPE policy from its onset, there has been constant critique about the sustainability of the policy because of the massive costs required in comparison to the want of economic performance and heavy reliance on donor finance accounting for volatile external factors. Thus, sustainable free primary education through KESSP would become an ‘illusion’ without synergies between educational access, economic growth, and poverty reduction based on the investment in knowledge creation (Mukudi, 2004). Given the financial stability vital to the successful attainment of UPE in Kenya, the cost-effectiveness considerations are critical otherwise the budget cost for the free provision of primary education would require a 91% budget increase or 0.8% of GDP (Vos et al., 2004).

The impact of KESSP was also hardly monitored or reviewed by the Kenyan government or the funding international development agencies. Kenyan government in particular has been continuously suffered from lack of statistical data collection capacity as well as monitoring and evaluation competency as discussed earlier. Along with the distrust on the transparency of government, the lack of good governance amplified the frustration of international development community, resulted in the lost spirit for the second KESSP-like support structure.

Accordingly, private primary schools are burgeoning recently particularly in rich neighbors providing expensive alternative for unsatisfactory public schools. In urban areas and some well-off rural districts, private schools were established with better facilities and equipments as well as well-trained teaching staffs to offer better education environment at a great cost. This new phenomenon generates increasing quality gap between public and private primary schools. Although the quality of education in some private individually owned schools and community-owned is questioned (Ngware, Oketch, & Ezech, 2011), private primary school graduates often shows outstanding KCPE results in comparison to public primary school graduates, which is often repeated in the secondary school (Oketch & Somerset, 2010). Due to overcrowded class caused by the UPE policy, some parents and student are already abandoning public schools entirely in favor of highly expensive private schooling in order to secure their access to the best secondary schools in the country (King, 2007).

Besides, growing population of primary-school age children (age 6-13) also poses another challenge for the achievement of UPE. According to the survey of population growth in Kenya, the estimated growth rate would require enormous investment for universal primary education in addition (Somerset, 2011). Although the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) of Kenya has been growing since the current government was installed, it is hardly expected for Kenya government to independently support budgetary demand for the UPE. Without

average GDP growth over 8%, it is hardly expected for Kenya to achieve the UPE (Omwami & Omwami, 2010).

The UPE policy in Kenya is often criticized as “a matter of political expediency rather than planned education reform” (Mukudi, 2004, p. 239). Funding problem and infrastructure needs persist, and those cannot be dealt without international development cooperation. Despite the ideal objective of UPE to provide open access to the primary education for all, it seems in reality hard to achieve the goal unless major investment and capacity building measures are introduced.

King (2007) therefore argued the critical needs of the holistic and integrated approach to educational development for the successful attainment of universal primary education. According to him, intersectoral factors, including agriculture, energy, transport and trade has to be promoted in parallel with the educational development. Also, state capacity, good governance, transparency, and accountability are emphasized in order to provide sustainable environment for the implementation of universal primary education beyond the minimalist approach to development represented in the MDGs.

As represented in the case of Kenya, it is evident that the attainment of UPE will require not only more of national initiatives and resources from Kenya but also substantial support from development partners. The popular rhetoric of ownership and partnership for aid effectiveness are constantly repeated in the

international development community through several important documents including the Paris Declaration, the Accra Agenda for Action, and Busan Partnership document. Despite the strong promotion for ownership in educational development policy formulation and implementation within the broader development discourse, yet it is fairly challenging to manage and control the national educational development practice in reality particularly when the relevant state capacity is still weak as demonstrated in the case of Kenya (Sawamura & Sifuna, 2008). Without sustainable educational development support mechanism to improve education environment including teacher training system and local involvement, the UPE policy would only offer universal 'poor' education.

## **CHAPTER 6 CONCLUSION**

### **6.1. Summary**

From the 1990 EFA conference in Jomtien, the contribution of primary education toward poverty reduction and empowerment became acknowledged worldwide, and the significance of the attainment of UPE were reaffirmed a decade after in the Dakar forum and the Millennium Declaration. Since the recognition of MDGs, universal primary education has become a major priority in several international development initiatives. Substantial resources were thus mobilized to achieve UPE despite the criticism for its elusive idealism (Mukudi, 2004; Omwami & Keller, 2010; Somerset, 2009).

As a result, educational development policies for UPE became popular in Sub-Saharan Africa because of the lowest stance of the region against the target level. Since the lack of financial capability for sustainable UPE programs has continuously been critical challenge in many African countries pursuing UPE after the independence, substantial investment and overseas development aid were embarked, resulted in notable improvements in enrollment rate and completion rate in primary education.

As the aid funding is in decline worldwide and national governments are often in dire need of external resource to sustain UPE policy, however, the quality of education is often compromised while the emphasis put on quantitative expansion (Chimombo, 2005). Furthermore, the narrow, uniform and target-oriented expression of UPE under the framework of MDGs led to the excessive Afro-pessimism reinforced by the money-metric and donor-centric global development discourse (Easterly, 2009; Vandemoortele, 2009).

The government of Kenya has introduced the UPE initiatives several times as its core educational development policy within the greater national development schemes. Yet, the fundamental financial and policy support system for sustainable policy implementation and the attainment of universal primary education was never realized. The UPE policy in Kenya has been a popular policy choice for the newly established governments, but mainly a political expediency rather than a broad perspective for national educational development.

The first and second UPE policy articulated in the 1970s resulted in the immediate enrollment shock in the following year. The sharp increase in primary school enrollment enabled the achievement of 100 percent GER level for the first time in 1974 with the unprecedented growth in the number of schools. Although the government abolished the school fee, substantial growth in the number of enrollments inevitably required new classrooms and facilities to be met by increased levies, often higher than the fee due to the rising cost of construction.

Escalating levies often affected the high dropout rate as the most of newly recruited students came from low-income families and over-aged students group. The quality of education was also suffered severely from the shortage of teachers and learning materials. As the government of Kenya recruited a large number of untrained teachers to cope with the overcrowded classrooms, overall quality of primary education was quickly dropped due to the shortage of equipment and materials for education, and such situation was retained for a long time.

Along with the change of political leadership in 1978, the newly elected president immediately launched the second UPE policy banned the direct imposition of building levies and other extra burdens on parents. As a result of the second policy implementation, a consistent expansion in primary education enrollment was observed in terms of the absolute number and percentage of the participation of both boys and girls.

Yet, families and local communities still had to provide the resource through the PTA and other administration fees in the different name. Similar to the previous experience, the parental levies were gradually reintroduced to expand school facilities to deal with the rapid growth in the enrollment, and the majority of the new recruitment who were usually drawn from the marginal families dropped out the school particularly at the very early stage in their primary education cycle.

The first and second UPE policy articulated in the 1970s was by no means

successful. The initial public response was exceptionally ardent, and resulted in the sky-rocketed enrollment increase, but the policy was never followed by any budgetary and systemic supports to cope with the overcrowded classrooms and lack of teaching force. Moreover, only a short time after the introduction of the UPE policy the retrogressive measures were reimposed to supplement financial gap for school operation, forcing the most vulnerable group of students from the marginal population to be estranged from the access and participation in the primary education in the end.

During the 1980s and 1990s, the economic recession in Kenya was continuously aggravated due to inconsistent agricultural production, deteriorating terms-of-trade, growing debt payments, population growth, and political instability (USAID/Kenya, 2010). In addition, the structural reform and the curriculum revision in the 1980s imposed new burdens on already exhausted parents and communities. While parents needed to buy many new textbooks for increased curriculum subjects brought under the broad-based education framework, communities were also required to construct facilities for the new pre-vocational subjects.

Economic decline and rising deficits forced the government to seek for the external aid from the IMF and the World Bank in 1988, and to restructure financing and public spending policies. Following the dominant neoliberal global development discourse emphasizing effectiveness and competitiveness, the

government of Kenya therefore introduced a cost-sharing scheme through the SAPs to diversify the social service financing and lower the public demand for government spending. As the cost-sharing scheme widened with the increased user fees in the 1980s, and thus the marginalized became further excluded from the basic education and health care.

The SAPs revived the direct fee for non-salary school costs in primary education, and thus the quality of primary education as well as the volume of participation was substantially impaired. The participation rate of primary education continued to decline, and the GER of primary education constantly decreased far below 100 percent level within a decade after the introduction of the cost-sharing scheme. The dropout rates were extraordinarily high in this period, and the completion rates were very low.

The extensive public reforms in economic and social policies through SAPs, however, eventually failed to deliver the promised economic growth in Kenya but exacerbated disparities and inequalities in access and quality of education across regions and social groups. In the context of emerging new development discourse stressing equity and social cohesion, the new political leadership therefore reversed the SAPs and re-introduced the UPE policy to provide free primary education by proscribing any direct or indirect fee.

Similar to the previous cases, in 2003 the new government also began to implement the UPE policy only after a few months from the election without

proper planning. Nevertheless, public response was evidently overwhelming resulted in the surge of enrollments and the recovery of 100 percent GER level in a short time, causing similar consequences in deteriorating education environment. Fortunately, hitching on the global commitment on the attainment of UPE encouraged by the MDGs, substantial donor support mechanism was formed through the KESSP to uphold the UPE programs in Kenya. The lack of state capacity as well as transparency and accountability, however, eventually decayed the sustainability of UPE.

Recently, a worldwide convergence in educational development policies with similar strategies, programs, and projects are observed whether in the developed or developing region. Many developing countries are currently in the process of education reforms as a part of their national development plan to excel in global economy. This is mainly the consequence of hegemonic global educational development agendas.

As the focus of global development discourse extended from the limited scope of economic growth toward broad social and human development in the mid-1990s, education has been increasingly stressed for its role in poverty reduction, and integrated as a new global consensus. The MDGs represents this shift in global development discourse towards comprehensive and integrated approach to development emphasizing national ownership and multi-dimensional global partnership (Cornwall & Brock, 2005). In parallel, globalization also

facilitated a fundamental change in the development approach to poverty and inequality for the critical role of education in the development policies and programs from the perspective of human capital.

Education is thus considered a strategic investment in the competitive and flexible job market of global economy for individuals and an effective strategy for the country. The strong advocacy for new global development discourse around the 'knowledge-based economy' by the OECD and the World Bank reinforced such way of thinking. The power and influence of international agendas in national policy practice in education sector grew even larger as the strategic value of educational development for national development in the knowledge-based economy. Their dominant neoliberal approach to development emphasizing effectiveness and competitiveness were spread across the region with the limited consideration put on the participation from the local governments.

Comparable to the situation in the 1980s, the recent worldwide economic recession resulted in the decrease in the overall development funding, and powerful donor agencies with outstanding capacities and resources still dominate the agenda setting to lead the global development discourse. Financial instability resulted from the heavy reliance on the donor assistance often reverses the initial attempt to provide open access to education for all whereas many elite private schools established for children from the well-offs expands the education gap

even farther among students.

## **6.2. Re-examining the global-national power dynamics in educational development practice**

Education policy is essentially a practice of power. From the perspective of critical approach to policy based on the discourse of power, education policy “codifies and extends the interests of those who disproportionately wield power” and thus “serves to reproduce existing structures of domination and inequality” (Levinson, Sutton, & Winstead, 2009, p. 769). Emerging from the 1980s, critical scholars have discussed education policy as a production of normative discourse that reproduces inequality and hegemony (Bacchi, 2000). In their view, education policy is a contested political process through which the dominant actor imposed certain values and interests within the education system (Ball, 1998; Dale, 2000; Gale, 2001; Popkewitz, 1997).

Education has been constantly deemed a means to national development for countries in Sub-Saharan Africa especially after the independence. Individuals have also sought the educational opportunity for their advancement in the economy. The government of Kenya therefore introduced the UPE policy in the 1970s in response to the popular demands of ‘wanachi (people)’ by increasing the access to and participation in primary education in order to enhance national

unity and social cohesion. The UPE policy in the 1970s was to resolve inequality problem inherited by the colonial government while the major focus of education policy was put on the expansion of post-primary and technical education for the provision of human resource to the independent government. The education policy of Kenya in the 1970s was thus primarily driven by the state-centric national economic development plans, defining primary education as a tool for nation building.

The global economic recession persisted in the 1980s resulted in the reduction in development assistance funding and the increased role of the IMF and the World Bank in the field of educational development. Emphasizing effectiveness and efficiency, the SAPs imposed by these agencies induced major educational reforms in many developing countries like Kenya. After the introduction of a cost-sharing scheme in 1988, the SAPs totally reversed the UPE policies in the 1970s through the user fees in primary schooling resulted in the notable quality decline of education with the greater disparities across the regions and social groups.

The process of globalization, however, fundamentally shifted the development approach to poverty and inequality. Growing inequalities and worsened poverty called for new development discourse recognizing the significance of equity and social cohesion. In the context of globalization, education has been increasingly emphasized for their extended function for

social stability in the development policies and programs as well as the strategic value of human capital in national development. Education is still considered a strategy to succeed in the competitive and flexible global economy for the states and individuals on the one hand, but a means to promote social equity on the other.

Moreover, the new forms of supranational governance in education emerged in the process of globalization to cope with the limited capacity of nation states in comparison to the great scale and nature of the challenges they confront. The formation of MDGs represents not only the global commitment on social and human development but also the comprehensive approach to development based on strong ownership and multi-dimensional global partnership promoted by international development agencies. The qualitative change in the governance of education caused the extension of power and influence of international organizations in the field of education, which has grown into major actors leading the global educational development agenda.

The OECD first initiated the formation of new educational development discourse emphasizing the productivity and growth of knowledge economies through the technical progress and the accumulation of knowledge measured by the complicated indicators based on the aggregated statistics. These tools became influential benchmark in the educational development agendas, leading the emergence of new global development discourse around the 'knowledge-based

economy' while promoting their influence in national education policy-making. This new development discourse is well reflected in national development document in Kenya stressing the competency in education.

The World Bank became the main actor in the educational development community from the 1980s with their financial and technical capacity (Heyneman, 2003). The Bank initially led the Washington Consensus through the SAPs but replaced with a new policy tool of PRSP when the SAPs failed to deliver the economic growth. The Bank continued to maintain its dominant position through the creation of Post-Washington Consensus replacing its old name tag.

The PRSP is principally result-oriented, comprehensive, country-driven and partnership-oriented in developing a long-term perspective for poverty reduction (IMF, 2013). Accordingly, national governments were supposed to develop their own priorities and development programs to reduce poverty. Nevertheless, the Bank successfully disguised its adherence to neoliberal approach to development with minor change in communication strategy by adding few non-monetary and equity dimensions into their educational development agendas (Heyneman, 2003).

Despite the emphasis on national ownership and participatory process, the extent of their realization in the process of PRSP production was in question. Developing countries have to go through multiple stages of the bank review to

acquire the support from the Bank through which they often modify some of structural elements to improve economic performance. Similarly, the actual content and outcome of the PRSP process also demonstrated the reproduction of the former consensus in the new name (Sumner, 2006).

Moreover, the knowledge sharing activities associated with the PRSP promoted the coordination between the development agencies (Caillods & Hallak, 2004). This enhanced coordination resulted in the logic of harmonization among donor agencies, however, is argued to reduce national ownership as governments and civil society are confronted by a more concerted agency position (McGrath & King, 2004). The donor-donor harmonization, not donor-partner harmonization, ultimately reinforces the dominant educational development agendas promoting particular interests (Tarabini & Jacovkis, 2012).

The convergence of development strategies among donor agencies therefore resulted in the 'de-politicization' of international educational development agendas focusing on the technical coordination rather than the fundamental reappraisal on the rationale for certain direction. Before the PRSP, the education sector analysis was employed as a powerful tool to justify educational development policies and programs in Africa in the 1990s. The process of analysis was also led by the hegemonic agendas and the dominant funding and technical assistance agencies, and therefore substantially constrained the national ownership and participation within the context of the aid relationship (Samoff,

1999). The political economy in the educational development policies has not been changed despite the rhetoric of participatory practice in national policy practice (Hoppers, 2009).

The major buttress of the recent UPE policy in Kenya is the KESSP. As the shift in international development discourse towards comprehensive and integrated approach to development and poverty reduction, new policy instrument in the international development practice called a Sector Wide Approach (SWAp) became a popular in development practice as observed in Kenya. Incorporating SWAp principles, the KESSP comprised of four components with 23 investment programs to support education sector development in Kenya, and provided a comprehensive framework for partnership to realize universal primary education with the substantial donor assistance through capitation-based funds directly into the education budget of the government.

In order to mobilize the large assistance funding, international development agencies established a Joint Financing Agreement to coordinate a pooled funding arrangement, and mobilized the Catalytic Fund from the EFA-FTI to reduce the financing gap. In this process, Kenya adopted the PRSP as required by the FTI. As the largest donor for the KESSP and the leading agency for the FTI, the World Bank exerted the biggest influence over the UPE policy formation and the implementation in Kenya.

As the 2003 UPE policy was introduced without appropriate planning process to identify needs and problems in the national education system, the formulation of the KESSP in the process of policy implementation was also rushed to meet donor agencies' demands on design and terms for assistance. The investment program funding of the KESSP was disproportionately devoted to the distribution of instructional materials to primary schools with the allocation of 36 percent of the program costs. In contrast, the capacity building programs for primary teachers and sector management marks 4 percent and 1.5 percent respectively.

Inevitably, the lack of state capacity not only in the management of multilateral development program but in monitoring and evaluation failed to prevent the large scale fraud and corruption, and often resulted in the cease of funding in the midway. Given the heavy reliance on donor commitments rather than actual resource availability, the operation of the KESSP was seriously impaired and the proposed scale-up was postponed until now (World Bank, 2011).

Quantitatively speaking, notable progress has made toward the attainment of universal primary education in Kenya. Improvements in the systems and structures in education sector were observed in the process of the UPE policy implementation although the progress is not reaching the marginalized. Particularly in the last decade, steady increase in GER, NER and primary-to-

secondary transition rate accounted for the introduction of UPE policy supported by the multilateral development assistance mechanism through the KESSP (GOK & UNESCO, 2012). Yet, Kenya still confronts many challenges in enhancing access, equity, quality and relevance of education including regional disparities, low capacity and weak governance in education, lack of human and financial resources, and ineffective and uncoordinated monitoring and evaluation systems.

A decade after the introduction of newly revived UPE policy in 2003, this study identified the effects of global development discourse in national policy practice, particularly through the educational development policy of Kenya to attain UPE in response to the global agendas. Appropriate budgetary plans for financial stability and strategic educational development partnership based on the transparency and accountability must be coordinated through the state capacity-building in order to realize the goal of universal primary education. Otherwise, as observed in the case of Kenya, the national education policy is continuously swayed by the direction of hegemonic international agenda, altering the goal of universal primary education to the outcome of universal 'poor' education.

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## Appendices

### 1. Kenya at a Glance

#### A. Poverty and Social Indicators

	Kenya	Sub-Saharan Africa	Low-income
Population (mid-year, millions, 2011)	41.6	875	817
GNI per capita (Atlas method, USD, 2011)	820	1,258	571
Average population growth (% , 2005-2011)	2.6	2.5	2.1
Population below national poverty line (%)	46	-	-
Life expectancy at birth (years)	57	55	59
Infant mortality (per 1,000 live birth)	48	69	63
Literacy (% of population age 15+)	87	63	63

Note: Figures are most recent estimate from latest year available, 2005-2011

Source: Kenya at a glance, World Bank (3/17/2013)

#### B. Key Economic Ratios and Trends

	1991	2001	2010	2011
GDP (USD billions)	8.2	13.0	32.2	33.6
Total debt/GDP	91.4	42.9	27.3	30.5
Average GDP annual growth	2.3 (1991-2001)	4.5 (2001-2011)	5.8	4.4
Agriculture % of GDP	28.1	31.3	25.1	28.5
Industry % of GDP	19.7	17.2	18.6	17.6
Services % of GDP	52.2	51.4	56.3	53.9

Note: 2011 data are preliminary estimates.

Source: Kenya at a glance, World Bank (3/17/2013)

## 2. Millennium Development Goals, Targets and Indicators

Millennium Development Goals (MDGs)	
Goals and Targets (from the Millennium Declaration)	Indicators for monitoring progress
<b>Goal 1: Eradicate extreme poverty and hunger</b>	
Target 1.A: Halve, between 1990 and 2015, the proportion of people whose income is less than one dollar a day	1.1 Proportion of population below \$1 (PPP) per day <sup>30</sup> 1.2 Poverty gap ratio 1.3 Share of poorest quintile in national consumption
Target 1.B: Achieve full and productive employment and decent work for all, including women and young people	1.4 Growth rate of GDP per person employed 1.5 Employment-to-population ratio 1.6 Proportion of employed people living below \$1 (PPP) per day 1.7 Proportion of own-account and contributing family workers in total employment
Target 1.C: Halve, between 1990 and 2015, the proportion of people who suffer from hunger	1.8 Prevalence of underweight children under-five years of age 1.9 Proportion of population below minimum level of dietary energy consumption
<b>Goal 2: Achieve universal primary education</b>	
Target 2.A: Ensure that, by 2015, children everywhere, boys and girls alike, will be able to complete a full course of primary schooling	2.1 Net enrollment ratio in primary education 2.2 Proportion of pupils starting grade 1 who reach last grade of primary 2.3 Literacy rate of 15-24 year-olds, women and men
<b>Goal 3: Promote gender equality and empower women</b>	
Target 3.A: Eliminate gender disparity in primary and secondary education, preferably by 2005, and in all levels of education no later than 2015	3.1 Ratios of girls to boys in primary, secondary and tertiary education 3.2 Share of women in wage employment in the non-agricultural sector 3.3 Proportion of seats held by women in national parliament
<b>Goal 4: Reduce child mortality</b>	

<sup>30</sup> For monitoring country poverty trends, indicators based on national poverty lines should be used, where available

Target 4.A: Reduce by two-thirds, between 1990 and 2015, the under-five mortality rate	4.1 Under-five mortality rate 4.2 Infant mortality rate 4.3 Proportion of 1 year-old children immunised against measles
<b>Goal 5: Improve maternal health</b>	
Target 5.A: Reduce by three quarters, between 1990 and 2015, the maternal mortality ratio	5.1 Maternal mortality ratio 5.2 Proportion of births attended by skilled health personnel
Target 5.B: Achieve, by 2015, universal access to reproductive health	5.3 Contraceptive prevalence rate 5.4 Adolescent birth rate 5.5 Antenatal care coverage (at least one visit and at least four visits) 5.6 Unmet need for family planning
<b>Goal 6: Combat HIV/AIDS, malaria and other diseases</b>	
Target 6.A: Have halted by 2015 and begun to reverse the spread of HIV/AIDS	6.1 HIV prevalence among population aged 15-24 years 6.2 Condom use at last high-risk sex 6.3 Proportion of population aged 15-24 years with comprehensive correct knowledge of HIV/AIDS 6.4 Ratio of school attendance of orphans to school attendance of non-orphans aged 10-14 years
Target 6.B: Achieve, by 2010, universal access to treatment for HIV/AIDS for all those who need it	6.5 Proportion of population with advanced HIV infection with access to antiretroviral drugs
Target 6.C: Have halted by 2015 and begun to reverse the incidence of malaria and other major diseases	6.6 Incidence and death rates associated with malaria 6.7 Proportion of children under 5 sleeping under insecticide-treated bednets 6.8 Proportion of children under 5 with fever who are treated with appropriate anti-malarial drugs 6.9 Incidence, prevalence and death rates associated with tuberculosis 6.10 Proportion of tuberculosis cases detected and cured under directly observed treatment short course
<b>Goal 7: Ensure environmental sustainability</b>	
Target 7.A: Integrate the principles of sustainable development into country policies and programs and reverse the loss of environmental resources	7.1 Proportion of land area covered by forest 7.2 CO2 emissions, total, per capita and per \$1 GDP (PPP) 7.3 Consumption of ozone-depleting substances
Target 7.B: Reduce biodiversity loss, achieving, by 2010, a significant reduction in the rate of loss	7.4 Proportion of fish stocks within safe biological limits 7.5 Proportion of total water resources

	<p>used</p> <p>7.6 Proportion of terrestrial and marine areas protected</p> <p>7.7 Proportion of species threatened with extinction</p>
Target 7.C: Halve, by 2015, the proportion of people without sustainable access to safe drinking water and basic sanitation	<p>7.8 Proportion of population using an improved drinking water source</p> <p>7.9 Proportion of population using an improved sanitation facility</p>
Target 7.D: By 2020, to have achieved a significant improvement in the lives of at least 100 million slum dwellers	7.10 Proportion of urban population living in slums <sup>31</sup>
<b>Goal 8: Develop a global partnership for development</b>	
<p>Target 8.A: Develop further an open, rule-based, predictable, non-discriminatory trading and financial system</p> <p>Includes a commitment to good governance, development and poverty reduction – both nationally and internationally</p> <p>Target 8.B: Address the special needs of the least developed countries</p> <p>Includes: tariff and quota free access for the least developed countries' exports; enhanced program of debt relief for heavily indebted poor countries (HIPC) and cancellation of official bilateral debt; and more generous ODA for countries committed to poverty reduction</p> <p>Target 8.C: Address the special needs of landlocked developing countries and small island developing States (through the Program of Action for the Sustainable Development of Small</p>	<p><i>Some of the indicators listed below are monitored separately for the least developed countries (LDCs), Africa, landlocked developing countries and small island developing States.</i></p> <p><u>Official development assistance (ODA)</u></p> <p>8.1 Net ODA, total and to the least developed countries, as percentage of OECD/DAC donors' gross national income</p> <p>8.2 Proportion of total bilateral, sector-allocable ODA of OECD/DAC donors to basic social services (basic education, primary health care, nutrition, safe water and sanitation)</p> <p>8.3 Proportion of bilateral official development assistance of OECD/DAC donors that is untied</p> <p>8.4 ODA received in landlocked developing countries as a proportion of their gross national incomes</p> <p>8.5 ODA received in small island developing States as a proportion of their gross national incomes</p> <p><u>Market access</u></p> <p>8.6 Proportion of total developed country imports (by value and</p>

<sup>31</sup> The actual proportion of people living in slums is measured by a proxy, represented by the urban population living in households with at least one of the four characteristics: (a) lack of access to improved water supply; (b) lack of access to improved sanitation; (c) overcrowding (3 or more persons per room); and (d) dwellings made of non-durable material.

<p>Island Developing States and the outcome of the twenty-second special session of the General Assembly)</p> <p>Target 8.D: Deal comprehensively with the debt problems of developing countries through national and international measures in order to make debt sustainable in the long term</p>	<p>excluding arms) from developing countries and least developed countries, admitted free of duty</p> <p>8.7 Average tariffs imposed by developed countries on agricultural products and textiles and clothing from developing countries</p> <p>8.8 Agricultural support estimate for OECD countries as a percentage of their gross domestic product</p> <p>8.9 Proportion of ODA provided to help build trade capacity</p> <p><u>Debt sustainability</u></p> <p>8.10 Total number of countries that have reached their HIPC decision points and number that have reached their HIPC completion points (cumulative)</p> <p>8.11 Debt relief committed under HIPC and MDRI Initiatives</p> <p>8.12 Debt service as a percentage of exports of goods and services</p>
<p>Target 8.E: In cooperation with pharmaceutical companies, provide access to affordable essential drugs in developing countries</p>	<p>8.13 Proportion of population with access to affordable essential drugs on a sustainable basis</p>
<p>Target 8.F: In cooperation with the private sector, make available the benefits of new technologies, especially information and communications</p>	<p>8.14 Fixed telephone lines per 100 inhabitants</p> <p>8.15 Mobile cellular subscriptions per 100 inhabitants</p> <p>8.16 Internet users per 100 inhabitants</p>

Source: Official list of MDG indicators (Website of the Millennium Development Goals Indicators; <http://mdgs.un.org/unsd/mdg/host.aspx?Content=indicators/officialist.htm>)

## LIST OF ACRONYMS

ASAL	Arid and Semi-Arid Lands
CEE	Common Entrance Examination
CIDA	Canadian International Development Agency
DAC	Development Assistance Committee
DfID	United Kingdom Department for International Development
ECDE	Early Childhood Development and Education
ECOSOC	UN Economic and Social Council
EFA	Education for All
FPE	Free Primary Education
FTI	Fast-Track Initiative
GDP	Gross domestic product
GER	Gross enrollment rate
GNI	Gross national income
GNP	Gross national product
GOK	Government of Kenya
IDG	International Development Goal
ILO	International Labor Organization
IMF	International Monetary Fund
INES	International Indicator and Evaluation of Educational System
JFA	Joint Financing Agreement
KAPE	Kenya African Preliminary Examination
KCPE	Kenya Certificate of Primary Education
KESSP	Kenya Education Sector Support Program
MDG	Millennium Development Goal
MOE	Ministry of Education
MOHEST	Ministry of Higher Education, Science and Technology
NARC	National Rainbow Coalition
NER	Net Enrollment Rate
OECD	Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development
PIRLS	Progress in International Reading Literacy Study
PISA	Program of International Student Assessment
PRSP	poverty reduction strategy paper
SAP	structural adjustment program
SDG	Sustainable Development Goal
SIDA	Swedish International Development Agency
SSA	Sub-Saharan Africa
SWAp	Sector Wide Approach
TIMMS	Trends in Mathematics and Science Study
TIVET	Technical, Industrial, Vocational Entrepreneurship Training
TTC	Teacher Training College
UDHR	Universal Declaration of Human Rights
UN	United Nations

UNDP	United Nations Development Program
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
UPE	Universal primary education
WTO	World Trade Organization

## Abstract in Korean

이 논문은 케냐 보편초등교육을 통해 국가 정책 프랙티스에서의 국제교육개발 의제 영향력을 분석한 것이다. 케냐 보편초등교육 분석을 통해 국제개발의제의 영향력 및 개별 국가의 경제사회적 맥락에 따라 국가 대응 차원에서의 교육개발정책 프랙티스가 형성되고 시행되는 과정을 고찰하였다. 지배적 국제개발의제에 조응하여 국가 차원의 정책 프랙티스를 구성하고 시행하는 개발도상국 사례연구를 통해 국제교육개발협력에서의 국제-국가 차원 기제(global-national dynamics)를 밝히고 개발도상국의 교육개발 정책의 시사점을 도출하고자 했다.

단순한 계량적 지표를 표방한 밀레니엄 개발목표(MDGs)가 국제개발사회의 지배적 개발 의제로 자리매김하자, 케냐를 비롯한 사하라 이남 아프리카 지역 다수의 국가들이 국내외적 한계에도 불구하고 보편초등교육 정책을 도입하는 것이 일반화되었다. 국제개발사회가 밀레니엄 개발계획을 개발의 궁극적 목표로 상정하고 개별국가의 다양한 사회경제적 환경을 고려하지 않은 일률적 보편초등교육 정책을 주도하자 많은 한계와 문제점들이 드러났다. 자국의 경제사회적 구조에 대한 분석과 지속가능한 환경조성을 위한 계획없이 지배적 개발의제를 받아들이고 보편초등교육 정책을 도입한 많은 개발도상국들에서 공통적으로 교육의 질 저하, 과밀화 학급 증가, 높은 중도탈락률의 악순환과 재정적 한계로 인한 지속성 한계의 문제가 발생하였다.

케냐는 1963년 오랜 영국 식민지배로부터 독립한 후 1970년대 보편초등교육 정책 도입을 통해 교육기회를 확장하고 식민교육시스템을 개혁하여 국가 개발을 추구하였다. 케냐의 교육개발 정책은 1970년대 보편초등교육 확대 중심에서 1980년대 고등교육 중심으로 급변한 뒤 2000년대 이후 새롭게 보편초등교육 중심으로 변화하였다. 지배적 국제개발의제와 사회경제적 환경의 변화가 이러한 케냐 교육개발 정책 프랙티스의 변화를 야기한 주된 요인이다.

모두를 위한 교육(EFA) 의제의 하나로 중시되어 온 보편초등교육은 특히 밀레니엄 개발목표로 상정된 2000년 이후 지배적 국제교육개발의제로 확실히 자리잡게 되었고, 국제교육개발협력에서 보편초등교육 달성이 최우선적인 관심과 지원을 받게 되었다. 이에 따라 2000년대 이후 많은 개발도상국 정부들은 보편초등교육 중심의 주도적 국제개발담론에 조응하여 국가차원의 교육개발정책 프랙티스를 형성하고 시행하였다. 케냐 정부가 2003년 새 정부 출범과 동시에 시행한 보편초등교육 정책 또한 당시의 지배적 국제개발의제

영향으로 형성되었으며, 케냐 교육부문 지원프로그램(KESSP)을 통한 대규모 국제개발사회 원조를 지원받아 시행되었다. 이를 통해 케냐는 보편초등교육 달성에 있어 양적지표상 괄목할만한 성과를 이루었으나, 여전히 교육의 접근성, 평등, 질 측면에서 빈곤계층 소외, 지역격차, 취약한 교육 거버넌스, 인적·재정지원 부족, 비효율적이고 분절화된 모니터링 및 평가체계 문제로 인해 지속가능성에 한계를 드러내고 있다.

케냐 보편초등교육을 통해 지배적 국제개발의제가 국가 정책 프랙티스로서의 교육개발 정책 형성과 시행에 미치는 영향력을 분석한 이 연구는 국제교육개발협력에서 개발도상국의 교육개발 정책 수립과 시행에 중요한 사례 자료로 활용될 수 있을 것이다.

**주요어:** universal primary education, international educational development, international development agenda, educational development policy, global-national dynamics, Kenya

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