

“SOME IS BETTER THAN NONE”: PERSPECTIVES OF EDUCATORS WORKING
IN NONGOVERNMENT SCHOOLS IN THE MATHARE VALLEY SLUMS OF
NAIROBI, KENYA

by

ASHLEY CHRISTINE CARR

(Under the Direction of Diane Brook Napier)

ABSTRACT

The purpose of this qualitative case study was to place educators at the center of data collection with research questions directed at learning about the micro realities in nongovernment schools in the Mathare Valley slums of Nairobi, Kenya. In the face of a Free Primary Education policy introduced in 2003, children from the slums are attending low-fee private schools in large numbers. Framed within the global to local continuum, this research aimed to describe locally constructed solutions to an excess demand for education. Educators' voices on the realities in Mathare Valley are the voices needing to be heard in the larger story of Kenyan educational reform.

Methodologically, I used observations, 42 questionnaires, and interviews with 20 participants in the field to construct a multi-dimensional case; an account of the realities and needs of educators working in nongovernment schools in the Mathare Valley slums. I used constant comparative analysis of the data to identify four major themes: testing culture, space, money, and hope. Significant common threads woven throughout the data

were: context, the role of social relationships, insecurity, the attitude that “some is better than none,” and a habit of pursuing “greener pastures.”

Local realities for schools operating in the slums are not generalizable in urban terms. The features of slum communities impact the schools that serve them. This research detailed the context surrounding these schools and presented the perspective of educators to provide further insight into a phenomenon. Additionally, the conclusions reinforce findings of other scholarship in the field of comparative and international education on the importance of contextual factors in educational settings.

INDEX WORDS: Kenya, slums, private schools for the poor, nongovernment schools, FPE, teacher perspectives, poverty, insecurity, hope, education reform

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DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to the women in my life who laid the path for me by being
industrious models of independence, initiative, and intellectual curiosity.

Sharon Carroccio Carr

Dorothy Donovan Carr

Gladys Klem Carroccio

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CHAPTER 1

THE RESEARCH PROBLEM

The purpose of this qualitative case study in the slums of Mathare Valley in Nairobi, Kenya was to describe the micro-level realities of educators working in nongovernment primary schools. In this chapter I introduce the research problem related to primary schools in the slums of Nairobi and its background. I provide my rationale and goals for the study. I also present the goals, objectives and research questions and how I approached them in my research. Finally, I address the potential contributions to the field as well as limitations of the study.

Statement of the Problem

Supported internationally, the United Nations Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) includes achieving universal primary education for all children as one of the eight goals aimed at diminishing extreme poverty. The MDGs also identify hunger, gender equality, health, and the environment as areas of need for focusing actions to meet the needs of people living in poverty all over the world. The United Nations (2010) lists the MDGs in action as:

1. Eradicate extreme poverty and hunger
2. Achieve universal primary education
3. Promote gender equality and empower women
4. Reduce child mortality
5. Improve maternal health
6. Combat HIV/AIDS, malaria and other diseases
7. Ensure environmental sustainability
8. Global partnership for development

According to the Millennium Development Goals Report, the biggest obstacle to education is poverty (United Nations Development, 2010). This obstacle is considered a universal issue in education. As I discuss in the Larger International and Comparative Education Context piece of Chapter 2, it is widely accepted that free primary education (FPE) policies are required to meet the goals of universal primary education (UPE), as well as the needs of the poor worldwide and in Kenya. Simultaneously, the growth of low fee private schools for the poor exists as another form of the problem within which my research falls.

To achieve the internationally embraced standard of universal primary education, education reforms must be implemented in developing nations to increase access to education for the formerly excluded. Global trends, such as Education for All and the MDGs, promote an international standard to inform policy. Like Kenya, other African countries including Uganda, Tanzania and Malawi have recently implemented free primary education policies.

My research concerning free primary education in Kenya helps illuminate a policy-practice dichotomy; while FPE exists, the reality is that thousands of people living in poverty are not being served by the government and instead they choose to pay fees for a private primary education. In the case of the Mathare Valley slums in Nairobi, poverty affects access to education mostly because of the historical lack of infrastructure and invisibility, as detailed in Chapter 2. The children of Mathare Valley are living in abject poverty and do not have equitable access to education despite living in the capital of a nation offering free primary education.

One of the advantages generally associated with urban areas is access to education. However, this “urban advantage” is lacking in Nairobi, Kenya (Musigha, 2006) . In the face of a free primary education policy, research showed that 39% of children from the slums in Nairobi who attend school go to what are commonly termed in the literature as, “private schools for the poor” (Oketch, Mutisya, Ngware, Ezech & Epari, 2010, p. 23). Average school fees for private schools in Kenyan slums are almost twice as costly as the fees associated with government schools, yet poor families send their children to these schools often run by Nongovernmental Organizations (NGOs), churches, community groups, and for-profit organizations. I describe details of this phenomenon in Chapter 2. The presence of this fee-paying private education sector geared towards meeting the needs of the poor illustrates the problem identified by researchers such as Mugisha (2006) and Brook Napier (2005) as the policy-practice dichotomy. My research contributes to this field of study by detailing the context surrounding these schools and presenting the perspective of educators to provide further insight into the problem in the case of Kenya.

The first piece of the problem I addressed in my dissertation research was describing local needs by detailing the slum context. Mugisha (2006) argued that traditional “urban” and “rural” distinctions conceal the slum population because it is considered urban (Mugisha, 2006). However, the local realities for schools operating in the slums are not generalizable in urban terms. According to UN-Habitat, more than 1.5 million people in Nairobi live in overcrowded communities with no sewage or excreta removal system, and they share a public standing pipe for water. Public toilets are often

shared with more than five households. Slum-dwelling is also defined by a lack of permanency of structure and a lack of security of tenure (Mugisha, 2006).

Most schools in the slums are termed as nonformal, nongovernment, or private schools. Due mostly to American schema about private schools, I found the term “nongovernment” to be the most inclusive, clear representation of the schools I researched and therefore I used “nongovernment schools” most often during my writing. To be legally registered with the Ministry of Education schools must provide copies of professional certificates for all teachers, a title, deed, or 8-year lease, and a certified public health inspection report (Kenya Ministry of Education, 2006). In this way, the government requirements are a contradiction to the very environment in which schools in the slums operate. Nongovernment schools operating in the slums have to deal with issues specific to their context including recognition by the government as an operating entity. These registration conditions act as an example of how government policies block progress and ignore the reality within which poor urban citizens live. For example, more than one of my school sites was not registered with the Ministry of Education as a school, but rather as a self-help group through the Ministry of Gender and Social Services (Interviewee 5, July 7, 2012; Interviewee 11, July 2, 2012).

Quantitative reports of slum schools are characterized by staff shortages, congested classrooms, and a lack of scholastic materials (Ngware, Oketch & Ezech, 2011). Space is a premium in the slums and by definition, homes and businesses are in a compact area. Mugisha (2006) reported that it is usually difficult for schools to attract and retain qualified staff due to the hardships associated with teaching in slum schools. Government schools in the slums tend to be better with regard to infrastructure, teacher

qualifications, and textbook provision. In a quantitative sample of non-government schools in Kenyan slums other than Mathare Valley, Ngware et al. (2011) found that more than 40% of teachers were not trained, while only 1% of teachers in government schools lack certification. If youth in the slums do not have equitable access to education, it is not reasonable to think that there would be a large, educated pool of local adults from which to draw teachers for schools in said slums.

These specific contexts built the path to the focus of my research. The features of slum communities impact the schools that serve them. Previous researchers have commented on what parents, government officials, and academics have identified as the problem. An important issue raised by many parents in the Nairobi slums was the issue of the increased accountability of teachers in private schools (Tooley, Stanfield & Dixon, 2008). A study of school transfers from public to private institutions in Kenya indicated parents' generalized perception of better pupil discipline and better teachers in private institutions (Oketch et al., 2010). Many of the conclusions in previous research about schools in slums pointed to teacher issues without offering the perspectives of teachers themselves. In this study, I placed teachers and other educators at the center of my research and therefore my data collection. In Chapter 4 I describe the realities of operating these schools from the perspective of school personnel.

Background to the Problem

Mathare Valley is what Stake (2000) described as a unique, bounded system and it is the identified case in my research. It is a definable geographic area within the city of Nairobi, Kenya. The Mathare Valley is a collection of informal neighborhoods, or slums, just outside of Nairobi's city center (see Figure 1).

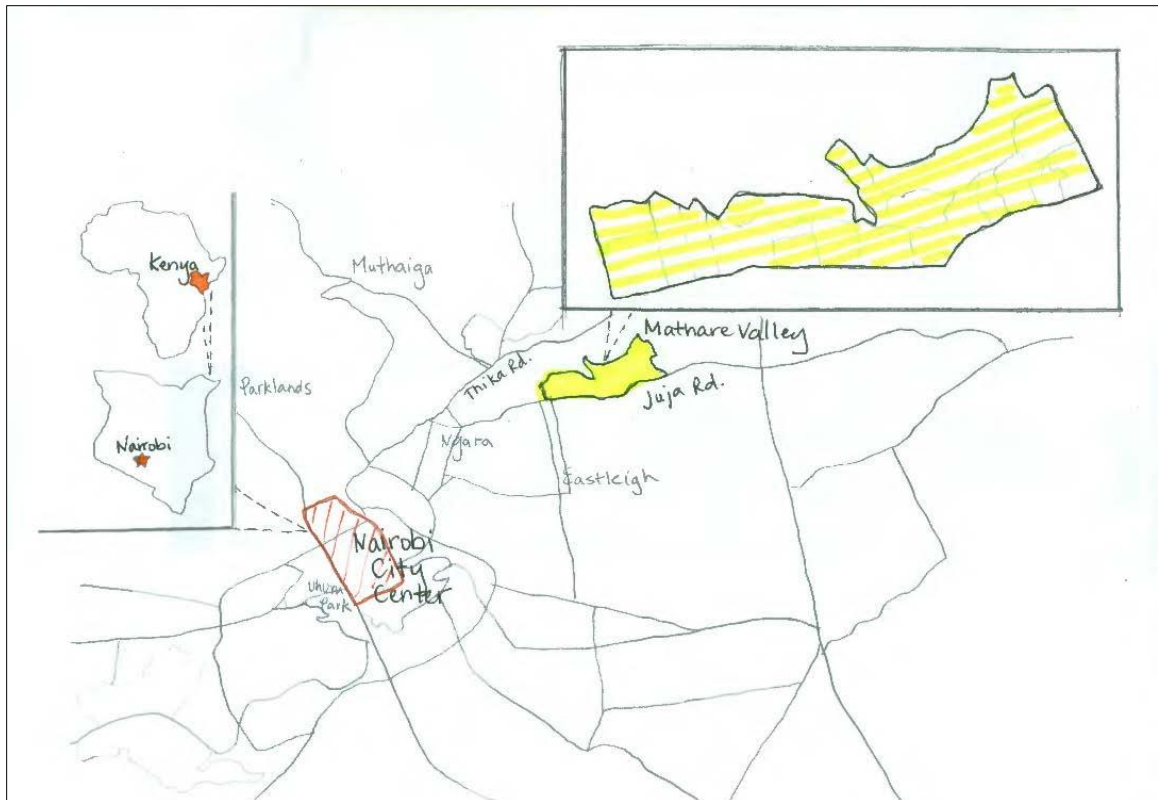


Figure 1. Map of Mathare Valley in the context of Nairobi and Kenya.
Source: Modified from Muugano Support Trust (2012).

However, Mathare is only one of 19 of such settlements in Nairobi. In fact, over 50% of Nairobi's population lives in slums (Mugisha, 2006). In 2001, UN-Habitat developed criteria to qualify slum-dwelling that included the following standards relevant to Mathare Valley and the other Nairobi slums (Mugisha, 2006, p. 474):

- *Sharing a public standing pipe for water with more than five households.*
- *No excreta disposal system or direct connection to sewer or septic tank.*
- *Sharing a public toilet with more than 5 households*
- *More than 3 people per room (4msquared)*
- *Lacking Permanency of structure*
 - *Permanent building material for walls, roof and floor*
 - *Compliance of building codes*
 - *Dwelling on steep slope*
- *Lacking security of tenure*
 - *Protection of arbitrary evictions*

Gulyani & Bassett (2010) studied living conditions in the slums of Nairobi. They reported that only 12% of housing units in Nairobi have permanent walls. Most of Nairobi's slum residents live, eat, and sleep in roughly one room. Nairobi's settlements were described as deficient in all dimensions. Unfortunately, however, this does not translate into lower rents. Nairobi's settlements were characterized by Gulyani & Bassett (2010) as a trap of low-quality but high-cost housing overwhelmingly populated by tenants renting from absentee landlords.

Despite the majority of Nairobi's residents living in slum communities, slums occupy only 5% of the total residential land (Mugisha, 2006, p. 472). That leaves approximately 2,000,000 people to find residence in approximately 14 square miles. Of that 2,000,000, it is difficult to say how many live in the Mathare Valley. Population estimates of Mathare Valley in the literature range from 70,000 to 600,000. The 3-square mile "valley" was a quarry in the past, but has been home to native Africans since before Kenya's independence. The slum began as an agricultural settlement in 1921 and is one of the oldest and most-established slum areas in Nairobi. Its unique geography is an especially significant feature for the thousands of people living there with no sewage systems and no garbage removal; and the land is swampy with steep grades, making the residents vulnerable to flooding and landslides (Otiso, 2003, 2000).

The geographical features of Mathare Valley are considerable and significant in the successful running of a school. Building schools, managing students and attracting teachers is extremely difficult in slum conditions as Ngware et al. described (2011). The density of slum communities means that schools cannot afford the luxury of having much open space in which students may play. According to the Ministry of Education (MOE)

registration application (2013), the lack of recreational space alone is sufficient to deny schools the ability to formally register with the government and therefore benefit from government programs (Appendix A). My experiences in Nairobi taught me that without paved roads, navigation of Mathare Valley can be treacherous. If one is not accustomed to the rough terrain and open sewage, it can be difficult to recruit teachers from outside the slums. These features also had an impact on my access to the setting and data as a researcher and I discuss them in Chapter 3.

Kenya recently incorporated educational rights into their new constitution. The Constitution of Kenya that was adopted in August 2010 implemented provisions of the Children Act as part of the new Constitution. The Constitution of Kenya now states in article 43, section 21 that every person has the right to education (Kenya Law Reports, 2010). By adding this new article to the constitution, the State acknowledged its obligation to protect and fulfil this right, and to make efforts to realize the goal of universal primary education in Kenya. Also laid out in article 43 is the need for the State to address the specific needs of vulnerable groups like children and those in marginalized communities. This appears contradictory when one looks at the reality of educational services available to those in marginalized communities like urban slums. For example, Tooley et al. (2008) found that only five government schools serve Nairobi's largest slum, Kibera, which has a population exceeding 600,000 people. According to the Early Childhood Development Policy Framework of Kenya, FPE was reintroduced in 2003 as an effort to attain the goal of universal primary education (Kenya Ministry of Education, 2008). However, as Mukudi (2004) noted, abolishing school fees has put pressure on the

entire learning infrastructure, and the resources, such as insufficient numbers of schools and teachers, in place to implement the policy successfully.

Rationale

The rationale for my study centered on the importance of understanding the realities of urban slums. Following the global to local continuum, my research questions established a foundation for the issue by exploring the details of Kenyan education policy against the broader global perspective. Then, I explored the realities of policy implementation relevancy through field work in the slum context. Working directly with school personnel helped explain the nature and challenges of providing education services in the slums of Mathare Valley. It was important for me to study the actualities of providing education services in this context because understanding the working conditions of teachers in the slums advances our understanding of larger educational issues for slum-dwellers within the national and global context.

The rationale for my research included personal connections, as well. As a former classroom teacher, and teacher educator, I have a vested interest in understanding the perspective of service-level educators. In this case, the perspective of educators is a crucial part of illuminating the policy-practice dichotomy in Kenya. In addition to being genuinely intrigued about how educators operate in a slum setting, I believe that the voices of school personnel should be represented in dialogue about issues facing schools. My case study focused on identifying what people inside nongovernment schools in the slums identified as the issues regarding this phenomenon of private schools for the poor that is subject to so much recent interest and inquiry.

Another rationale for my desire to conduct qualitative research on this issue lay with the fact that the majority of previously-conducted research in the field of education issues in the slums of Nairobi has been quantitative. At the 2011 Comparative and International Education Society national conference in Montreal, Dr. Moses Oketch of the African Population and Health Research Center (APHRC) commented on the need for more qualitative research into the context of education in the slums. During that 2011 CIES conference, several members of APHRC reported on various aspects of quantitative data sets that have been accrued in researching educational issues for slum-dwellers in Nairobi including issues of poverty dynamics and transfers to private schools, school effectiveness, and dropout rates (APHRC, 2011a, 2011b, 2011c). Oketch argued that the need for and benefit of a small subset of qualitative data to inform these quantitative findings were an area of need for future research. Therefore, my research is what Stake (2000) called an instrumental case study because it provides insight to an already identified issue. Qualitative research is a valuable form of inquiry in educational research in this case because it respects the complexity of the situation-specific nature of teaching (Goodson, 1992). More micro-level, qualitative research to support quantitative efforts by other researchers has the potential to provide explanations of why the quantitatively identified trends regarding private schools for the poor exist.

Goals and Objectives

The goal of my case study was to provide a comprehensive description of the micro realities facing nongovernment schools in the slums of Mathare Valley as voiced by school personnel. To achieve this, I followed the global to local continuum from the influence of international reform recommendations on Kenya's Free Primary Education

policy to the context of the slums where teachers are servicing the demand for primary schooling in nongovernment schools. My objectives included, but were not limited to,

- a) learning about and reporting on issues regarding the conditions of slum communities,
- b) implementation of the Kenyan national curriculum,
- c) teacher recruitment and retention,
- d) Kenya's primary education policy, and
- e) the experience of being an educator in this particular context.

Methodologically, the goal of my research was to produce a qualitative case study that is a product of field research in the Mathare Valley of Nairobi, Kenya. I used observations, questionnaires, interviews, photos, and document analysis in the field to construct a multi-dimensional description of the realities and needs of educators working in nongovernment schools in the Mathare Valley slums. Using the tools of qualitative research, I learned more about who is working in these nongovernment schools, and how they experience the role of primary-school educators in this context.

Roulston (2010) referred to Wolcott's three purposes of thematic analysis in qualitative research. These purposes aligned with the objectives of my research. First, this type of qualitative output serves the purpose of description. It lets us know what is going on in the field. Second, analysis provides the essential features of the phenomenon and a description of how things work. Finally, interpretation gives voice to the take away message. In simple terms, the research I conducted helped me learn what is going on in schools in the slums and it provided insight into how schools and educators operate in this context.

Research Questions

Comparative education research is known for its pragmatic and policy-oriented traditions (Crossley, 2000). I, too, see my research on the profession of teaching

in the Mathare Valley slums of Nairobi as pragmatic and policy-oriented. The questions and methods I employed were a response to the characteristics of the slum community as well as Kenyan culture and policy as I experienced it. Considering a qualitative approach and employing a case study method of inquiry, through my research questions I attempted to learn about participant realities and study the context and setting of said participants (Creswell, 2009).

In the following matrix regarding my research questions, I specifically chose to use the term “school personnel” in my effort to reflect the many hats that people working in small, nongovernment schools often wear. I found the term “teacher” too limited to allow me to offer a comprehensive impression of the school context. Past experiences in small, nongovernment schools in Kenya introduced me to many administrators who also had classroom teaching duties, and vice versa. I also observed teachers who had responsibilities in preparing food and maintaining school facilities. Therefore, it was my intention to use wording that created an umbrella term under which educators of various forms could fit.

Table 1

Matrix of research questions, rationale, data sources, and methods of analysis for the study.

| Question | Rationale | Data Source | Method of Analysis |
|--|--|--|---|
| 1. What are the contemporary features of the Kenyan education policy? 1a. What are the relevant features that relate to nongovernment schools in the slums? | Provides macro-level context. Need to understand the details of a centralized system. Explore policy-practice dichotomy. Addresses why nongovernment schools exist as they do. | Kenyan policy documents Government website info Interviews | Informal content analysis, Thematic coding |
| 2. What are the general conditions of and identified issues in selected nongovernment schools operating in Mathare Valley slums? | Help explain the nature and challenges of working in Mathare Valley. Identify sources impacting recruiting and retention of teachers. | Questionnaire Observation Interviews Photographs Field notes/memos School schedules, curriculum materials | Informal content analysis, Thematic coding |
| 3. What are the working conditions for school personnel in these selected schools? | Provides micro-level context Illustrates the realities of practice. Addresses how educators operate in a slum setting. | Questionnaire Observation Interviews Photographs Field notes/memos School schedules, curriculum materials | Informal content analysis, Thematic coding |
| 4. What do school personnel identify as areas of need and issues of staff development in these selected schools? | Addresses claims in research of perceptions of nongovernment schools. Background to understand what teachers and administrators say are issues in the schools. Provide Policy-practice insights. Has potential to influence future practice and policy. | Questionnaire Interviews Field notes/memos | Informal content analysis, Thematic coding |

Significance of the Study

The phenomenon of the popularity of nongovernment schools in the slums has received increasing attention since the implementation of Kenya's Free Primary Education policy. In light of that, I hoped to add to the literature regarding the perspective of those working in these nongovernment schools. The potential significance of my work speaks to Goodson's (1992) call for conceptualizing educational research to assure that the teacher's voice is heard.

The introduction of the Free Primary Education policy in 2003 resulted in an increased primary school enrollment of 1.2 million children, raising the total student enrollment to 7,404,280 (Omwani & Omwani, 2010). However, abolishing school fees in Kenya has flooded schools with a quantity of students that the government cannot serve. There are reports of class sizes reaching 100 pupils per one teacher (Joselow, 2011). At the same time, several researchers corroborated findings that the quality of education has decreased, and the poorest citizens are still paying significant amounts (Bagakas, 2010; Mukudi, 2004; Mugisha, 2006; Ngware et al, 2011; Oketch et al, 2010; Oketch & Somerset, 2010; Omwani & Omwani, 2010). The State alone does not currently have the resources to provide free primary education for all its children. This leaves local communities and educators on the ground working to find solutions in nongovernment schools. I consider this important work and therefore, through my case study research, I aimed to observe and describe what Dei, Abdi, and Puplampu (2006) called "locally constructed solutions" to this excess demand for education (p. 67).

Hegel (1977) spoke of the relationship between phenomenon and context. He said that if the phenomenon is a result of the context, then changing the context will be

necessary to change the phenomenon. Illustrating the realities specific to schools may increase understanding of the context in which the phenomenon of these private schools for the poor thrive. Subsequently, my research has the potential to provide pertinent background for future research and work regarding Kenya's primary education policies and urban slums.

Slum conditions are the reality for half of the population of Nairobi. Additionally, slum conditions are identified by UN-Habitat as a worldwide phenomenon. Therefore, insight gained into the reality of Mathare Valley slums may inform future research or consideration of other slum communities in other post-colonial states, as well. The phenomenon of private schools for the poor is also not relegated to Kenya, but rather is common across the developing world. Tooley (2004) wrote about this issue, and first focused on the urban slums of India. He then moved on to Nigeria, Ghana, and Sierra Leone. While a case study is not used for generalizing, learning more about the realities of those living and working in slum conditions could contribute to a greater understanding of issues for slum communities in general, and potentially identify sources impacting recruiting and retention of teachers in said communities. Tooley (2004) claimed that understanding and supporting the private sector is a viable option for meeting the EFA targets of UPE.

In this chapter, I provided a framework for the construction of my research. Brook Napier (2005) spoke to the desirability of work in the comparative and international education field that increases understanding of what is happening in as many different contexts as possible. She called for scholars in the field to fill this need by investigating and documenting the issues on a micro-level. This idea is supported by Anderson-Levitt

(2003), who concluded that schooling must be viewed from the local perspective and the world-culture perspective because without the school-level realities, we do not have a full picture of education policy effectiveness. Research into the details of education in Mathare Valley may lead to greater understanding and respect for local situations, knowledge, and specific conditions in society that subsequently inform education policy dialogue at a national and international level. In Chapter 2, I present literature relevant to the range of situational influences that contribute to the current environment in which I conducted my research, as well as similar research in the field of comparative and international education.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

The context of schooling is considered to be one of the most important influences on teaching and learning, and the only way to understand the characteristics of schooling is to be familiar with the social movements and state itself (Baker & Wiseman, 2005; Morrow & Torres, 2007). Baker & Wiseman (2005) explained that the details of context contribute to a holistic understanding of the role of education on social development. In the overview in this chapter, I consider the pertinent scholarly literature related to the context within which my dissertation research took place, as well as the issues of the larger policy environment as a focus in the field of international and comparative education research.

The primary fields of scholarly research that informed my research and design were post-colonial studies and comparative and international education research. Both post-colonial studies and comparative and international education are interdisciplinary fields that interweave many aspects of history, geography, culture, politics and economics. Masemann (2007) defined culture as referring to all aspects of life, including the relationships people have with others as well as relationships with the physical environment. These aspects of culture are especially relevant in my discussions in Chapters 4 and 5. Masemann considered educational processes as “inextricably linked with the social structure that gives rise to them” (2007, p. 103). This anthropological perspective on comparative and international education is fundamental to the data and

conclusions presented in this research. The braided fabric of these fields of scholarship served to give shape to my research and meaning to my data regarding the interdisciplinary contexts of primary education in Mathare Valley. I discuss these connections further in Chapters 4 and 5.

Within comparative education, the work I review in the literature focuses on education policy reform, implementation, and global trends. Post-colonial studies provided the historical background relevant to all aspects of society in modern Kenya for my studies. I organized the following literature in a manner meant to be reflective of the funnel-like structure of the global to local continuum in which my research is framed. The larger context of comparative and international education research serves as a broad overview of the field. The foundational contexts that construct the setting in Kenya reflect the aspects of this field most relevant to my research. Finally, previous research specific to my topic provides a specific, localized perspective that set the stage for my research involving local actors.

The Field of International and Comparative Education

Worldwide, at every level of educational policy making, exists the widely held belief about the transformative ability of education to amend social problems (Samoff, 2007; Wiseman & Baker, 2005). The United Nations and subsequent groups like United Nations Education, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) and United Nations Development Program (UNDP) partner with other organizations and endorse and influence sweeping reforms like universal primary education. It is through large scale programs like EFA and the MDGs that we see increasingly similar education agendas emerge at the global level (Anderson-Levitt, 2003). Increased technology and attention to

these trends mean countries' education systems are readily susceptible to cross national comparisons (Baker & Wiseman, 2005). International assessments like the Third International Mathematics and Science Study (TIMSS) and the Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA) provide large, quantitative data sets by which to compare performance. As Baker & Wiseman (2005) discussed, comparative data reports regarding international information about education policy and performance are available to policy makers worldwide, thus influencing the "institutionalization of internationalized education policy" (p. 5). As a participating member of the United Nations, Kenya has endorsed the EFA ideology, and included achieving MDGs as an explicit part of their educational framework (Kenya Ministry of Education, 2008). Educational reform in Kenya, as well as other parts of Africa, must acknowledge the conflict between quality and quantity, centralization and decentralization, national goals and local needs, neocolonialism and independence, and equity and local autonomy (Brook Napier, 2005).

Ideologies promoted by programs like EFA and MDGs have impelled many developing nations to action on achieving standards like universal primary education. This "world cultural ideal" influences policy development and has increased the consideration of education as a basic human right (Ramirez, 2003). Twenty-five African countries are on the list of 50 "least developed countries" in which "education and technical knowledge are critical for future development" (Brook Napier, 2010, p. 390). To achieve the internationally embraced standard of universal primary education, education reforms must be implemented in developing nations to increase access to education for the formerly excluded. Global targets, like those of EFA and the MDGs are the focus of many researchers in the field, an international community wherein

educational policy makers in any country look to others in similar situations to inform policy (Baker & Wiseman, 2005; Bray, 2007; Morrow & Torres, 2007; Samoff, 2007).

Fee elimination is generally seen as the first step to achieving EFA, and this policy trend repeated itself in many developing nations. Fee abolition was one part of wider reforms that also promoted decentralization of decision making, increased training, curriculum review, and increased teacher support (World Bank, 2009). According to the World Bank, decentralization is the solution to improving the quality and equality of education, and decentralization is reportedly accompanying political changes all over Africa (Naidoo, 2005; Samoff and Carroll, 2007). The advantage of eliminating primary school fees was seen by increased enrollment in several African countries. For example, in Uganda, after free primary school was introduced, enrollment reportedly rose from 3.6 million in 1996 to 6.9 million in 2001. In Tanzania, when FPE was introduced in 2001, an extra 1.6 million children supposedly started attending school. Also, after the abolition of primary school fees in 1994, Malawi saw a 51% increase in enrollment from the previous year. Most recently, in Kenya, FPE is reported to have led to an increased enrollment of over 1 million primary school children in the first year of implementation. This also included an increase of 48.1% in Nairobi (World Bank, 2009). These trends and developments were important context for my study.

Compared to other regions, sub-Saharan Africa has made the largest gains in net enrollment of primary-aged students. From 1998 to 2008, the United Nations recorded an 18% gain (UNDP, 2010). Nonetheless, approximately 31 million school-aged children in sub-Saharan Africa are still not enrolled in school. Even with the current numbers, the United Nations contend that there are not enough classrooms and that double the current

number of teachers would be needed in sub-Saharan Africa in order to meet the target by 2015 (UNDP, 2010). Efforts to achieve universal primary education, like the abolition of school fees in developing nations, have led to a surge in enrollment with which governments cannot keep pace. In Kenya, this has led to what Oketch et al. (2010) referred to as excess demand, and is a major thrust of the phenomenon which I engaged.

Bray (2003) posed essential questions about research within the global to local continuum framework that were applicable to my research. This common framework for inquiry drives much research in the field of comparative and international education; does school reform happen at the level of global and national policies, or does change happen at the level of classrooms and schools? The work of Kubow (2007a) in Kenya and South Africa, also recognized the global-local dichotomies and highlighted the perspective of educators as they experience and interpret global influences at the local level. According to Brook Napier (1996), international comparisons of educational systems and achievement are best accomplished by first looking at the reform source. Many educational reforms are imported ideas, often from dominant countries to developing ones. Once the source is understood, the issues of implementation can be explored. For instance, Brook Napier (1996) explored the way blocking factors such as poverty, disadvantage, corruption, neocolonial domination, foreign debt, and rapidly growing populations impact the realities of implementing policies into action at a local level in South Africa. In the case of Kenya, the implications of these blocking factors result in low participation rate in public schooling amongst urban slum dwellers, and a growing private school industry.

Addressing whether this international trend of privatization occurs naturally or deliberately, both Barry (2009) and Bray and Kai (2007) considered that the phenomenon is despite rather than because of government policies and mediations. Researchers have explored the issue of privatization and low-fee private schools in countries such as Chile, Ghana, India, Pakistan, Malawi, Nigeria, Peru, Romania, and Tanzania, to name a few (Barry, 2009; Education Support Program, 2010; Gertler & Glewwe, 1989; Srivastava, 2013; Tooley, 2009; Vavrus & Seghers, 2010). In his book, *The Beautiful Tree*, Tooley (2009) explored this private school industry across the globe. His field work took him to China, India, Nigeria, Ghana, and Kenya following the “entrepreneurial spirit” that is impacting educational attainment for the poor. His conclusions included the idea that the private sector is a vital part of the solution to universal primary education. Vavrus and Seghers (2010) also considered this “partnership” as a move towards poverty reduction in Tanzania. Also in support of my research design, Vavrus and Seghers cited the growing trend in comparative and international education of “listening to the voices of the poor” as a strategy to inform development and policy making (p. 85). Tanzania is a common comparison to Kenya because both countries saw education policies affect considerable enrollment growths in the 1970s, and both launched UPE policies after 2000. According to Sifuna (2007), both countries saw spikes in enrollment but declines in quality. The two countries serve as examples of the pitfalls of policy implementation without the infrastructure to withstand the increase pressure put on the system, and were valuable inputs that informed my study.

Barry (2009) used private school models in Chile and Colombia by which to compare the private and public education systems in sub-Saharan Africa. His findings

indicated that there is no single category of public or private schools. He recommended that the advantage of either sector should be considered on a case-by-case basis.

Additionally, he recommended that embracing a public-private partnership to achieve UPE in Sub-Saharan Africa would require formal standards and accountability; this will require government acknowledgement and oversight of the private institutions.

Considering Barry's (2009) recommendations about the recognition and accountability of the private system, I connected the concept of "systems" as defined by Bray and Kai (2007) to my research. Bray and Kai (2007) asserted that comparative scholars often do not define the systems that they are comparing, but that there may be many definitions of a system based on functional and spatial criteria. I argue that in my case, the nongovernment schools of Mathare Valley are a system because they operate on a sub-national level, to serve a particular population. I discuss in Chapters 4 and 5 the ways in which these nongovernment schools are operating parallel to the Kenyan system as opposed to as a sub-system of the larger entity (Bray & Kai, 2007).

Kenya's national education policies are directly influenced by global trends and targets like EFA and the MDGs. However, as Taylor (2002) noted when she discussed issues of language education in Kenya, planning requires determining implementation. Implementation happens at the micro level with districts, schools and educators. Following the logic of the widely employed global to local continuum, teachers and administrators translate policy into action at the school level because they either adopt, resist, or reject reforms depending on contextual factors and influences as Brook Napier (2003), Crossley (2000), Kubow (2007a), and Samoff & Carroll (2007) described in other cases. This filtering down from the global to local reaffirms the point that Baker &

Wiseman (2005) and Crossley (2000) made about how social context is one of the most important influences on teaching and learning. Thus, in the larger comparative and international education context framed the global to local continuum or macro to micro focus is the theoretical scheme I followed to the micro level in Mathare Valley. Building this large context was a foundational piece of the theoretical framework that informed my research design and analysis as I describe in Chapter 3.

Foundational Milieux in Kenya

The breadth of milieu shaping education in the slums of Mathare Valley in Nairobi, Kenya falls largely within the postcolonial sphere. My foundational research into the variety of contexts that shape Mathare Valley includes literature in history, geography, sociocultural contexts, politics, and economics. In this section, I discuss post-colonial research as it contributes to my understanding of geographical inequities that impact access to education. Study of the geographical features of Nairobi illuminated an environment in which the successful implementation of Kenya's Free Primary Education policy is especially difficult. Further, I explore how the evolution of Nairobi as an urban landscape has implications in power, ethnicity and standard of living. I present literature that links how the cultural legacy of Nairobi's colonial design coupled with a lack of political influence keeps the education level of its poor low. Therefore, people are held in the socioeconomic and physical confines of areas like the case of my research, the slums of Mathare Valley. These issues and their influence on the context of my research are the basis for the literature explored in the pages to follow. I henceforth present an overview of literature that informed my study and assisted in the understanding of my data.

History

Kenya endured more than 75 years of British colonialism. Colonization was late in Kenya, but installed power efficiently and quickly (Matthews & Coogan, 2008). Though economic reasons for colonialism in Africa focused on primarily extractive industries, Kenya, like Rhodesia and South Africa, was a settler colony (Metzler, 2009). To encourage immigration to the colony, the British government allotted the richest agricultural land in Kenya to white settlers. By appropriating land in Kenya, the British turned Africans into “economic, social and emotional paupers” (Matthews & Coogan, 2008).

An undercurrent in considering colonial influence on education is the phenomenon Mizuno (2009) called *indirect rule*. Indirect rule was a manner of rule in which a colonial ruler appointed local chiefs to conduct administrative tasks such as tax collection and maintenance of law and order in their territory. In this way, “the colonial ruler divide[d] the indigenous people into a privileged ruling group and an unprivileged ruled group” (p. 407). Historically, the ruling group “appropriated the resources of the ruled group both for themselves and for the colonial ruler” (Mizuno, 2009, p. 417). This has had long term effects in the structure of society throughout Africa and it can be seen even in the polarization of access to education. Therefore, it has implications for my work.

Toward the end of colonial rule, the object of education for young Africans was government service. For youth of the 1950s and 1960s, state expansion and then Africanization provided opportunities for social ascension (Young, 2004, p. 27). During colonial rule, European administrative agents presumed innate superiority with an

unquestioned right to rule. In post-colonial Africa, this subtext was transformed into a comparable prerogative of the “educated nationalist generation to exercise tutelage over an unlettered citizenry” (Young, 2004, 29). In this way, in a post-colonial framework, one can consider that colonial rule produced the processes and forms of suppression that were then reproduced and normalized and now help maintain Western hegemony (Abrahamsen, 2003; Muiu, 2008; Slemon, 1995; Young, 2004). This is just one example of how the colonial history of Africa impacts current society. The legacy of Africa’s colonial history is also present in dimensions of geography, culture, politics, economics, and education. These dynamic influences on modern society illuminate patterns such as indirect rule, and helped me to identify the problem I researched.

Geography

The colonial history of Kenya is the umbrella issue under which all of the other contexts explored herein can fit. An especially clear example is the urban development of Kenya’s capital city, Nairobi. The structure of land ownership reflects how power is held because land concentration tends to depend on economic and political influence. How land is held or even accessed is important for economies and politics in a society because rules of control and ownership of land have a bearing on power relationships in the society (Kanyinga, 2009).

In the early 1900s, when large numbers of white settlers arrived in Kenya, colonists did not expect Africans to settle in the city of Nairobi. Colonial presumption identified rural areas as the home-place for Africans. Infrastructure in the city was designated for European residential areas. In the 1920s, the neighborhood of Pumwani was the first and only legal area of residence for Africans in Nairobi. It had clearly

defined natural and political borders marking it off from the rest of the city and is an example of minimal work in the provision of basic services for Africans still considered not to belong to the city (Myers, 2003).

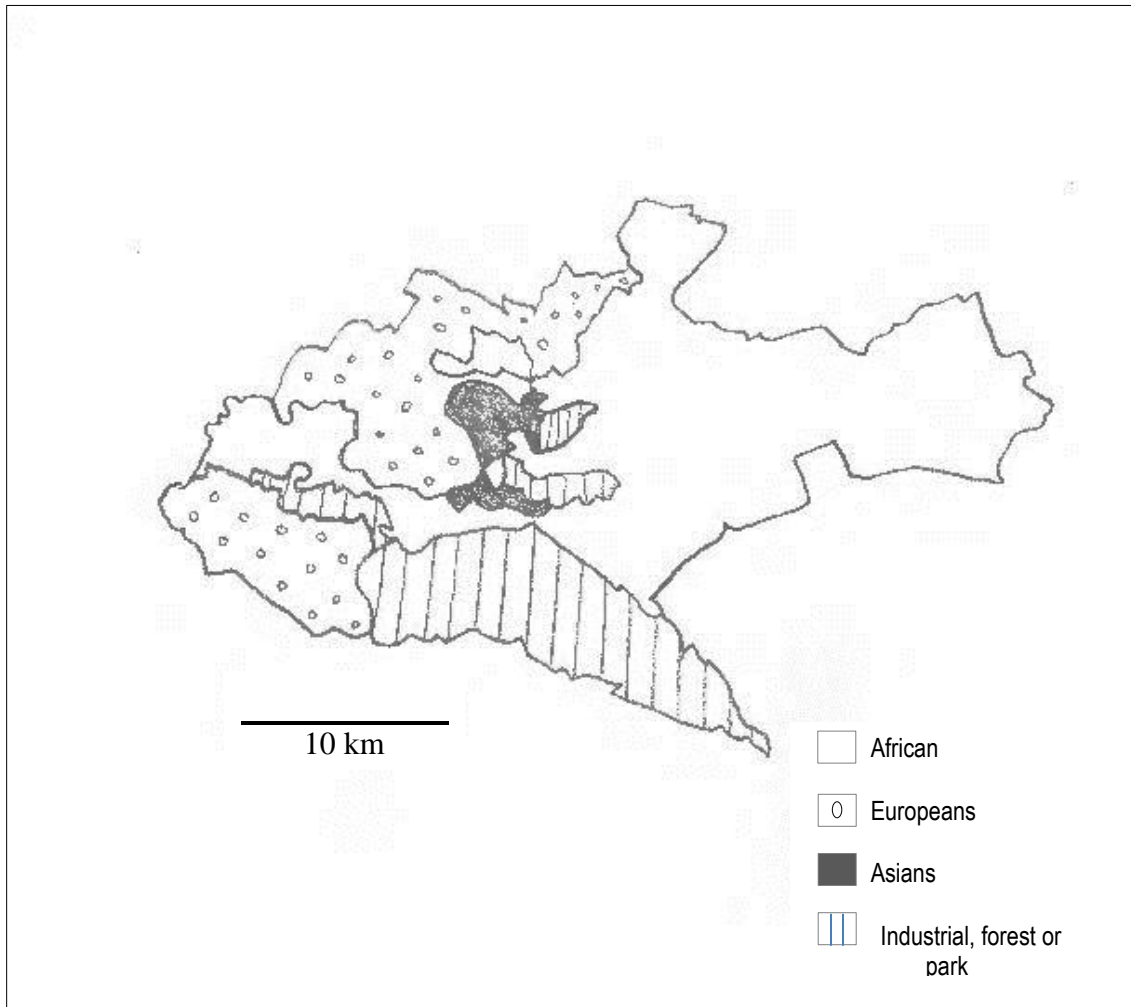


Figure 2. Historic map of 1940s Nairobi showing segregation
Source: Modified from Muugano Support Trust (2012).

By the 1940s, there were an increasing number of Africans working in the city as servants, menial job holders, and low ranking security men (Macharia, 2007). Subsequently, the first of several housing estates consisting of 100 square feet, one-room homes were built for African workers. Often these were built by and for specific

companies, such as Kenya Railways. Colonial urban policy largely assumed that only single men would be coming to Nairobi to work, and their families would continue to live in the rural areas. However, this kind of one-room residence would eventually become home to whole families, as the working men brought their wives and children to the city. Even more recently, many of the interview participants in my study articulated their reason for moving to Mathare Valley was joining family members there (see Chapter 4).

Nairobi's development was based on the British "garden city" plan. In this way, the city was stratified along racial lines. The impetus for urban planning at that time was "explicitly race and hygiene related" (Myers, 2003, p. 194). European colonizers had abundant lands in the hills west of the city center. Asians were also allotted spacious areas north of the city center. Meanwhile, almost all Africans lived in unregulated settlements just at the city center and they required a pass to visit white residential areas. Subsequently, the infrastructure of the city developed accordingly, and a resulting *de facto* segregation is still visible in the city and I observed this during my field work.

Since 1948, planning has been done on an *ad hoc* basis dealing with specific aspects of city growth. Little consideration has been paid to environmental impact or physical constraints, which has given rise to urban sprawl and resulted in physical, socio-economic and environmental problems (Mundia & Aniya, 2005). Rapid population growth and urban expansion has taken place "against a background of stagnant living standards rather than one of growth" (Mundia & Aniya, 2005, p. 2843). Subsequently, Nairobi has seen a mushrooming of unplanned, haphazard settlements of high densities. As Young (2004) commented, post-independence Africans scrambled toward a "rapid fulfillment of the high modernity visions of the post-colonial polity," and areas closest to

the city center were left to accommodate the 600% population growth that ensued in Nairobi post-independence.

“Overurbanization” of Nairobi, the situation where a nation is urbanizing too fast to give adequate amenities and resources to the new urbanites, has resulted in mounting slum communities (Macharia, 2007, p. 207). After independence, restrictions on movement to the city were lifted, and families migrated in large numbers. However, this increased urban labor was unattached to urban jobs. The resulting overflow led to the creation of amenities-free informal settlements including the oldest, Mathare Valley, and the largest, Kibera (Macharia, 2007).

More than twice the size of Mombasa, Kenya’s second largest city, Nairobi is geographically defined as Kenya’s primate city. It is currently home to 3,350,000 residents (Central Intelligence Agency [CIA], 2010). Approximately half of Nairobi’s residents live in slum communities (CIA, 2010; Kenya Ministry of Education, 2008; Mugisha, 2006). Despite so many people living in slums, these communities occupy only 5% of total residential land in Nairobi. Carter (2007) concluded that space is historical and history spatial. He claimed that historically, maps hide relationships of domination and subjugation because spatial organization “can encourage or hinder the development of a civil subject” (Carter, 2007; Slaughter, 2004, p. 37). Nairobi is still socio-spatially polarized. There is a very clearly defined wealthy residential west and more impoverished east (Huchzermeyer, 2007).

Traditionally, comparative education analyses focused on geographic units as the element of comparison, and understanding the geographical features and development of Nairobi and its slums was a crucial piece of background for my research (Manzon, 2007).

By following the urban development of the city through the “levels of geographic dimension,” I learned about the people not enrolled in schools as well as those who are, which contributed to my understanding of the complex problem of schooling in the slums (Manzon, 2007). Through my field work, I engaged with the details of locally constructed solutions to the longstanding, complex problem of infrastructure and geography in Nairobi. Subsequently, the historic and geographic contexts influenced what I identified as a problem and informed my theoretical framework from a human rights perspective.

Sociocultural Contexts

Being aware of the sociocultural context in the country and community of my research provided me with important awareness going into my data collection. To assume that all of the people involved in my case study are homogenous in terms of ethnicity, language, and socioeconomic status would result in gaps in my understanding of the complexity of the issue at hand. As of 2010, the CIA reported Kenya’s population into the following ethnic identifications: Kikuyu 22%, Luhya 14%, Luo 13%, Kalenjin 12%, Kamba 11%, Kisii 6%, Meru 6%, other African 15%, and non-African 1%. Despite large variances and the presence of numerous other indigenous languages, the official languages of Kenya are English and Kiswahili. Although many may consider ethnic diversity of native Africans to be free of colonial influence, the fact is that much of what is seen currently can be linked to colonial times. In general, the colonial administration in Kenya considered members of indigenous groups in Kenya to be subjects rather than citizens, and efforts to control local populations involved colonists using geographic restrictions and labeling to promote competitive tribalism (Van Stapele, 2010). The town

planners of Nairobi desired to translate the “values of tribal life into modern terms” through the economic and educational unit of the “neighborhood structure” (Slaughter, 2004, p. 37). The urban plan categorized the members of indigenous groups as tribal Africans and classified them as specific tribes that were confined to certain territories (Van Stapele, 2010). The administration obstructed inter-ethnic political relationships by placing solid sociopolitical boundaries between the various native reserves (Kayinga, 2009).

By 1938, Kenya had been partitioned into twenty-four overcrowded native reserves (Wrong, 2010). This sparked the emergence of specific, and in some cases entirely new, ethnic identity constructs and these entities became the main vehicles for gaining access to state resources (Van Stapele, 2010). Also relevant to Mizuno’s (2009) concept of indirect rule, the colonial administration encouraged competition and division between these groups to avoid unified opposition. The Kikuyu inhabited the area nearest to what became the colonial capital city Nairobi. Therefore, Kikuyu people were the first to interact intensively with the colonizers and some were offered limited education to serve the colonial administration (Van Stapele, 2010).

Power struggles as well as ethnic identification have had a notorious impact on the standard of living in Nairobi. This kind of identification is the seed of Mizuno’s (2009) concept of indirect rule, and has blossomed into political influence and violence in Nairobi (Wrong, 2010; Van Stapele, 2010). Wrong (2010) outlined a pattern of nepotism that has shaped political decision making since before independence. Even now, stereotypes used to define different ethnic groups are reflective of the roles assigned them by colonial authorities (Wrong, 2010, p. 49). These stigmas and socially constructed

boundaries present as issues in the slum communities and inevitably the schools in which I worked. I heard several references to tribal stereotypes from interviewees and acquaintances in Mathare Valley. Even so, on several occasions, interviewees identified the opportunity to work with and get to know others outside their tribe as a benefit of working in Mathare. In my study, participants at at least two school sites claimed to promote and encourage that sense of unity and collegiality amongst staff as a measure of nationalism and social progress.

Politics

After gaining independence from Great Britain in 1963, Kenyans had great hopes for the future. Unfortunately, upon inheriting colonial institutions and process, the founding President, Jomo Kenyatta, established a “dictatorial government that created and favored an elite group” to whom he allocated most of the former ‘white’ settler farms (Van Stapele, 2010, p.4). Not only did the new government retain colonial institutional structures institutions, but also national poverty prevailed in the majority of the population. Local elites quickly began to focus on retaining power, privilege, and their salaries (Matthews & Coogan, 2008).

Kenyatta led the country from independence in 1963 until his death in 1978. Then, President Daniel Toroitich arap Moi took power in a constitutional succession (CIA, 2010). After charges of corruption and fraud in both the 1992 and 1997 elections, Moi finally stepped down in 2002. Scholars argue that those in power after independence began to behave like their British forebears with authoritarian rule and self-preservation (Bray, 2007; Matthews & Coogan, 2008; Metzler, 2009).

In 2002, Mwai Kibaki ran as a multiethnic candidate representing the National Rainbow Coalition (NARC). Kibaki's regime was predicated on a strict anti-corruption platform. However, soon after election, an elaborate fraud to siphon hundreds of millions of dollars out of the Kenyan treasury was uncovered. The activities of government officials bore a scary resemblance to historically dominant colonial corporations who acted also as "an engine of underdevelopment through siphoning of resources and the profits from their extraction" (Young, 2004, p. 32).

Kenya's issues with corruption are representative of the main thread connecting the historical context to the political context in framing my research, which is the colonial phenomenon that Mizuno (2009) called indirect rule. As previously mentioned in the historical context section, the colonial ruler had a practice of dividing the indigenous people into a privileged ruling group and an unprivileged ruled group. Mathare was the epicenter of the much-publicized post-election violence which erupted in 2007. Tensions broke out into open violence in several impoverished rural and urban localities, as soon as President Kibaki, a Kikuyu, was inaugurated on December 30, 2007. Much of the post-election talk "interpreted the political divide that led to violence as ethnic; pitting so-called Luo against so-called Kikuyu" (Van Stapele, 2010, p. 3). The 'Luo' men who took to the streets in Nairobi shouted slogans accusing all Kikuyu of being thieves. In their eyes, Kibaki had stolen the elections with the backing of the entire Kikuyu community. In the week that followed, many Kikuyu inhabitants were violently driven away, their houses occupied, their businesses and shops looted and burnt, and many women raped (Van Stapele, 2010). Understanding that Mathare Valley is diverse in this manner was an

important part of my describing the context of my research and it also informed my formulation of findings from analyzing my data.

Economics

The economic context built an important foundation for my theoretical framework. Kenya's economics lay the ground work for international influence and therefore the starting point of the global to local continuum. A global economy has impacted education in Kenya since the colonial era, when Britain came looking for a way to bolster a failing market. Education was associated with repression under colonial rule, so Kenya experienced substantial positive growth in primary school enrollment after independence in 1963.

The government implemented its first Free Primary Education (FPE) policy at this time, and experienced major expansion. Unfortunately, this policy and growth could not be sustained. As noted by Brook Napier (2010), after independence, state reforms in many post-colonial countries mostly concentrated on economic development. Over the next several decades schooling in Kenya would experience fluctuating enrollments and policies, insufficient infrastructure and deficient funds and materials (Research Consortium on Educational Outcomes & Poverty (RECOUP), 2010).

After independence, the new government received loans from the World Bank and International Monetary Fund. Dependence on external funds was attached to conditions imposed by the funding organizations. The economic crisis of the 1970s, followed by structural adjustment and political reforms in the 1980s and 1990s, led to initiatives called Structural Adjustment Plans (SAP) designed to improve state systems that were failing or collapsed. The SAP also led to the cost sharing policy that drove

Kenya's primary school enrollment to a new low, which will be discussed in the following section. Subsequently, large organizations like World Bank, which supports initiatives like UPE and EFA, directly influenced Kenya's education policies (Samoff, 2007; Stern & Heyneman, 2013).

With one of the most highly productive agriculture regions in Africa, and a metropolis like Nairobi, Kenya is well-known as the most advanced economy in East Africa (CIA, 2010; Wrong, 2009). However, according to the CIA World Factbook (2010), 50% of Kenya's 40,000,000 residents live below the poverty line. In 2012, the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) gave Kenya a rank of 128 (out of 169 countries in the analysis) in terms of a human development index that includes factors such as life expectancy, education, and income. These conditions are exacerbated for those living on the extremes of a continuum between urban and rural.

In 1998, the National Primary Baseline (NPB) identified poverty as a primary impediment to participation rates in Kenyan primary schools. The ensuing recommendation from NPB was that scarce resources be channeled to empower the poor. However, the problem still persists, indicating that perhaps focusing on poverty alone does not adequately address the educational inequity (Bagakas, 2010). This economic concept contributed to my rationale for originally proposing a case study of nongovernment schools in the slums. Nongovernment schools in the slums represent locally constructed solutions to an imminent problem. It is my perspective that focusing attention and resources on these schools is a step towards addressing educational inequity.

The Educational Policy Environment

It was primarily through colonial regimes and accompanying missionaries that “the Western model of schooling was introduced to non-Western societies” (Bray, 1997, p. 105). Well commented on by researchers is that after independence, nearly all African countries became so with an inherited Western-style education system that excluded most of the population (Bray, 2007; Brook Napier, 2010; Metzler, 2009; Samoff & Carroll, 2007). The inherited model was highly centralized and authoritarian. Bray (1997) claimed that the dominant model of schooling in post-colonial societies still shows this Western heritage, with the biggest difference now being the scale of said systems. The persistence of issues of exclusion and scale are major components that I identified in my research problem.

At Kenya’s independence in late 1963, the new government, led by President Kenyatta, came into power committed to providing free, universal primary education to all Kenyans. Somerset (2009) pointed out however, that Kenyatta did not set a timetable for achieving this. Like many post-colonial countries, the rapid expansion of education after independence was considered urgent to “prepare indigenous people effectively for nationhood” (Bray, 1997, p. 107). There was massive enrollment growth post-independence but it was difficult to keep accurate records and growth rates were not sustained (Samoff and Carroll, 2007). In Africa, there was a great demand for education, and simultaneously a great need for highly educated workforce. Therefore, many governments looked to outside aid sources like the World Bank. Although a small portion of the budget, there was disproportionate influence garnered by lending agencies

(Samoff, 2007). Hence, we saw the cost-sharing policies previously discussed in this section.

In 1990, the World Bank initiated the World Conference on Education for All in Thailand. Kenya, along with 154 other countries, adopted “A World Declaration on Education for All” to give all people access to basic education. The conference established new reform programs for the provision of basic education as a right of citizenship and a tool for development (Brook Napier, 2005; Samoff, 2007). According to Patrinos (2009), enrollment rates across all developing countries increased “from 81% in 1991 to 86% in 2006” (p. 1). Worldwide commitment to universal basic education led to a concentration of resources from governments and aid agencies at the primary level (RECOUP, 2010; Samoff & Carroll, 2007).

In the 1990s, during the initial wave of Education for All, Kenya was under Structural Adjustment Plans imposed by the World Bank. These plans suggested an increase in public contributions to shoulder the burden of public services (Somerset, 2009). Therefore, the 1980s and 1990s saw an education policy called “cost-sharing” in which the government paid teacher salaries, communities put up physical facilities, and parents paid for other fees (Somerset, 2009; World Bank, 2009). This cost-sharing policy in Kenya did not change for more than a decade after the Education for All targets were set, despite Kenya’s previous adoption of the World Declaration of Education for All.

A 2002 report by Oxfam affirmed that the EFA target set for the year 2000 was broadly missed (O’Brian, 2005). From the beginning, education goals set for the year 2000 were unlikely to be met since many of the developing countries, like Kenya, would first require sweeping structural reforms (O’Brian, 2005). The Oxfam report cited

inadequate financing, unrealistic target setting, and illogical planning by UNESCO as fundamental weaknesses in the EFA planning process. O'Brian (2005) highlighted the policy-practice dichotomy saying that organizations like UNESCO can afford expansive rhetoric for which it does not need to fund operations. The World Declaration on Education for All did not include stipulations or suggestions for implementing free primary education. Samoff (2007) claimed that what was established instead was a broad adoption of a common “framework for describing, categorizing, analyzing and assessing education” (p. 55). This background was an important piece of my theoretical perspective and exploration of the global to local continuum. In Chapter 5, I connect this to the current policy-practice dichotomy in which Kenya cannot fund its FPE policy.

In 2000, a decade after approving the EFA declaration, education for all in Africa remained an elusive goal. Governments and agencies met in Dakar to readjust and recommit. Still optimistic, the target date was deferred to 2015, and attempts were made to strengthen infrastructure (Samoff and Carroll, 2007; Somerset, 2009). It is widely accepted that free public education is required to meet the goals of universal primary education, as well as the needs of the poor. Therefore, the governments and agencies in Dakar supported the goal that that by 2015 all children “have access to and complete free and compulsory primary education of good quality” (World Education Forum, 2000).

In 2003, one month after election, the new president, Mwai Kibaki, made good on a campaign promise and reinstated a free primary education policy in Kenya. This was not the first time Kenya implemented free primary education initiatives. Both Jomo Kenyatta in 1974 and Daniel arap Moi in 1979 tried unsuccessfully to initiate and sustain

a policy of free primary education for Kenya's children (Oketch & Rolleston, 2007; Somerset, 2009; World Bank, 2009).

The official enrollment figures in Kenya pointed to resounding success. However, research by Tooley, Dixon, and Stanfield (2008) suggested that FPE may actually have resulted in fewer children attending primary schools than before. Allowing for unknowns in the research, they claim that at the maximum margin of error their estimates would still mean that the net impact of FPE was the same as before FPE. The discrepancy in enrollment counts arose because government figures only accounted for government and registered private schools, and some children transferred from private to government schools. Tooley et al. (2008) found that official figures did not represent enrollment in unregistered private schools in the informal settlements. In opposition to this claim, the Ministry of Education maintained that primary school enrollment continued to increase in Kenya (Republic of Kenya, 2008). This discrepancy in enrollment links to my research as it pointed to holes in the research about nongovernment schools and identified an area of need.

According to Stern and Heyneman (2013), public spending in Kenya on education decreased from 26% of totally government expenditure in 2000, pre-FPE, to 18% in 2005, post FPE. This decrease in addition to other contributors led Stern and Heynman (2013) to four main conclusions for a lagging progression toward universal primary education in some countries, including Kenya. They presented that 1) lack of government capacity and commitment, 2) decreases in donor support and funding, 3) recent global economic crisis, and 4) failed post-conflict circumstances are actually contributing to the

success of nongovernment schools in Kenya by weakening the efficiency of the FPE policy.

In 2008, the Ministry of Education published a strategic 5-year plan called Kenya VISION 2030; Towards a Globally Competitive and Prosperous Kenya. The report listed strengths, weaknesses, opportunities, and threats to the state of the MOE and its policies. Here, I include those most applicable to my research. Strengths of the MOE included experience in reforms for decentralization of services to lower levels. Analysis of weaknesses identified inadequate human and financial resources in some key service areas. Opportunities to achieve the ministry's objectives included the high demand for education services by Kenyans, increased private sector participation in the provision of education services, and international focus on the attachment of MDGs. The strategic plan (Kenya Ministry of Education, 2008) listed five threats, but two seemed especially significant to my case and were represented in the data collected during my field work in Mathare Valley. First, the predetermined maximum number of teachers irrespective of increased enrollment constrains the Ministry's ability to realize its objectives. Participants in my case often referred to the desirability of government teaching jobs, but that they were difficult to attain because the Ministry did not hire many teachers. I discuss this further in Chapter 4. The second was listed as inhibitive cultural practices and beliefs. In my conclusions in Chapter 5, I explore the possibility that residents of the slums may consider the government schools an instrument of cultural outsider influence.

Previous Research on Issues in Nairobi Slums

In building the case for my research, the contexts I discussed previously led from macro-level international reform trends in UPE, to meso-level FPE in Kenya, to micro-

level research being done in slum communities. At this latter level, I saw the bridge connecting Nairobi's postcolonial context and urban development with education in Mugisha's (2006) concept of urban advantage. Generally, the appeal and benefit of urban migration is an urban advantage characterized by increased access to facilities such as health care and schools in urban areas. With a FPE policy in place, this would seem even more so in a capital like Nairobi. Nevertheless, research by Mugisha (2006) revealed that a child from the richest household in the slums of Nairobi is more likely to suffer from diarrhea or die before the age of 5 than a child from the poorest family in rural Kenya, and is less likely to finish primary school.

As Mugisha (2006) explained and as I commented on in Chapter 1, the urban label is not sufficient in representing the realities of those living in slums. Mugisha argued that examining school enrollment using traditional urban and rural distinctions is a disservice to the slum population because it is considered urban, yet the actuality of their circumstances is concealed by broad terms. There is an assumption that students in urban areas are served by the same schools. However, even after the introduction of free primary education in 2003, there is a marked difference in enrollment between urban slum and non-slum areas. Oketch et al. (2010) found 82% of school children from urban, non-slum settlements attend government schools compared to 61% among informal settlements.

In the face of FPE and recognition of the Millennium Development Goals, and the efforts of the government, Oketch et al. (2010) showed 39% of children from the slums who attend school go to "private schools for the poor" (p.23). More specifically, Dignitas Project (2012) found that in Mathare Valley, 80% of children attend private schools..

With FPE, schools only charge parents for foods, exams and tuition. Altogether, it costs approximately 800 Kenyan Shillings (KES) (9 USD) for one term of primary education provided by the government in Kenya (Dignitas Project, 2008). According to the literature, the average cost for one term of private schooling is roughly 1,500 KES (17 USD) (Dignitas Project, 2008; Muugano Support Trust, 2012). Muugano Support Trust (2012) found that families in Mathare Valley were spending the most on school fees per term in the village, Mashimoni (2,271 KES; 27 USD), and the least in Village 4B (968 KES; 11 USD). The low cost of schooling in Village 4B is most likely due to its location in the vee of Mathare and Githuru Rivers (see Figure 3). I was told by participants that rents were lower in spaces closer to the river because those areas inevitably flood on a regular basis and are often uninhabitable (Field notes, July 3, 2012; July 5, 2012).

Alternatively, Mashimoni is a commercial district located on the eastern edge of the valley near Juja Road. The Mathare Valley schools in which I conducted my research revealed an average cost of approximately 1,200 KES (14 USD) per term. Although generally considerably higher in cost than government schools, enrollment research shows that poor families send their children to these nongovernment schools often run by Non-governmental Organizations and churches. I discuss the issue of school fees further in Chapter 4.

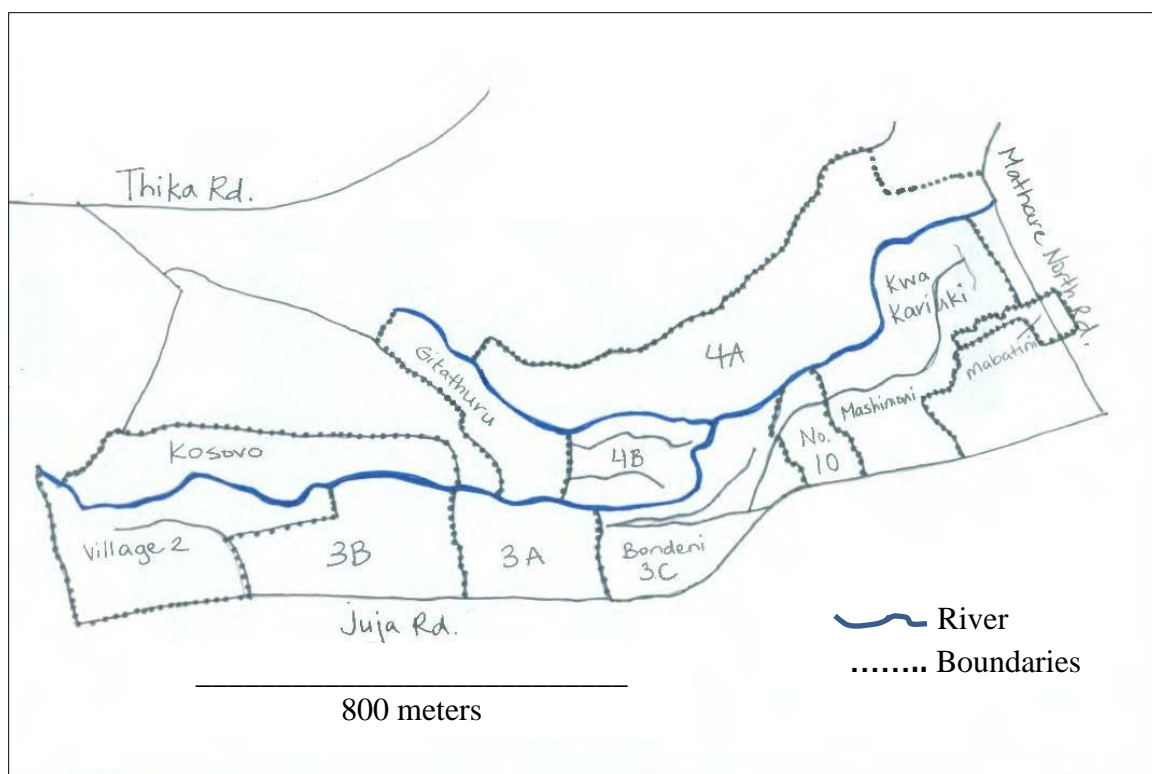


Figure 3. Map of Mathare neighborhoods.
Source: Modified from Muugano Support Trust (2012).

According to research by Oketch et al. (2010), growing use of private schools in the face of Free Primary Education is a result of the “excess demand” ignited by the FPE policy. In this case, “unequal treatment of unequals” may be necessary to maximize the benefits of FPE for the poor in Kenya (p. 24). Connected to this issue of equity, Rogers (2006) argued that the concept of increased access assumes that those who are in need should be helped to acquire education and training which will enable them to make up what they lack. On the other hand, accessibility maintains that it is the “existing systems and the assumptions about what is normal which lie behind them which cause the disadvantage, and that therefore the systems and the norms need to change, not just the individual in need” (Rogers, 2006, p. 130). This linked to my research again in

considering nongovernment schools as local solutions that require further exploration. It also informed my analysis of articulated issues of relevancy regarding Kenyan education policy.

This existing policy-practice dichotomy as discussed by researchers like Brook Napier (2005) is especially disappointing in light of the Heyneman & Loxley (1983) and Hungi & Thuku (2010) cases cited by Oketch et al. (2010). The Heyneman and Loxley study concluded that family background had less influence on pupil achievement in developing countries. Hungi and Thuku supported this claim in the Kenyan context. Therefore, ideally, FPE should benefit poor students and families the most. While socioeconomic status may affect enrollment of pupils from the slums, it would have less impact once pupils are enrolled (Oketch et al., 2010). In this way, it can be argued that instead of bringing about socioeconomic equity, education continues to contribute to widen the gap between rich and poor in Kenya (Bagakas, 2010).

O'Brian (2005) quoted that both the World Bank and UNESCO recognize financing for FPE is inadequate and that education should be "for all" not just for male primary school children residing in non-slum urban areas. Both organizations also stressed that "Education for all should also mean quality education not just attainment of minimum levels of basic competencies," and that what is learned is "relevant to the immediate, likely and future realities of the learner" (O'Brian, 2005). These statements by O'Brian (2005) contributed to the educational foundations of my research in both theory and practice. His work highlighted dichotomies of policy and practice, was couched in a human rights theoretical framework, and illustrated the global to local

continuum. All of these characteristics relate to my study and helped cement my foundational research.

In 2008, Tooley, Dixon, & Stanfield concluded that an important issue raised by many parents in the slums was the perceived lack of commitment of teachers in the government schools and the associated issue of the accountability of teachers in private schools. Oketch et al. (2010) corroborated this when they found that more than half of school transfers from public to private institutions cited a perception of better pupil discipline and better teachers as a key reason. Further research indicated that the quality of education provided in government schools was shown to be better with regard to teacher qualifications, but large class sizes negatively impact teacher to pupil interaction (Ngware, Oketch, & Ezech, 2011). The perception of good teaching and teachers can be skewed by numerous influences such as class size, physical plant, and lack of resources. This sentiment emerged in my interviews and I heard it more as a regular topic of conversation amongst people in Mathare Valley (Interviewee 3, June 27, 2012; Interviewee, 2, July 2, 2012; Interviewee 19, June 29, 2012; Reflexive journal, June 10 & 29, 2012).

Research by Oketch and Ngware from the African Population and Health Research Consortium (APHRC) (2010) about household decisions to send children to private schools in the slums is also what brought my attention to human capital theory as a perspective to consider the education issues in Mathare Valley. Other research by Oketch (2006) supported the claim that the social and individual rates of return for education in poor countries are consistently highest for primary school. Implications of these findings in the context of Mathare Valley, or slums in general, make human capital

theory especially relevant because private rates of return get people into safer, more sanitary living conditions and provide basic needs like food and permanent shelter. Non-monetary benefits like environmental protection are significant in considering the local sewage issues in Mathare. Even reduced crime and political stability are also relevant, non-monetary benefits considering the post-election violence in 2007 started in Mathare Valley. Continued marginalization of populations like school-aged children in the Mathare Valley slums might persist unless the education sector is further developed. Based on research of economic returns on education, this will impede the economic development of Kenya (Omwami & Omwami, 2010).

According to the Early Childhood Development Policy Framework of Kenya, FPE was a priority of the government, reintroduced “to attain its goal of universal primary education” (Kenya Ministry of Education, 2008). Eight years into the Free Primary Education policy in Kenya, enrollment has increased, but the quality of education has decreased, and the poorest citizens are still paying significant amounts. Those that need FPE the most, urban slum dwellers and those that live in semi-arid rural areas, do not have access to enough quality, government schools. Those marginalized populations are served more by NGOs, churches, community groups, and for-profit organizations (Omwani & Omwani, 2010). Farrington et al. came to the conclusion that the only policy option that increases the fairness of the entire education system will be to improve the quality of public schools (GRIPS, 2008). Therefore, understanding more about the people who do this job in the context of the slums is paramount to reaching the goal of equity and quality.

In summary, previous research on education issues in the slums of Nairobi led me to design my own study that explored the unique context in which teaching and learning take place in Mathare Valley. In addition to building the frame for my research questions, previous findings aided me in understanding my data. Previous research gave me greater understanding of what I heard in interviews, and influenced the codes that I chose in analysis. Other scholars conducted research around the ideas and motivations of school choice, and in my study, I aimed to contribute to the literature by presenting my findings from the perspective of educators. In this chapter, I presented relevant literature that contributed to my understanding of the dynamic milieu in which I conducted my research. I highlighted literature related to the local context in which my research took place, as well as issues of the larger policy environment and the field of comparative and international research. Next, I present the methodology I employed in my study.

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

In my research, I focused on describing a specific, accessible context with qualitative methods of interviewing, observation, and document analysis. I designed an instrumental case study framed within the perspective of the global to local continuum. I endeavored to contribute to the body of scholarship on schools for the poor by describing the working conditions of school personnel in Mathare Valley. I had the intention of understanding the complexity of the case, not generalizing beyond the case as described by Creswell (2007). In this chapter, I describe the design employed, theories used to build my case, my role as a researcher, issues of reliability and validity, as well as data collection and analysis procedures used to answer the research questions first presented in Chapter 1.

Research Design

The comparative and international education theoretical perspective of the global to local continuum relies on familiarity with the dynamics of the context of schooling. I designed a qualitative case study because, as Maxwell (2005) described the strength of qualitative research lies in its inductive approach and focus on a specific situation. Fittingly, the qualitative case study design allowed me to observe the multifaceted contexts of primary education as they were interactive within the environment of Mathare Valley. To Maxwell (2005), that influence and action is what defines context, and to be able to work qualitatively with a small number of people in Mathare Valley, I was able to move toward the goal of learning more about said context.

Mathare Valley is a unique, bounded system, and a qualitative case study therein has the potential to provide insight to an identified phenomenon regarding primary education in slum communities. I included multiple sites within the case in an effort to provide a comprehensive description of the micro-level realities of Mathare Valley and to acknowledge the complexities within the borders of slums that define comparative education research (Potts, 2007). I used an emergent flexible design because once in the field, I needed to be able to react to the way phases of the process can change or shift in the field. My research questions guided me in learning about the problem from participants. Therefore, my design had to be flexible enough to pursue what they identified as key issues as recommended by Creswell (2007).

To answer the research questions, I arranged a sample consisting of pre-assembled groups that included three nongovernment primary schools and one nonprofit community organization that serve Mathare Valley. Additionally, in the IRB proposal, I allowed for interested, individual school personnel that I met outside of those project sites to be involved in the research at will. Case study is characterized by detailed, in-depth qualitative data collection involving multiple sources of information (Creswell, 2007). I used questionnaires, interviews, observations and document analysis as the main forms of qualitative data collection. To build my case initially, I asked all teachers at each school and organization to answer a questionnaire. I conducted interviews at each school focusing on details of the educators' experiences. I observed at each school site in the study. I focused my observations on physical plant and teacher routines. I asked for school cooperation in obtaining documentation on attendance, student test performance, teacher turn-over rates, and curriculum that they were willing to share. Because there is

little known about the schools that serve the slum, the questionnaires and documents provided descriptive statistics for my study as data sets.

Theoretical Framework

My research on the profession of teaching in the Mathare Valley slums of Nairobi was pragmatic and policy-oriented. A pragmatic paradigm influenced what I identified as a problem in need of action. Creswell (2009) described the pragmatic worldview as one that focuses on problems and applications, and does not commit to one system of philosophy. The overarching goal of my research was not to support or prove a theory, but to employ methods most appropriate to expose the reality of working as an educator in this context. In the following section, I discuss theories and concepts applied to my context to help explain the nature and challenges of teaching in schools operating in the Mathare Valley slums of Nairobi, Kenya.

In the field of comparative and international education a prevalent contemporary approach is to study the dynamic interactions between global trends and local responses in education (Arnove, 2007). The theories and concepts that I used to construct my theoretical framework laid a foundation reflecting key variables that influenced my research in the Mathare Valley slums of Nairobi. Focused on the global to local continuum element of globalization theories, I employed a theoretical framework that honors the context of the unique setting, and that allowed me to observe the global to local continuum in a real-world setting. I framed my research with the global trends of free, universal primary education and the local response in the Mathare Valley slums. Within this eclectic theoretical framework, I also drew on Maslow's hierarchy of needs

(1943), as well as selected elements of post-colonial theory, critical theory, and human capital theory. I summarize each of these perspectives below.

Post-colonialism

Ashcroft, Griffiths and Tiffin (2007) described post-colonialism as a complex fabric that addresses all aspects of the colonial process from the beginning of colonial contact (p. 1). I focused on selected elements of post-colonialism to help make sense of the environment in which I worked. The effects of colonization can be seen in dimensions such as language, gender, economics, ethnicity, identity, hybridity, and politics (Ashcroft et al., 2006). Post-colonial theory was a paramount contribution to the building of my case and my understanding of some of the current sociocultural aspects of the context in which I worked. Post-colonial theory informed my understanding of power dynamics described by participants regarding slum-dwellers and foreign donors (Interviewee 2, July 10, 2012; Personal communication with American NP board member, June 6, 2012; Reflexive journal, June 22, 2012). Additionally, post-colonial theory helped explain the issues of urbanization that were reflected in my study participants' explanations for coming to Nariobi and Mathare Valley (Interviewee 1, June 19, 2012; Interviewee 2, July 2, 2012; Interviewee 7, June 21, 2012; Interviewee 10, June 20, 2012; Interviewee 14, July 5, 2012). Post-colonial scholars critique the continuing process of imperial suppression and exchange, and some recommend that one maintain an "ethical standpoint" as a starting point for comparative education theories and research (Welch, 2007). Recognizing the distortion of power in colonialism, postcolonial theories are used to challenge current and future oppressive practices (Welch, 2007). Institutional oppression, through which dominant groups exert power, includes formal education

(Rogers, 2006). This is corroborated by Oketch, Mutisya, Ngware, Ezech, and Epari (2010) in their statement about slum-dwellers in Kenya using the private sector because they have been excluded from the state system (p. 31). The presence of power distortion and long-standing effects of post-colonialism was an important foundational predicate for conducting my study, and it helped me to make sense of many of the conditions in my research settings.

Critical Theory

Critical theory is couched within a human rights framework. It is an enormous body of work of which I only employed selected pieces to design my research questions and to address issues of injustice and inequity in my data. A rights-based framework for the provision of basic education in Nairobi slums is predicated on the conviction that, for the sustainable exercise of basic rights, duty bearers are expected to fulfill their duties and obligations not only in providing opportunities for the exercise of the rights but also in “taking measures to ensure they are exercised” [Non-Formal Education and Alternative Approaches to Basic Education in Africa (NFE & AABEA), 2001, p. 4]. In this framework, children are in need of special protection and care. The duty bearer in this case is the government, which to fulfill its duties must provide access to educational opportunities for all. The government has human rights obligations to make education available, accessible, acceptable and adaptable (Kenya Ministry of Education, 2006).

The assumption of critical social theory is that knowledge will be used by “people to whom understanding their situation is crucial in changing it” (Bentz & Shapiro, 1998, p. 146). As much as possible, critical social science takes into consideration the complete context in which a phenomenon occurs, focusing on the contradictions within power

relations and the social and historical contexts that produce them. The policy-practice dichotomy in Kenya's Free Primary Education policy connects directly to what Bentz and Shapiro (1995) called immanent critique of existing arrangements in the real world. Subsequently, this theory provided a lens for identifying a problem and examining the historical foundations that led to my data collection.

Critical theory is prevalent in comparative research concerned with context. Crossley (2009) reported on research that presented voices from the perspective of the South. He commented on how participants' vantage points are "informed by their own political and contextual sensitivities" (p. 1177). A critical approach informs research such as my own because it includes reflections of power relation, oppression, and the direction of change. These concepts are also central in post-colonial studies, so drawing on these two was natural for my study. Crossley (2009) quoted Hickling-Hudson when he explained the rationale for postcolonial perspectives in comparative education research. Similar to my references to presence of foreign aid for survival in the previous section, research in this field shows how interwoven the postcolonial present is with the colonial past (p. 1177). The societal and cultural environment of the slums, wherein nongovernment schools are most popular in Kenya (Stern & Heyneman, 2013), is arguably a product of the historical affiliation and dependence on colonial systems (Crossley, 2009).

Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs

Human motivation theories include several fields of psychological research. Specifically applicable to my research was humanistic theories of motivation that provide rationale for human action. Within the humanistic field, Abraham Maslow's hierarchy of

needs (1943) was the specific aspect I focused on in considering a theoretical framework. Maslow's hierarchy of needs is often represented as a pyramid, with the lowest level of psychological needs providing the base (see Figure 47). Moving up the pyramid results in the pinnacle, self-actualization, which is considered a precondition for long-term learning (Duncan-Andrade, 2011).

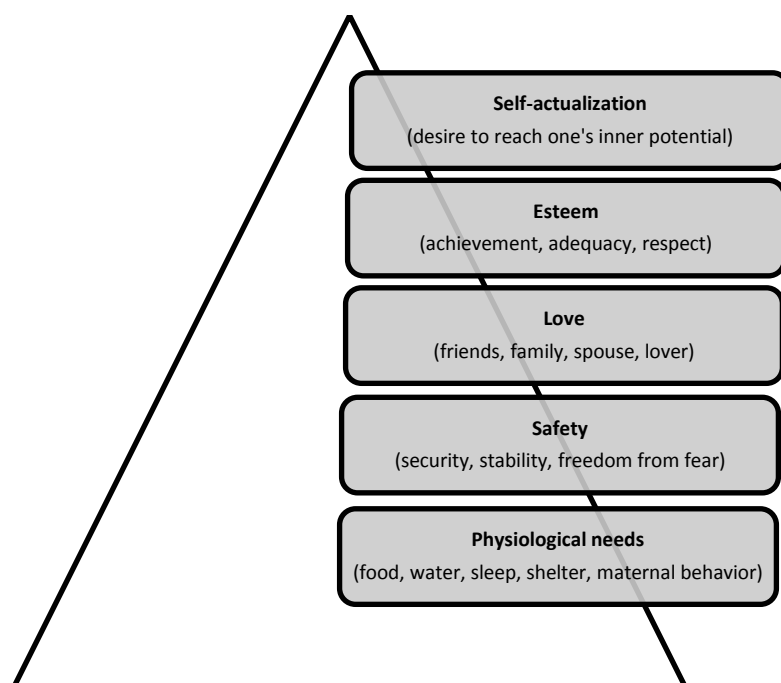


Figure 4. Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs
Source: Created using Norman (2010)

As applied to education, Maslow's theory prompts teachers to think about potential deterrents to learning as well as motives. The hierarchy of needs came up during my interviews in the field not only in regard to students' performance, but teachers' as well. It is largely understood in the education field that if the lower needs of the hierarchy are mostly unmet, it undermines a child's ability to maintain attention and focus on learning. Lower level needs may include being hungry, tired, scared, feeling unloved, and

socially isolated (Maslow, 1971; Wininger & Norman, 2010). Maslow's ideas resonate with most people because they can easily interpret their own human experiences through the hierarchy. Wininger and Norman (2010) cited Maslow's hierarchical theory of human motivation as one of the most familiar theories among academics and practitioners. Simultaneously, they claimed it was frequently misunderstood and oversimplified.

Maslow's theory of motivation was not rigid, as he continued to work on and adjust his theory through the years. Even so, main ideas of the theory include that human beings are motivated by a hierarchy of needs; these needs are organized so that more basic needs must be more or less met prior to higher needs. The order of needs may be flexible based on external circumstances or individual differences, and most behavior is simultaneously determined by more than one basic need (Wininger & Norman, 2010, p. 36). Maslow set physiological needs as the most proponent of all needs. This is to say that if one is missing everything in life in "extreme fashion," as many in Mathare Valley may be, they are most likely to be motivated more specifically by physiological needs above any others (Maslow, 1987, p. 87). An example of these concepts was that appetite is not the same as hunger; when the average student in the United States says, "I'm hungry" during class that is not the kind of motivator that a child in Mathare Valley is experiencing in regards to hunger (Wininger & Norman, 2010).

Maslow's hierarchy was not an original part of the theoretical framework of my research design. It became evident while in the field that base level needs including food and shelter were an important factor in understanding the realities for people living and working in Mathare Valley. In keeping with emergent flexible research design, I pursued a key issue expressed by participants; I came to the conclusion that Abraham Maslow's

hierarchy of needs provided my research with a “cross-cultural framework which at least partially ignores cultural, political, economic and religious differences” (Tanner, 2005, p. 15). Therefore, I added this aspect from the broad field of motivation theory to my theoretical framework as it served to inform my data analysis.

Human Capital Theory

In building the foundation for my research, I saw the linkage between the economic and educational contexts as that of human capital theory (HCT). Looking at society from an economic point of view, education is an input and economic activity is the output. Human capital theory rests on the assumption substantiated by many researchers that an educated population is a productive population and is therefore vital to the economic progress of a nation (Oketch, 2005; Olaniyan & Okemakinde, 2008; Schultz, 1961, 1993). According to Farrington, Ramatus, and Walker (2002), human capital refers to skills, knowledge, and the ability to work. In turn, human capital is dependent on nutrition, health care, environmental conditions, and education. Adoption of policies of universal primary education suggests that education is a human capital asset to which all are entitled.

Discussions of human capital theory include the explicit goal of being competitive in the global market. Mukudi (2004) referred to knowledge as a form of trade and claimed that lack of knowledge will negatively impact the capacity for the next generation (Mukudi, 2004). The goals of the Kenya Education Sector Support Program (KESSP) and the vision statement of Kenya’s early childhood development policy framework corroborate the concern of meeting human resource requirements and agree

that it is a significant contribution to the development of a productive, healthy citizenry (Kenya Ministry of Education, 2006, 2008; RECOUP, 2010).

At the 2011 CIES conference in Montreal, Oketch presented a paper about the evolution of human capital theory as it relates to Africa in particular (Oketch, 2011). He discussed the lessons learned over decades of implementing education programs based on the acceptance of education as a positive influence on national economic development. While acknowledging change over time, he commented on how human capital theory remains important and is a guiding principle for development aid such as that from World Bank.

One of the guiding principles of human capital theory laid out by Schultz (1993) was that human capital itself is not visible and that it cannot be separated from the person who has it. Knowledge is the supply source of human capital in the form of education, job training, and work experience. The benefits from those internalized effects are felt by the private individual, and once a person has knowledge it cannot be taken away (Oketch, 2006; Schultz, 1993). This narrative was heard in the voices of study participants and gave reason to consider human capital theory as a part of the social fabric of contemporary Kenyan culture in Nairobi. HCT provided a lens through which I could compare expressions of hope with ground-level realities in my research.

Globalization Theories

In this case study, I employed selected concepts of globalization theory to build a perspective that provided explanation for societal behavior and issues in comparative and international education. According to Gikandi (2007), globalization and post-coloniality dominate dialogues about political and economic relationships in social and cultural

theory today. Slemon's (2007) "globalized theory of the colonial" in comparative and international education maintained that researchers must always address the local because overlooking it can result in merely a description of relations rather than a script for change (p. 56). Globalization theories include world polity, world systems, and world culture theory. Also couched within this globalization at large is the concept of "glocalization," which is the role of the local in creating new knowledge from all of this fast-moving, international information and trends (Robertson, 2007). Altogether, these point to the theoretical perspective of the "global to local continuum," which is a widely used lens through which to understand international education policies (Anderson-Levitt, 2003; Arnove, 2007).

The global to local continuum explains the complexities of reform implementation. It is based on assumptions about the importance of contextual and cultural factors in cross-national research and the dilemmas associated with the international transfer of educational policy and practice (Crossley, 2000). A leading scholar in the field, Sadler, was the first to point to the importance of contextual factors in avoiding blind transfer of international policies. Processes such as the lending and borrowing of foreign reform policies are best explored through the global to local continuum because it illuminates the connections between ideal and real (Brook Napier, 2005).

I used the global to local continuum to follow the formal model of Free Primary Education policy in Kenya. Starting at the source of reform, the MDGs and EFA, the ideal of universal primary education exists. At the state level, Kenya implemented a tuition-free policy in the primary grades with little to no infrastructure to support it. That

implementation plays out on the ground where teachers and children in the slums translate that policy into the reality of their own lives. As a researcher drawing on the perspective of the global to local continuum and being mindful of the broad processes of globalization, I sought to observe issues of convergence and divergence in education (Crossley, 2000).

Kenya's involvement in the global education system is evident in national policy documents such as the Basic Education Bill (2012), which identifies education as a human right, and the VISION 2030 strategic plan (2008). VISION 2030 is specifically geared towards developing a globally competitive and more economically strong Kenya. Strengths of the MOE included experience in reforms for decentralization of services to lower levels. Analysis of weaknesses identified inadequate human and financial resources in some key service areas. Opportunities to achieve the ministry's objectives included the high demand for education services by Kenyans, increased private sector participation in the provision of education services, and international focus on the attachment of MDGs.

Examples of how my theoretical framework detailed in the preceding paragraphs was applied to my data are outlined in Table 2 below. I discuss analysis of the examples from the field in further detail in Chapter 4.

Table 2

Summary of theoretical framework applied to data and examples.

| Theory | Applied to help make sense of data | Examples from the field |
|------------------------|---|---|
| Postcolonial theories | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Effects on language, economics, ethnicity, politics - Used to challenge current and future distortions of power and institutional oppression - Elements of hybridity | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Historical impact on creation of the slum - Presence of NGOs and foreign aid in the slums - Participant experiences of insider vs. outsider status |
| Critical theories | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Human rights framework - The state as duty bearers; charged with care of children - Considers the social and historical context, and unequal power relations | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - FPE and national curriculum “not for us” as reported by interviewees; - Claims that the government does not “see” Mathare residents - (Ir)relevancy issues in policy and curriculum |
| Motivation theories | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Maslow’s hierarchy of needs | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Teacher motivation and sustainability in the field - Constantly looking for “greener pastures” to better support or feed them - “Zero level” illustration- Student absenteeism; out looking for food or money - Observations of poverty and need for survival - Teachers’ desire for continuing education on counseling - “Food leads to education” quote. |
| Globalization theories | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Global to local continuum - Explanation for societal behavior - Complexities of reform implementation - Importance of contextual factors in avoiding blind transfer of international policies - Issues of convergence and divergence in education | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Creating local solutions - Kenya VISION 2030; EFA, MDGs, FPE - Swift implementation of FPE with no plan/structure - Is FPE leading to future opportunities for the students? - Teacher quote about “global mind”. |

Research Questions

The research questions presented below guided my data collection in my study and what I attempted to understand. The questions were designed to elicit data to build the particular case, the slums of Mathare Valley. They were designed to frame the case in a particular context with the goal of developing a detailed description of the phenomenon (Maxwell, 2005).

Research Questions:

1. What are the contemporary features of the Kenyan education policy?
- 1A. What are the relevant features as related to nongovernment schools in the slums?
2. What are the general conditions of and identified issues in selected private schools operating in Mathare Valley slums?
3. What are the working conditions for school personnel in these selected schools?
4. What do school personnel identify as areas of need and issues of staff development in these selected schools?

As discussed in Chapter 1, I specifically chose to use the term “school personnel” in my research questions to include educators who have many responsibilities within the school. It was my explicit intention to use wording that fit the concept of emergent design by creating a flexible definition of who has relevant insight to share regarding the realities of working within these schools and the issues they face.

Access to Settings and Data

The slums of Mathare Valley represent a unique, bounded region that was to be the identified case in my research. Mathare Valley is a definable geographic area within the city of Nairobi, Kenya marked by an identifiable bowl-like geography, indicative of its past as a rock quarry. Just outside of Nairobi's city center, Mathare Valley constitutes an area of approximately three square miles.

According to research conducted by Dignitas Project (2011), there are 85 nongovernment schools operating in Mathare Valley. Conversely, there are three government schools serving this same area. This means that government schools are only serving approximately 3,000 primary school aged children in this area, and thousands more are either paying for private schools or not enrolled in school at all. In 2010, Dignitas Project created a school map of Mathare Valley and updated it again in 2012; Figure 5 situates Mathare Valley and the schools in their geographical context.

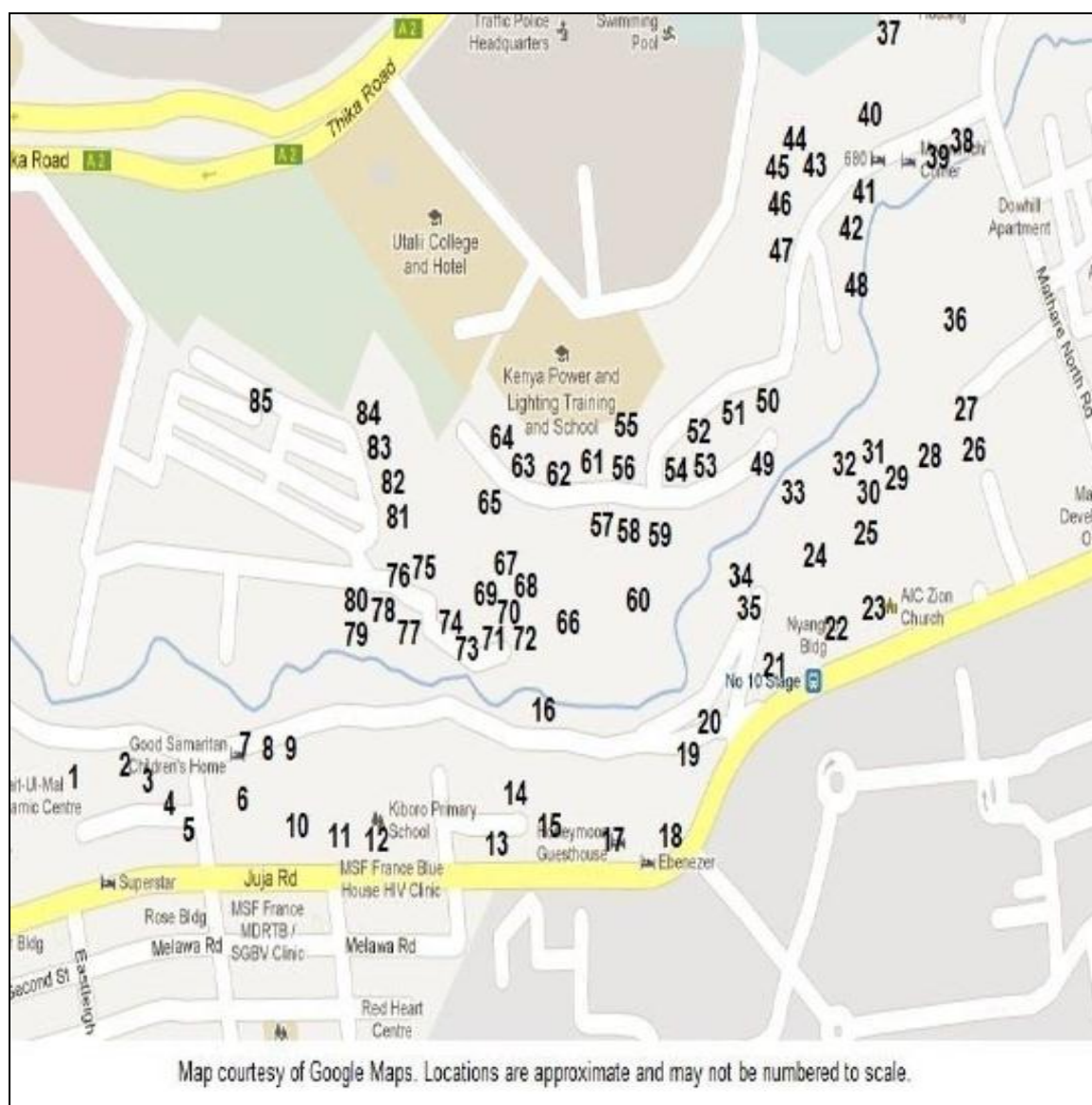


Figure 5. Dignitas Project Google Maps school mapping project (2012).

Overview of Mathare Valley

The Mathare Valley in Kenya is a collection of 13 “informal” villages that cover 3 square miles just outside of Nairobi’s city center (Muungano Support Trust, 2012).

While not the largest, it is the oldest slum settlement in Nairobi and has been home to native Africans since before Kenya’s independence (Huchzermeyer, 2007). Prior to

independence, almost all Africans lived in unregulated settlements in the city center of Nairobi. Informal settlements of villages were first recorded in Mathare Valley in 1921 (Huchzermeyer, 2007). In the 1960s and 1970s cooperative organizations began buying private land in the valley (Huchzermeyer, 2007). The presence of private land owners in Mathare during this time was matched with the “overurbanization” of Nairobi after Kenya’s independence and economic inflation (Macharia, 2007). This context created a ready market for “basic rooming” in places like Mathare Valley (Huchzermeyer, 2007, p. 720). This overcrowding and lack of adequate amenities and resources were already noted at the time and resulted in mounting slum communities (Macharia, 2007, p. 207).

The Kenya National Population Census (2009) declared the population to be 80,309 residents. Admittedly, accurate counts can be difficult to obtain in an area that is dealing with high mortality rates and high urbanization. However, the gray literature puts the population count made at approximately 150,000 and a recent community engagement project resulted in a population count of 180,000 (Muugano Support Trust, 2012).

According to the Dignitas Project community scoping report (2008), the average working person in Mathare earns approximately 3,000-4,000 KES (35–47 USD) monthly. The Muugano Support Trust project found an average monthly household income of less than 8,500 KES (100 USD). Employment rate reports also range widely given that most people do not work in the formal sector. Formal unemployment rates are reported at 80% (Dignitas Project, 2008). However, 87% of residents are casual laborers or have informal businesses including, but not limited to, clothes washing and construction labor (Muugano Support Trust, 2012). This means that income fluctuates and is not consistent.

I witnessed results of this fluctuation in interviews and observations during my field work. I was told that inconsistencies in family income are a major reason that school fees are generally collected in small increments (Field notes, June 18, 2012; June 19, 2012; June 26, 2012; July 2, 2012; July 11, 2012).

The “valley” was a quarry in the past, and its unique geography is an especially unfortunate feature for the thousands of people living there with no sewage systems and no garbage removal. The Mathare and Gitathuru Rivers flow through the valley, collecting refuse and serving as a brewing spot for chang’aa, a potent homebrew. The definition of a slum means that inhabitants of Mathare Valley lack one or more of the following: access to safe water, access to sanitation, secure tenure, durability of housing, and sufficient living area (Muugano Support Trust, 2012). Water is purchased from shared taps or from runners who deliver jerry cans full, and even toilet use is an expenditure for families living in Mathare. Muugano Support Trust (2012) found that the average household expense for water per month was 435 KES (5 USD) in Mathare Valley. Families spend an average of 184 KES (2 USD) per month on toilet expenses.

Mathare Valley is marked by steep embankments, narrow dirt paths, and open sewage. Traversing Mathare Valley to access schools can be difficult enough, but during inclement weather it can become extremely dangerous and unsanitary. Sometimes observations or interviews were scheduled during times of rain, and I was hesitant to enter for health reasons. Steep slopes and river crossings can be problematic and internal roads serve as drainage canals for raw sewage and garbage (see Figure 6). I carried first aid materials in my bag daily because when the ground was wet, it could be difficult to

maintain my footing going downhill, and if I reached out for balance on a building, there were rough iron sheets that cut my hand.

The river that flows through Mathare Valley overflows when it rains and created several impassable areas while I was there. I crossed a dilapidated bridge regularly on the way to schools (see Figure 7). On one occasion, it was so unstable and leaning so far to the right that I feared falling in and planned to find alternative routes for the future. However, over the weekend a conscientious community member fixed the bridge for the benefit of all.



Figure 6. Perspective of woman entering Mathare at roof level illustrates the steep terrain of the valley.



Figure 7. A main thoroughfare in Mathare Valley over dilapidated bridge across a gulley.

Thus, for moving efficiently through Mathare Valley, I relied heavily on a knowledgeable guide in the form of a key informant. Access to the setting and subsequent data was reliant on the presence of a local key informant who helped me navigate the way through the valley and facilitated community relationships. Considering other physical limitations within the community, Mathare Valley is notorious for both gang-related and random violence. Many people in the slums spend their days drinking a toxic brew called *chang'aa*, which severely alters reasoning ability. On a daily basis, I stepped around people lying, passed out, in the road on the way to schools. A couple of times, I was heckled while walking through neighborhoods, and sometimes curious residents were somewhat aggressive with their desire to speak with or touch me. More often, clearly intoxicated people approached me, but I was with school personnel or my key informant, so the situation was diffused relatively easily. More pertinent, however, was the prevalence of “mob justice” in Mathare. On two occasions, occurrences of mob

justice broke out that impeded passage through the slum on my regular routes and required the knowledge of my informant to find another path to get to schools (Field notes, June 11, 2012; June 28, 2012).

Additionally, 2012 was marked by a phenomenal number of fires in the slums. Fires in Mathare Valley have destroyed approximately 1,000 homes in just a few short months. In March, an overnight fire killed three people, including two children, and burned 300 homes (Amnesty International, 2012). These tragedies are not only a reminder of the importance of addressing the living conditions in these areas, but also had potential to limit my access to sites. There was a large fire in Mathare one of the days I was in the field shadowing Interviewee 19. My key informant, KIP, called to warn me of the fire's location and to check on my safety. Luckily, that fire was in a different section of Mathare, and I was not in immediate danger.

I was somewhat familiar with the conditions in Mathare Valley however, as I had been there on two occasions prior to my research field season. This experiential knowledge of Mathare Valley and Nairobi was essential for designing my study and for doing the work involved in my research. In 2008, I was invited by an acquaintance to travel to Kenya to evaluate the schools associated with the NGO, Maji Mazuri. In January of 2009, Maji Mazuri donors funded my airfare and housing costs for a three-week trip to Nairobi. While there, I was given tours of all the Maji Mazuri projects including the youth group, micro finance, and schools. Maji Mazuri supported four schools at the time: one in the Mathare Valley slums, a center for children with disabilities in Kasarani, a school in suburban Matasia, and a boarding school in rural Kiserian. I visited the schools

and spent extensive time observing in classrooms. My goal was to give a report to the NGO about what was happening in the schools from an educator's perspective.

After the trip in January, I was asked by Maji Mazuri to present some workshops for teachers in August of that same year. American donors funded my airfare for the trip, and I recruited other teachers I knew to travel to Nairobi as well to support the teachers there. I spent five weeks there in July and August of 2009. During that time I split my time between the four schools, with the majority of my time being spent at the suburban Upper Matasia Academy. I then presented a full day professional development workshop on literacy skills to teachers from all four schools.

It was my time in Mathare Valley at the Maji Mazuri school which first alerted me to the phenomenon of private schools for the poor. I saw the conditions of the school and the community and spent time with teachers, students, and a youth group in Mathare Valley. This experiential knowledge informed my decision to conduct research in this setting.

Project sites

As of June, 2012, Mathare Valley was rife with 85 private schools throughout the community slums (Dignitas Project, 2012). Of those 85, only 29 schools offered instruction up to Standard 8 and therefore eligibility to take the Kenya Certificate of Primary Education exam (KCPE) at the end of primary school (Dignitas Project, 2012). Using contact information I could find online, I garnered authorization for participation from four primary schools within the Mathare Valley slums before arriving in country for my field season (see Table 3). While designing my study, I sent inquiries to every school operating in Mathare Valley for which I could find contact information. The most

pressing limitation of my study related to my inability to widely access schools in the slums. I sought authorization from schools that I could contact electronically and reasonably reach in person. This limited the number of school sites I initially procured. All school sites had at least one contact with email access. This detail was crucial for me being a foreign researcher in terms of setting up the design and follow-up contact. My subsequent choice of school sites was opportunistic sampling in that these four schools were the ones who responded positively to my requests for participation. Geographically, the four schools are spread throughout Mathare Valley, and they range in size and establishment.

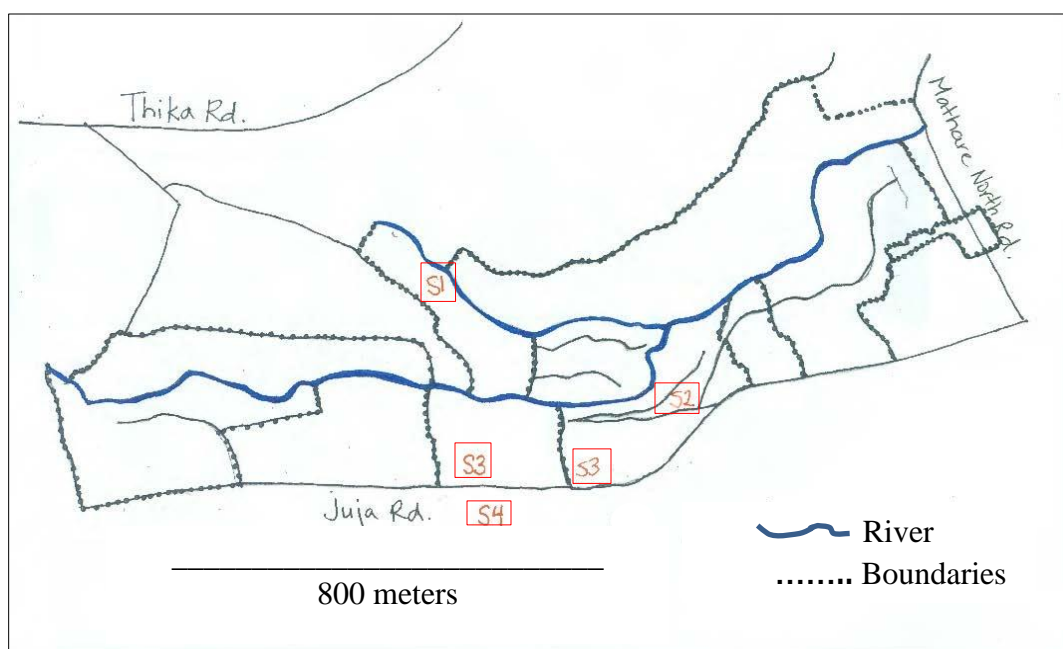


Figure 8. Map of approximate locations of four project sites in Mathare Valley.
Source: Modified from Muugano Support Trust (2012).

Table 3

Approved Project Sites for Data Collection

| Site Number | Year Founded | Number of teachers | Location |
|-------------|--------------|--------------------|--|
| NP | 1992 | 12 | Northeastern edge/corner; Village 4A |
| 1 | 2002 | 20 | North, central; 4B |
| 2 | 2004 | 14 | Central, interior; Village 3C Bondeni |
| 3 | 1993 | 23 | Central on road; Village 3A |
| 4 | 2008 | N/A | Village 10 |

Note: NP = identifying code for previously approved, but not participating school site

Unfortunately, upon arriving in the field, I was compelled to drop NP as a research site. After arriving in Nairobi and arranging my first meeting with the director via email and phone, I received an email warning me about violence at the school. Apparently, the former headmaster, who was accused of stealing donated funds, had come back to the school and forcibly taken over the space with “hired thugs” (Personal communication with American NP board member, June 6, 2012). Classes had been disrupted for two weeks by the time I was supposed to begin my research. Teachers’ and parents’ loyalties were divided, and this resulted in physical altercations at the school. These events were corroborated by other contacts I had with people familiar with the school (Personal communication with educators and residents in Mathare Valley, June 6-15, 2012). In light of these circumstances, it was my feeling that the school was not a

viable source of data. Not only did I feel like my safety may be compromised, but the tumult on campus had the potential to overwhelm the nature of responses from study participants. Rather than be representative of the general working conditions, I felt any interviews or questionnaire responses would be focused on the particular themes of corruption, leadership, and control that were dominating their realities at the moment. After I decided to let NP go as a site, I felt validated in that decision from a school visit that I took while shadowing Site 4 employee, Interviewee 19, on June 27, 2012. After observing a teacher as an invited guest at NP, the conversation afterwards about her class was overshadowed by the administrative goings on in the school. Even though the visit was specifically regarding her teaching methods and Interviewee 19 tried to stay focused on that, the teacher kept returning to the turbulent topic. This was evidence to me that I would not have been able to get an unbiased description of the general conditions of the job from school personnel at NP. Even so, corruption, money, and foreign presence in Mathare were still a part of the issues identified by school personnel at other sites, and I discuss it further in Chapter 5. Even Redeck (2007) mentioned the practice of “hired thugs” in his case study of the Mathare 4A slum upgrading project, wondering if it was a practice unique to the site or a “condition that needs to be addressed more universally” (p. 12). The slum upgrading project and its connection to the findings of this case study will be discussed in Chapter 4.

In addition to the three school sites, a non-profit organization, Site 4, consented to be a participating research site and gave me authorization to distribute questionnaires to its members and to interview members and employees. Amongst other educational initiatives, Site 4 offers a one-year fellowship program to selected teachers working in

Mathare Valley. Teachers involved with Site 4 are provided with on-site support, professional development, and technical assistance with the intent to improve instructional practice in these nongovernment schools that are serving Mathare Valley. Site 4 allowed me to distribute questionnaires (see Appendix B) at a teaching fellows' professional development workshop. Also, the director, Interviewee 18 agreed to be interviewed in regards to the knowledge of the conditions of schools with whom they work in Mathare. Appendix C includes interview protocols for this particular interview. Interviewee 18 has been working intimately in Mathare Valley for several years and is deeply invested in teacher issues there. Interviewee 18 also participated in member-checking. I requested her input on topics of my interviews, as well as confirmation of any quoted passages I used from her interviews in my analysis and writing. Interviewee 18 also granted me access to any and all records, data, and research that Site 4 has amassed.

Someone that I had not anticipated including in the study was the head teacher trainer at Site 4. I was introduced to Interviewee 19 by Site 4's director, and she consented to participate in my research. I interviewed Interviewee 19 and shadowed her while she visited teachers in their classrooms. Contact with Interviewee 19 allowed for me to visit three additional schools as a guest. One of those visits resulted in an interview with a head teacher who was interested in participating in the research as an individual. I had one initial interview with Interviewee 19 and two follow up interviews. I shadowed her for two days and observed three teaching periods.

From previous work in schools in Kenya, I knew that often there is a head teacher that oversees Baby Class (three years old) to Standard 8 (Grade 8). It had been my experience that the head teacher is simultaneously in charge of his or her own classroom,

as well. I interviewed the head teacher at each school site to focus on a school-wide version of general questions from the survey regarding teacher to student ratios, teacher pay and attendance.

Schedule

I conducted weekly observations at each school involved in the study. Rather than spend a few concentrated, consecutive days at each school and then move on to the next, I committed to going to each school a minimum of once every week during my field season from June 1 to July 14, 2012. In this way, I felt I got a better sense of what the schools were really like. I visited each of the school sites no fewer than nine times over the six-week field season. During observations I focused on physical plant and corroborating data gathered from questionnaires and interviews (see Appendix D). While there, I requested access to any documentation on attendance, student test performance, teacher turn-over rates, or teacher qualifications that they were willing to share. I took photographs and made notes to document the context and setting details.

I spent time at Site 4 almost daily. Site 4's location made it a valuable meeting place for my key informant and I. I conducted formal interviews and follow-up interviews at Site 4. I also spent half a day observing Site 4 teacher training on site. On two occasions, I met Interviewee 19 at Site 4 for the purpose of shadowing her in the field. The director of Site 4 graciously allowed me to use their office as a work space in the field. I spent afternoons coding interview data in their conference room while I waited for interview participants or between school visits. Site 4 also turned out to be a "safe space" for me to go when, for example, I was being harassed on the street while waiting

for my key informant or avoiding a mob that was blocking my way to a school. While there, I also had access to Site 4's teaching materials and organizational data.

Roles of the Researcher

The roles of the researcher conducting a case study are complex. This research requires ongoing negotiation of relationships with those involved in the study (Maxwell, 2005). I was a volunteer teacher with a NGO in Kenya for two years before I designed my research; I had spent a cumulative 8 weeks in Nairobi in that capacity before my field season. I worked in Mathare Valley so I was relatively familiar with the phenomenon of private schools for the poor. This experience was my first contact in attempting to secure research sites, but I was conscious of how my role as a researcher and outsider could impact my ability to gain total access while I was designing the study. As a white, middle class woman from the United States, it would be naïve to think that my background did not shape my interpretations during my study in the slums of Kenya. Creswell (2007) recommended researchers explicitly identify biases, values and personal background as part of the process of gaining access. However, Maxwell (2005) indicated that total access is not usually necessary for a successful study. Rather, one needs ethical relationships and trust that allow you to acquire the information that answers your research questions. One measure I took in fostering these relationships while simultaneously establishing credibility was through sharing teaching stories. By disclosing my own experiences, struggles, and connections to the classroom, I positioned myself as a colleague amongst school personnel. I found that this sense of credibility and collegiality went a long way with interview participants as Roulston (2010) suggested is desirable.

Lincoln and Guba (1985) encouraged prolonged engagement in the field as a measure of established trustworthiness. It was necessary that I be involved with these schools for long enough to deal with my issues of personal distortion and to build trust with school personnel. I had to be sensitive to issues of pay and job security with my protocol and personal interactions. Although I had no intention to endanger anyone's position in the schools, the personnel with whom I interacted had little proof of that in the beginning. Even at the end of my time there, participants asked repeatedly what I planned to "do" with what I learned. Despite engaging with me for six weeks in pursuit of personal academic endeavors, there was lingering concern that I could possibly be collecting information off from which there was money to be made; some went even so far as to ask if I was planning to use this information to design a competing school. According to Lincoln and Guba (1985), the building of trust is a developmental process to be engaged in daily. I had to demonstrate to school personnel that their confidence would not be used against them and their anonymity would be honored.

I offered no reciprocity other than access to the finished work to participating school sites and individuals. I did not want to unduly influence participation. My thoughts were that the level of poverty was such that even small incentives might draw subjectivity on the part of participants. I did however include the option for offering small tokens to interviewees as an appreciation of their time and energy. I did not promise these tokens to interviewees beforehand, but rather offered them as a gift after we spoke. I gave interviewees red and black pens and a small piece of chocolate after interviews and thanked them for their time. I promised site directors that I will share my findings with them once the work is complete. Even though I was explicit in my consent

form and protocol, I discuss in Chapter 5 my impressions that some participants may have hoped for more from me.

Roulston (2010) identified aspects of interviewing that I found especially relevant to the role of the researcher in a qualitative case study such as this one. First is the “audit trail,” that requires a quality researcher to make their research process transparent (p. 87). I garnered IRB approval by obtaining letters of authorization from participating sites (Appendix A). I also attained permission to conduct research in Kenya through the National Council for Science and Technology. This required me to be affiliated with a local research institution, and it served to further ensure ethical research practices. I was endorsed by Dr. Ruth Kiraka at Strathmore University for the purpose of gaining research permission in Kenya.

As the researcher, I documented my process in detail through reflexive journaling and invited others to review my research materials. During the study designing process, I emailed the director of Site 2 and Site 4 my questionnaire and interview protocol to review for appropriateness. They gave me feedback that informed revisions to both, and I was able to make those changes before I arrived in Nairobi. This relates to the concept of member-checking discussed later in the reliability, validity and biases portion of this chapter. I involved research participants in making sure I was clear on quotes and interpretations in an effort to ensure I have an adequate understanding of the phenomenon I am representing in my research (Roulston, 2010). I contacted Interviewee 1, 11, and 18 via email for follow-ups during the writing process. I checked as well as updated numbers based on changes in performance and enrollment since my field season. My role as a researcher was not to influence school personnel with what I thought were the issues.

Rather, I followed my protocols so as to allow participants' perspectives to come through honestly.

Later in the chapter I discuss the important role my key informant played in the research. The roles of the key informant in this study included that of guide, translator, cultural mediator, and source of local knowledge. My key informant held a vital role as an insider to Mathare Valley. KIP was born and raised in Mathare Valley and therefore had an understanding and status in the community that I could not achieve. KIP's role in helping me traverse Mathare Valley physically was invaluable. Not only was it an issue of knowing the way, but also knowing backup routes in the event of impediments and also avoiding danger. More than once, KIP acted as a mediator when a Mathare resident harassed me while passing. KIP was able to mitigate situations that may have otherwise been disruptive. KIP also gave me insights on how best to navigate cultural situations (Field notes, June 21, 2012).

Data Types and Collection Procedures

Qualitative research situates the researcher in the world and concerns itself with interpretive practices that "make the world visible" (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000, p. 3). Creswell (2009) named four qualitative data collection types that contribute to the world's visibility: observations, interviews, documents, and audiovisual materials (p. 180). This situation in the world makes the researcher themselves the primary instrument of data collection (Guba & Lincoln, 1981). The interviews and observations I conducted provided detail about the working conditions and educational experiences of the school personnel working in schools in the urban slums. While quantitative generalizations can be made about the teaching load of urban educators, factors such as how class size effects

teachers' presentation or efforts and how the physical working conditions impact their lives or impressions of the profession, cannot be effectively measured quantitatively. The qualitative methods I chose were an effort to provide rich description of the context. I used several methods and data sources in an effort to triangulate my findings and therefore strengthen my case's validity.

Altogether, my data collection procedures required me to exhibit the characteristics Guba and Lincoln (1981) outlined in regards to the researcher as a "human instrument." A qualitative case study such as mine was an endeavor in naturalistic inquiry in that it required me to place myself in the real lives of someone else. Lincoln and Guba (1985) described that as an "indeterminate situation" that requires 1) responsiveness, 2) adaptability, 3) holistic emphasis, 4) knowledge base expansion, 5) processual immediacy, 6) opportunities for clarification, and 7) opportunity to explore atypical responses (p. 194). These characteristics of the qualitative researcher instrument also connected to my rationale for an emergent flexible research design.

Sample and Subjects

My sample consisted of pre-assembled groups that included the three nongovernment primary schools and one non-profit community organization, Site 4, that serve Mathare Valley. I aimed to use purposeful sampling, and I selected sites based on accessibility (Creswell, 2007). These were all organizations for which I was able to find contact information online.

Based on data collected by Dignitas Project (2011), I anticipated there to be between 8-25 teachers at each school. Therefore, I hoped that questionnaires would be completed by approximately 60 educators. In fact, I collected 42 completed

questionnaires. I planned to interview and observe head teachers and/or directors, plus two classroom teachers at each school. In the end, I did interview head teachers and/or directors at each school site, as well as 3-5 other employees respectively (see Table 4). In keeping with an emergent design, I made decisions about who to interview once I was in the field. I anticipated working with a total of 13 interviewees. In reality, I had 20 interviewees. Along with initial interviews with each, I had follow-up interviews with nine of the 20 interviewees. I conducted follow-up interviews to address elements of naturalistic inquiry including trying to expand my knowledge base, pursue issues immediately in the field, clarify understanding, and explore atypical findings such as A Government School (Lincoln & Guba 1985). In Table 4 I included information about each interviewee's role at school and their gender. I did this to make sure that I had a sample of school personnel representative of the population. For example, I did not want to only interview male teachers or school directors. I used judgment sampling in the field aimed at getting a holistic picture of the context through a diverse sampling. Therefore, it was necessary for me to keep track of this information to make sure I was not overwhelming my sample with one characteristic.

I offered confidentiality to participants as part of their consent, so I therefore coded their identities and provided pseudonyms in my writing. Teachers especially were very forthcoming and vulnerable with me in interviews, and I do not wish to possibly endanger their positions by breaching confidence. Even though some project site directors did not mandate confidentiality and may in fact prefer name recognition, I considered this an ethical consideration. Pitman and Maxwell (1992) discussed the issue of whether or not to comply with participant requests to be known in research studies. I

felt I must consider the possibility of harm since “we cannot always predict the impact of our research.” Therefore, I chose to be consistent using pseudonyms across all sites for maximum protection (Pitman & Maxwell, 1992, p. 757).

Table 4

Summary of participating interviewees

| Interviewee number | Initial interview | Formal follow-up interviews in the field | Role(s) at school | Gender |
|--------------------|-------------------|--|-------------------|--------|
| 1 | June 19 | July 10 | D/T | M |
| 2 | July 2 | July 10 | HT | M |
| 3 | June 27 | | T | M |
| 4 | July 10 | | T | F |
| 5 | June 19 | July 11 | D | M |
| 6 | June 20 | July 4 | HT | F |
| 7 | June 21 | July 4 | T | F |
| 8 | June 21 | | T | M |
| 9 | June 20 | | T | M |
| 10 | June 20 | | T | F |
| 11 | June 18 | June 21; July 2 | D/T | M |
| 12 | June 28 | | HT | M |
| 13 | June 26 | July 5 | T/A | M |
| 14 | July 5 | | T | F |
| 15 | July 5 | | T | F |
| 16 | June 28 | | T | F |
| 17 | July 3 | July 10 | D/T | M |
| 18 | June 17 | | D | F |
| 19 | June 27 | June 29; July 9 | TT | F |
| 20 | July 9 | | HT | M |

Note: T= teacher, D = director, HT = head teacher, A = accountant, TT = teacher trainer

Questionnaire

Initially, I asked my ideal sample, all teachers and administrators at participating sites, to answer a questionnaire on paper to be analyzed qualitatively (see Appendix B). Before I arrived in Nairobi, I relied on data from Site 4 to estimate that I would distribute questionnaires to approximately 60 educators. In fact, I distributed 82 questionnaires at the 4 project sites. The real sample was a return of 42 questionnaires as opposed to an ideal 82. The questionnaire included items about education, professional experience, areas of need, and professional development. The questionnaire provided informative, descriptive statistics about my subjects. I considered these crucial data for placing my subjects' responses in perspective.

I developed the questionnaire I distributed to participants; this construction was informed by the Schools and Staffing Survey (SASS) by the National Center for Education Statistics (NCES) and the Teaching and Learning International Survey (TALIS) by the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD). I did not directly incorporate items from the SASS or TALIS survey into my questionnaire. Rather, these surveys provided guidance for identifying major areas for developing questions, such as desired education and support for teachers.

The TALIS is an international survey of teachers and school principals about teaching and the school learning environment that aligns with the rationale for my study. The main objective of this survey in its original design is to provide internationally comparable indicators with the goal of informing education policy. The TALIS questionnaires included items about school characteristics, school background, and educator perceptions (OECD, 2010). The TALIS was distributed in 24 countries in 2008,

allowing for a global view of teachers and the education systems in which they work (OECD, 2011). Kenya was not included in this report. However, the goal was parallel to my own: providing insight into the working conditions of teachers. According to the OECD website, “TALIS is the first international programme to focus on the learning environment and the working conditions of teachers in schools” (OECD, 2011). This reinforced my conviction that my case study had merit and rationale in the field. According to the OECD technical report (2010), the TALIS questionnaires were subject to construct validation and scaling for distribution. Both simple indices and complex scale indices were used in the construct validation and scaling analyses process.

Initially, educators at each school site and Site 4 Fellows were asked to answer the questionnaire. Because there is little known about the schools that serve the slums, these questionnaires provided important descriptive statistics. In addition, the questionnaires provided a larger sample for some questions about identified issues in the schools than I was able to collect with interviews alone, thus adding in triangulation of my data.

Each year, the non-profit organization, Site 4, provides professional development and support to a selected group of teachers who work in various schools across Mathare Valley. Therefore, distributing questionnaires at the Site 4 allowed me to gather data from a larger sample than just the school sites in which I was able to observe. However, as occurred at the school sites, the leadership preferred that participants be able to take the questionnaires and answer them in their own time. This resulted in my receiving fewer questionnaires from the non-profit pool of potential participants. Without a contained time and space in which to complete the questionnaires, there was not a

prioritized reason for people to complete them. Twenty questionnaires were distributed at Site 4. I collected seven questionnaires from Site 4 fellows over the course of the six weeks. I followed up with all of the respondents who indicated that they were willing to be interviewed. I attempted to contact four respondents, and I was able to interview two.

All questionnaire responses were voluntary and confidential. I anticipated that completion of the questionnaires might take between 20-40 minutes and that they would be completed on site. My original research plan involved scheduling interviews with selected subjects after questionnaires were submitted. I planned to arrange with head teachers and/or directors at each school to observe and interview two classroom teachers. However, in the field, the directors at each institution preferred that I distribute the questionnaires for participants to complete on their own time. Since I was making every effort to avoid disrupting the school day or requiring significant extra time or work for the school personnel, I agreed to this condition. Therefore, questionnaires were being returned to me constantly through the field season. There was no real consistency to when questionnaires were returned or by whom. Because participation was completely voluntary, some teachers opted not to return their questionnaires, and my return rate of 51% was representative of 42 returned questionnaires out of 82 distributed ones. I am compelled to report these as lost potential data. Additionally, low response rates on Question 14 regarding the number of hours spent working per week led me to strike that question from the data set. Nine participants did not answer the question at all, but more importantly responses ranged from a total of 6 to 107 hours worked per week. The wide range of responses led me to believe that there was confusion about the structure of the question. Based on my understanding of general school schedules and teaching loads at

participating schools, it appeared that at least 19 questionnaire respondents may have answered item 14 on a per day basis, as opposed to per week. However, I cannot assume to know what respondents meant and therefore discarded that item from being part of the descriptive data set. I did get valuable information from them, but I learned from that experience about distributing and collecting questionnaires. If I had been able to keep the questionnaires in the schools, I believe I could have received more. Also, during member checking, Interviewee 18 warned me that Kenyans are a more oral people; she cautioned that participants may not answer the open-ended, short-answer questions I included on the questionnaire. She was correct in that many of those who returned the questionnaire left short-answer questions blank. Unanswered questions were recorded in my questionnaire data analysis table (Appendix F).

Interviews

I used interviews with 20 participants as a main data source for my study. At least 6 of my interviewees were also questionnaire respondents. I know that because Site 2 had a 100% questionnaire return rate from teachers, four interviewees from that site were also questionnaire respondents. I also know that the two teaching Fellows I accessed through Site 4 were questionnaire respondents because they voluntarily included contact information on their questionnaire as an indication of interest in being interviewed. Beyond that, I cannot know exactly which of my questionnaire respondents were also interviewees because the questionnaires were anonymous.

I requested one-on-one interviews with the head teacher and/or director at each school, and each interview focused on school-wide conditions regarding budgeting, school performance, community relationships, and areas of need. In addition, I

interviewed classroom teachers at each school about their personal histories, perspectives, and experiences. I developed interview protocols that provided some structure while asking open-ended questions (see Appendix C). While interviewing, I was mindful of using the interviewee's own words to probe for further description and used verbal consent scripts prior to conducting interviews (Roulston, 2010). In keeping with IRB stipulations, I also had school site directors sign consent waivers (see Appendix G).

As noted by Roulston (2010) there were procedural and technical challenges to interviewing in the field. I did not record interviews for transcription. After much consideration, I decided that audio recording was not a viable research tool in this context. Having spent time in schools in the slums before, I knew how loud they can be. First, the physical nature of the schools was not conducive to recording. The density of buildings and population density combined with the materials often used in construction of most schools in the slums provide no noise reduction. Call and response style instruction is a very popular teaching method in Kenya; this results in a loud environment that had the potential to interfere with the quality of recording. The tin walls and call-and-response style teaching can create quite a cacophony during instructional times. Even during free times, there are generally children playing in close proximity to schools, and there were limited places to speak privately with interviewees. That knowledge informed my decision not to tape record interviews and impacted when and where I conducted interviews in the schools.

Also, consciousness about my status as an outsider led me to believe that the presence of a recording device may exacerbate discomfort among participants; the inclusion of this device may have undermined my efforts to establish trustworthiness.

Therefore, I followed an interview protocol and I took detailed notes during interviews. Before beginning each interview, I explained to the interviewee that I would be taking notes to help me understand and that they could expect me to be looking down while they spoke. In this regard, I felt it was a benefit that I had a key informant present during interviews. The key informant's presence gave someone for interviewees to focus on and "talk to" more naturally when they may otherwise have been speaking to the top of my head. My interviews lasted between 40 minutes to 1 hour and 15 minutes. I conducted interviews during the school day. Interviews for participants took place at each respective site. We used empty classrooms or offices as spaces to converse. Being conscious of not creating more work for teachers, I kept my interview times within the allotted free period teachers had available.

All interviews were conducted in English. My key informant was present during all interviews in case there was a need for translation. Rarely was this required, but on occasion, it was easier for interviewees to express themselves in slang or local colloquialism most suited to their native tongue. Before beginning interviews I encouraged participants to feel free to do this and assured them that my key informant was there to support our communication. My field season proved to be long enough to conduct follow up interviews in person when necessary. I conducted 12 follow up interviews in the field. I was also able to follow up with three participants over email or the phone after my return to the United States.

Originally, I thought that after the questionnaires had been distributed, I would use data collected as well as the advice of head teachers and/or directors to select two classroom teachers to be interviewed and observed while teaching. I anticipated that

administrators would have insight into which teachers they knew to be open, reliable, and willing to participate. I thought that I would select interviewees based on educational background, English proficiency, and years of teaching experience. However, once I entered the field, I decided that I had little need or opportunity to be exclusive in considering interview participants. Especially after the loss of NP as a site, I felt that the research was best served by hearing as many voices as possible. Therefore, all teachers who expressed willingness to speak with me were interviewed. It also occurred to me that relying on director input to choose participants may color the nature of responses. I felt it best to speak with whomever was willing to engage with me. I justified this practice of judgment sampling because I had already established a framework for participants by identifying nongovernment schools in Mathare Valley. By accepting willing participants from pre-established sites, I knew that all volunteers came with specific experiences related to working in the desired context (Marshall, 1996). For example, at Site 3, I was introduced to the faculty and staff at their weekly meeting. I explained who I was and the goals of my research. Then, I invited everyone to participate by completing the questionnaires and being interviewed. Since I was in the school on a regular schedule, teachers expected to see me and they could find me to volunteer participation. Also, by visiting the schools regularly, I had the opportunity to informally observe teachers when they would invite me into their classrooms. This allowed me to forge relationships that resulted in trustworthiness and made it easy to engage in follow-up interviews in the last weeks of my time in Nairobi.

Observation

Denzin & Lincoln (2000) argued that observation is a logical method of data collection for qualitative researchers since they study things in their natural settings and attempt to make sense of, or to interpret, phenomena. The way people describe their experience may be quite different from everyday consciousness (Bentz & Shapiro, 1998, p. 97). This seems especially pertinent considering the harsh realities of the Mathare Valley slums. It was interesting to learn more about how residents experience and describe their living conditions. Another advantage of observation was that the participant did not have to discuss things directly with me during an observation, and the increased focus on my part allowed for the detection of unusual events or themes (Creswell, 2009). I engaged in non-participant observations, and I created an observation protocol for use during school and classroom observations (see Appendix D). Observation protocol included questions about physical plant, operations, and classroom setup.

An issue I identified with is what Angrosino (2007) called the perception of power in observation (Angrosino, 2005, p. 734). Based on previous experiences working with teachers in other countries, I was very cognizant of the fact that during an observation, participants were sharing more with me than I with them. As a universal issue, teachers tend to perceive classroom observation as a critique; overcoming that was part of negotiating trustworthiness with school personnel. For the first two weeks that I visited schools I did not conduct interviews with school personnel or formal classroom observations. I describe my timeline in more detail later in this section. During those first two weeks, I called on the schools as a fellow educator and an interested colleague there

to learn. I concentrated on being seen around the school and getting to know the school personnel there. I spent much time sitting in administrative offices and teachers' offices. I took tea with teachers and ate lunch at the schools. I attended faculty meetings and parent meetings. I played with students during recess and helped clean up after meals. I accepted invitations to sit in on classes, but I never took notes while I observed. I tried to engage with teachers before and after classes, as peers, and shared connections to my own teaching experiences. I recorded my observations and memos regarding that time at the end of the day away from the schools. Often, I returned to Site 4 and sat in their conference room while I wrote notes in my journal before leaving Mathare for the day. I did interview Interviewee 18 the first week because she was leaving the country and it was my only opportunity. However, Interviewee 18 is from Site 4, which is not a school site.

Teachers were generally very receptive to my presence in their classrooms. In the beginning, it was clear that some teachers were "performing" for me and repeating "canned" lessons. For example, I sat through a lesson on fruit in a pre-unit class (kindergarten) during which every student knew every answer. A look through the notebooks revealed that they had completed this lesson more than once (Field notes, June 13, 2012). Over time however, teachers became familiar with my presence and did not or could not continue to do anything other than what they normally would. Another thing that faded over time was the expectation that I would give teachers constructive feedback about their teaching styles. Even though I was explicit about my intention of being a "complete observer" and not disrupting normal goings on, often teachers requested that I respond to their teaching after the observation (Angrosino, 2007, p. 167). After reflecting

on it during the analyzing and writing process, I realized that responding to teachers in this manner could have been an opportunity for reciprocity. Pitman and Maxwell (1992) discussed the principle of reciprocity as an ethical consideration applicable to my status as an outsider observing in the spaces of real people. Traditionally, qualitative researchers did not engage in reciprocity that might alter the research setting while in the process of a study. However, they also discussed that researcher involvement may be an appropriate approach to reciprocity especially when asked by participants for an evaluation (p. 756). I was so conscious at the time of trying to build positive relationships that I did not recognize that potential while I was in the field. When teachers asked about their teaching I assured them that I was not there to evaluate them and that I enjoyed the lesson. I pointed out things in each that I enjoyed and thanked teachers for allowing me in their classrooms. Even during formal observations, I avoided writing notes during the teacher's lesson. I did not wish to be perceived in an evaluative manner, so I would look for space and opportunity in the schools throughout the day to record my thoughts in private or away from instruction periods.

Field notes, journal, and memos

During my data collection, I heeded the advice of Lincoln and Guba (1985) and maintained a reflexive journal during my field work. This journal was a daily record of information about my schedule and activities, observations, interview notes, methodological decisions, personal reflections, and memos. Memos served to alert or remind me of obligations, ideas, or future avenues to pursue. I also recorded anecdotes from my key informant and other acquaintances on which I could later reflect.

Anecdotes I heard from key informants and recorded there ended up informing my understanding of issues later. Over the course of the six weeks, I filled three laboratory notebooks with these recordings.

The journal was a tool I used to aid in constant comparative analysis. I coded interview notes daily and made memos on things to pursue or clarify. In considering my emergent design, being mindful of collecting memos throughout the day proved important in my staying organized and true to the data witnessed. This also pointed to directions for future research, as I explore in Chapter 5. I kept all of my notes, reflections, and memos in one place to serve me in organization and also in efforts toward triangulation. In the reflexive journal I was able to record and reflect on issues I saw represented in various data sets or sources.

Documents

My plan in the initial design was to review documents referring to national policy, teacher education, as well as school-level issues. Using documents as a data source added to the background research of the context influencing the phenomenon being researched. It is common in the social sciences to investigate human phenomena through analyzing texts and documents to understand more about events (Bentz & Shapiro, 1998; McCulloch, 2004). I anticipated documents would serve my research by illustrating either convergence or divergence of policy and practice. I was open to finding documents of public or private, primary or secondary source. I needed genuine and comprehensible documents. In this case study, the six types of documents that I obtained included 1) government public policy documents, 2) school schedules, 3) curriculum materials, 4)

teacher certification requirement materials, 5) some financial records, and 6) some KCPE results.

I visited the Kenya Institute for Education (KIE) three times during my field season to procure curriculum materials. I was not able to garner an up to date Primary Education Syllabus. However, I did purchase the Early Childhood Development and Education Syllabus, as well as two primary grades science-lesson dvds. While I did not obtain a Primary Education Syllabus from the KIE, I did copy a 2008 version from a participating school. I borrowed school resources and took them to a copy shop for replication. In this way, I obtained the Constitution of Kenya (2011), a discussion paper on the status of education in the slums (Daraja, 2007), and the Teacher Service Commission Code of Regulations for Teachers (2003). I also copied sample tests (Appendix K) that nongovernment schools purchase from local printers to assess their students twice per semester (Field notes, June 27, 2012). Site 1 was especially forthcoming with school operation records. They gave me copies of correspondence with the Quality Assurance and Standards department and the Ministry of Education, Science and Technology (MOEST) regarding assessment reports and government funding. Additionally, I took pictures and copied down time tables for teaching at each school site. At Site 4, I recorded KCPE results data into my reflexive journal.

Often in qualitative research, much of the focus when analyzing documents is on the language and word choice of participants (Creswell, 2009). However, the documentation I obtained from schools was inconsistent; responses to requests varied. Only Site 1 was particularly forthcoming with documentation. The director of Site 1 offered access to financial planning documents, SIMBA applications, KCPE results, and

any materials they had regarding the Kenya National Curriculum. The other two schools were willing to verbalize information but not provide written documentation regarding financial planning or records, teacher recruitment or salary materials, or student registration materials. The most useful documents I gathered in the field were about school schedules and curriculum materials. Altogether, document analysis did not inform my research as much as I had anticipated, but it did aid in triangulation of data in response to Research Question 1. In my case, pursuing details about the working conditions and issues (Research Questions 2, 3, & 4) was not enhanced significantly by this type of data collection.

Additionally, I thought it significant to note that I visited the KIE on several occasions in pursuit of relevant documents. Over the course of these visits I spent more than 3,000 KES (35 USD) purchasing curriculum materials. Even so, I was not able to procure an up to date, comprehensive primary education syllabus; I was told repeatedly that it would be impossible to get one before I left the country (Personal communication with KIE employee, June 6, 2012). In speaking with other educators, I learned that apparently KIE has been “out” of primary syllabi for quite some time (Field notes, June 27, 2012). The most recent syllabus I was able to borrow from a project site was printed in 2008. Another school had a single copy for all of the teachers to share that was printed in 2002. This experience itself was informative in considering how schools might procure curriculum materials. Trying to stay current with the curriculum, the expense alone can be a significant factor in implementation for nongovernment schools.

Audiovisual materials

As commented on by Creswell (2009) and Harper (2000), data collection in modern qualitative research may also take the form of audiovisual materials like photographs and film. This type of visual narrative was relevant to my research because of the physical nature of the context. Most people who have never been to an urban slum have trouble grasping what it is like. The Site 4 website says the following about Mathare Valley; “Most organizations do not have the capacity or willingness to work in Mathare. To most Kenyans, Mathare is a desperate place and few people understand or visit due to fear and misinformation” (Dignitas Project, 2011).

Photographs can be a very effective tool when describing such settings. I included photographs in my case study as a way to further portray the context. My purpose for taking and including photographs was not to document or highlight people. Rather, it was an effort to represent the context. Therefore, when there are people in the photos, it is for illustrating the environment. I always asked permission before taking photos, and although there are sometimes groups of children in photos, they are not meant to be the main focus, and I attempted to adjust the focus to make faces less distinguishable. Additionally, the photos held great utility in reminding me of the details of the context once I was away from Mathare. These reminders were very helpful in reactivating my experiences in the field while I wrote.

I took and analyzed photos for details that illuminated my descriptions. For example, my descriptions of the steep slopes of Mathare are portrayed in Figures 6 and 11 through the perspective of roof lines. Also, in analyzing my photos, I realized that I captured a moment in Figure 17 that became significant in my discussion in Chapter 5.

After analyzing my data, I realized that students' note, "We love our visitors," on the board at Site 1 had deeper significance than I understood at the time of the photograph. I was aware of its implications in insider and outsider status only later and discuss my reflections in Chapter 5.

Triangulation, Reliability, Validity and Bias Issues

Throughout my research, I took steps to check for accuracy and credibility (Creswell, 2009). In considering the qualitative equivalent of construct validity specific to case study, I referred to Yin (2009), who recommended using multiple sources of evidence and having key informants review draft case study reports. I employed multiple sources of data as my mode of triangulation and arranged for multiple schools as sources of evidence or triangulation by sites. I also requested my informants at each site engage in member checking to establish accuracy of my recording their responses. In this way, validity was assessed by comparing evidence on the same point from different sources. I interviewed school personnel from several schools to provide contextual validation of identified issues. I also compared information from documents and observation data to the interview data to look for convergence or divergence. In Chapter 4, as I report my findings, I document these processes.

According to Lincoln and Guba (1985), auditability, combined with trustworthiness, is crucial in generating validity and reliability in qualitative research. As previously mentioned, an audit trail that records my inquiry was a thoughtful part of my research process regarding raw data, analysis products, synthesis products, process notes, personal notes, and instrument development information (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). As a foreign woman, I was immediately in the position of an outsider needing to earn trust

from the community members. In *Naturalistic Observation*, Lincoln and Guba (1985) detailed the value of establishing trustworthiness as a researcher. I attempted to avoid limitations related to distortion through time in the field and establishing myself as a fellow educator and non-competitor. However, my time in the field was limited by the cost of staying in Nairobi. Even so, one of the pervasive subthemes that emerged from the data was that of insecurity. It would be difficult for me to truly access the sense of intimidation that school personnel may have felt in participating. Despite the perception of earned trustworthiness, I am still an outsider and may never be privy to how teachers interpreted involvement in the research with the security of their employment.

Considering that I had experiential knowledge of Mathare Valley as a volunteer in prior years and that I was a primary grades teacher myself, acknowledging my biases played a role in the validity of my research. It was important that I disclose my relationship as a volunteer with the Site 2 organization, which was one of my authorized research sites. I spent time in Site 2 schools in 2009, and my experience in Site 2's Headstart school was the impetus for academic research into school issues in Mathare Valley. Also, as a former primary classroom teacher, and now an emerging scholar focused on teacher issues, I had to be mindful of presenting negative or "discrepant information" that I witnessed (Creswell, 2009, p. 192). I needed to be aware of and report all of what I saw and not only things I expected or wanted to see. For example, although my intent is to give voice to educators and I respect what they do, I had to be forthcoming with observations of false information provided while teaching and reports of ill preparation as I discuss in Chapter 5. Similar to Roulston (2009), Yin (2009) recommended engaging in reliability procedures such as checking transcripts for errors

and staying consistent with and cross-checking codes. I had notes from many interviews to analyze, so it was important for me to create very clear definitions of my codes in order to maintain reliability across all of my data and presenting *all* of the information I witnessed, not limited to what I found positive or interesting.

In Chapter 5, I reflect in detail about my role as a researcher and my emotional journey during my field season. Qualitative research is characterized by sensitivity and the subjective role of the researcher (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000; Guba & Lincoln, 1985; Maxwell, 2005). Over time in the field, I went from dealing with feelings of guilt and sympathy to those of frustration and skepticism. These are not uncommon emotions for qualitative researchers in the field, as noted by Wolcott (1995). I wrote in my journal about my reactions in the field and used those recordings to help me maintain my methodological integrity. I also emailed my major professor for support. I reflect on this emotional piece and its relation to bias in the section about reflections on the roles of the researcher in Chapter 5.

Specific Methods of Analysis

My case study was exploratory in nature, but it also focused on portraying the realities of teaching in Nairobi slums. My purpose was to comprehensively describe the working conditions of teachers with the intention of understanding the complexity of the case, not for generalizing beyond the case (Creswell, 2007). My specific methods of analysis focused on coding collected data and looking for patterns and issues that might represent themes in the data.

Qualitative research generally requires the researcher to collect and analyze data simultaneously, and so was the case in my proposed research. Maxwell (2005)

recommended that researchers begin analysis immediately after the first interview or observation, and continue as long as research is being conducted. It is an “ongoing process involving continual reflection about the data, asking analytic questions, and writing memos throughout the study” (Creswell, 2009, p. 184).

I followed the steps recommended by Creswell (2009), and in Chapter 4, I show how some of these steps produced codes and subsequent themes (see Figure 9). I engaged in the constant comparative method of data analysis. Lincoln and Guba (1985) said that to achieve this, while coding an incident for a category, I needed to compare it with the previous incidents in the same and different groups coded in the same category. For example, I came to conclusions about the theme of *context* by comparing incidents of the code for environment. When interviewees mentioned an interaction with the environment it was coded, and when that code was compared across school sites, I began to see the varying nature of context of place.

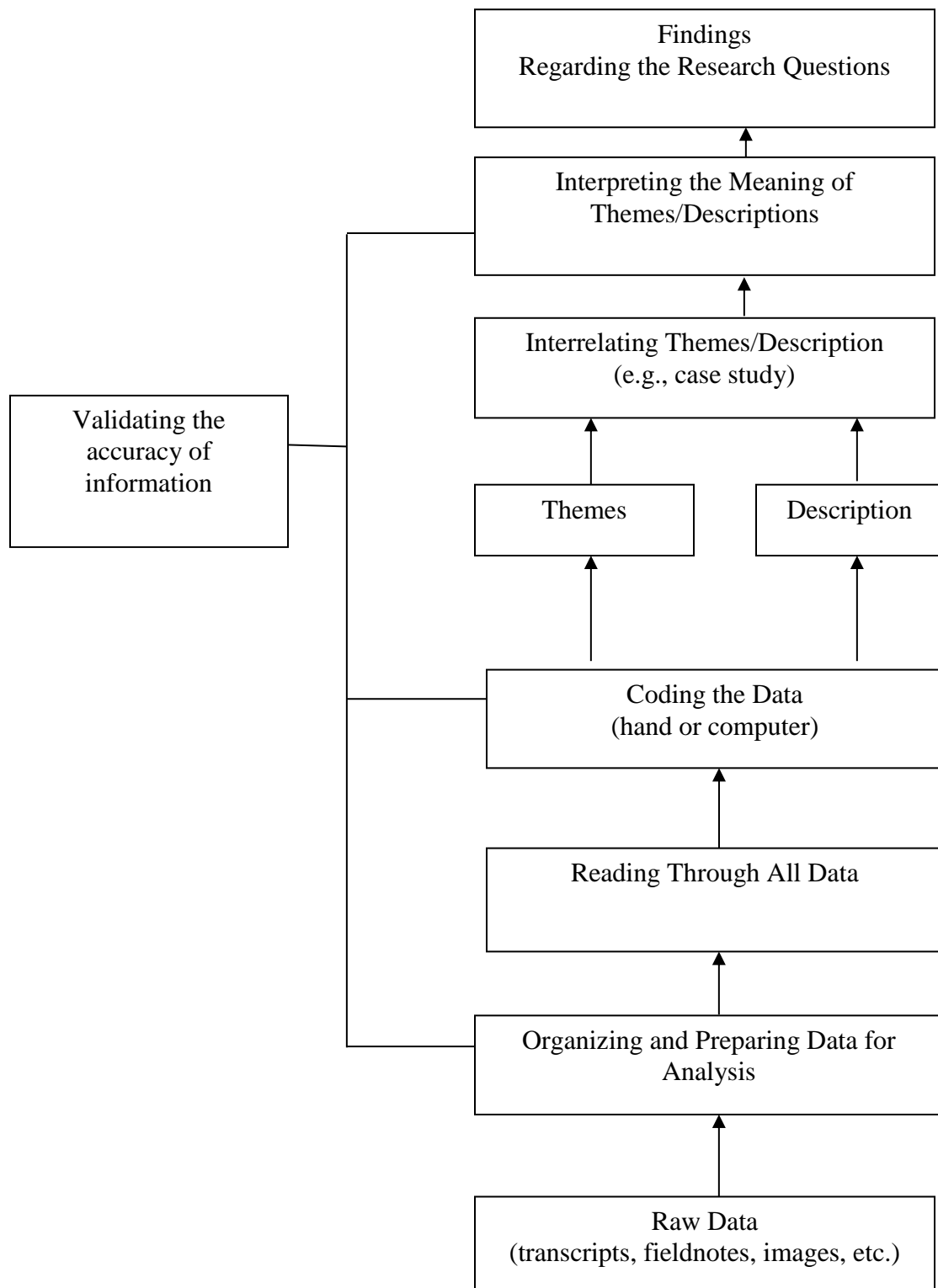


Figure 9. Data Analysis in Qualitative Research
Source: Modified after Creswell (2009)

Constant comparative analysis impacted my interviews through the addition of follow up questions; examples of queries I made in response to data and observations in the field included the following:

- *What do you find to be the most satisfying thing about teaching? In this community? In this school?*
- *Can you provide an example of how you know whether or not parents value education?*
- *Can you recall a time that you needed a resource that you did not have?*
- *How do you feel about teaching in English? Can you provide an example of a time English has been an issue for your instruction?*
- *Are class 8 scores on KCPE the most important measure of success in nongovernment schools?*
- *Do you purchase exams? May I see some examples of exams that you use at the school?*
- *Can you give me some examples of in-service training you have offered/received here at the school?*
- *Can you provide examples of efforts to retain teachers?*
- *Do you think that parents are more interested in the end result or the process? What about you as an educator? What do you think the difference is?*
- *How are your Standard 1 enrollments compared to Pre-Unit and Standard 2? (effect of FPE)*
- *As someone familiar with Mathare Valley, how do you interpret the fact that there are empty classrooms at A Government School ?*

Thematic Analysis and Coding

In qualitative analysis, the goal of thematic coding is to reduce data and categorize it in ways that it can be compared. Categories may be organizational topics, substantively descriptive, or theoretical (Maxwell, 2005). Thematic analysis requires data reduction either through applying codes or eliminating repetitive or irrelevant data (Roulston, 2009). I engaged in this type of analysis and coding for interview transcription and notes, questionnaire responses, and documents I collected. Codes are representative labels I applied to data I collected. Because my questions included participants' perspectives concerning the phenomenon of nongovernment schools in the slums,

thematic analysis had to take into account emergent codes as reported by school personnel.

Converting my raw data began first with reading questionnaires, field notes, memos and transcripts thoroughly. I wrote notes in the margin and on the left page to serve as the starting point for coding my data (see Appendix L). When topics began to emerge, I organized and assembled them into categories. The analysis process used is outlined by Creswell (2009) in Figure 9.

I began coding my questionnaires immediately in the field. I constructed my questionnaire so that I tallied responses to many questions and created modal representations of others. I read the open-ended questions I included as another opportunity to conduct thematic analysis and apply codes. As I collected questionnaires, I compared them to previous sets from other sites. This played a part in my adding minor adjustments to my interview protocol as coding resulted in the emergence of issues I had not anticipated. For example, questionnaires were returned with few occurrences of “lack for teaching materials” as a response to the question about challenges of the job. This was a surprise to me based on observations of what I saw as available to teachers. Therefore, I added a question to my interview protocol that asked teachers to recall a time when they needed a resource they did not have. Overall, there were only 11 occurrences of lack of teaching materials recorded as a challenge of the job on questionnaires. Another example of how coding my questionnaires influenced interview protocol was the issue of language of instruction. I noticed that questionnaire responses included high occurrences of “language issues” as a challenge of the job. Therefore, I included two questions about teachers’ perspectives and experiences teaching in English. Interestingly, interview

responses appeared divergent with the 20 occurrences I recorded on questionnaires. I discuss this discrepancy as an area for potential future research in Chapter 5.

I also began coding my interview notes immediately in the field. After each interview I went through and identified the main ideas of participants' responses. I began with Creswell's suggested codes including S/C (setting context), DEF (definition of the situation), and ACT (activities) (2009, p. 152). However, as I began to see sentiments repeated specific to my research questions, I created my own codes applicable to the data such as GREEN ("greener pastures") and CALL ("calling") (Reflexive journal, June 27, 2012). I would then go back and recode previous interview notes. My notes have all been coded in several rounds. After I returned to the United States, I continued to reread and code my data. Then, I organized my codes counted occurrences. My complete list of code is represented in Table 5.

Table 5

Complete list of codes with number of occurrences.

| Concept | Code | Occurrences in interviews |
|---|---------|---------------------------|
| School budgets/finance | \$ | 23 |
| 8-4-4 education model | 844 | 4 |
| Reference to child abuse | ABUSE | 3 |
| Students' absence | ABSENT | 8 |
| Access to education | ACCESS | 4 |
| Teacher accountability | ACCT | 19 |
| Autonomy in the job | AUTO | 3 |
| Teaching materials as a need | BOOK | 28 |
| Teacher burnout | BURN | 9 |
| School as a business and competition | BUSN | 14 |
| Teaching as a "calling" | CALL | 23 |
| Children as breadwinners | CHILD\$ | 7 |
| Community | COMM | 23 |
| Reference to the specificity of context | CONTEXT | 36 |
| Corruption in schools | CORRUPT | 12 |
| Teacher identified curriculum issues | CURRIC | 15 |
| Mentions/impressions of benefactors | DONOR | 16 |
| Reference to drugs | DRUGS | 3 |
| Student enrollment | ENROLL | 17 |
| Environment and condition of space | ENVT | 30 |
| Expressions of fear | FEAR | 2 |
| Collection of school fees | FEES | 23 |
| Student food | FOOD | 30 |
| Free Primary Education | FPE | 11 |
| Guidance and counseling | G/C | 26 |
| References to government | GOVT | 22 |
| "Greener pastures" | GREEN | 18 |
| Student health and hygiene | HEALTH | 8 |
| Reference to HIV/AIDS | HIV | 3 |
| Reference to hope/future | HOPE | 36 |
| Reference to moving on to secondary | HS | 5 |
| Reference to teachers' lack of food | HUNGER | 9 |
| Issues of insecurity | INSEC | 7 |
| Irrelevancy | IRREV | 11 |
| KCPE scores as related to success | KCPE | 25 |
| Teacher retention | KEEP | 20 |
| Parent manipulation | MANIP | 5 |
| Teachers as models | MODEL | 18 |
| Teacher motivation | MOTIV | 18 |

| Concept | Code | Occurrences |
|--|---------|-------------|
| Student transfers | MOVE | 10 |
| NGO/church schools | NGO | 5 |
| Reference to noise in schools | NOISE | 5 |
| Parent involvement and challenges | PAR | 27 |
| Poverty | POVT | 14 |
| Social pressure to school children | PRESS | 7 |
| Reference to prostitution | PROS | 4 |
| Teachers' psyche | PSYCHE | 15 |
| Quality of education | QUAL | 7 |
| Recruiting teachers | RECRUIT | 4 |
| Rent as a priority | RENT | 11 |
| Teacher salary | SALARY | 34 |
| "Some is better than none" | SBTN | 10 |
| Social relationships | SOC REL | 56 |
| Issues of school space | SPACE | 42 |
| Instances of special education | SPED | 2 |
| Student talent development | TALENT | 13 |
| Technology in school/curriculum | TECH | 7 |
| References to testing/test culture | TEST | 10 |
| Overworked in terms of hours | TIME | 11 |
| Teacher professional development | TRAIN | 23 |
| Teacher transport to work | TRANS | 17 |
| Student trauma | TRAUMA | 5 |
| Reference to tribalism/ethnic identity | TRIBE | 7 |
| Social value of education | VALUE | 17 |
| Experiences/instances of violence | VIOL | 9 |

Once I began coding interview data, I triangulated the data by comparing them to the codes from similar questions on the questionnaire. Creswell (2007) said that qualitative researchers build patterns, categories and themes from the bottom up. He corroborated Lincoln and Guba's (1985) suggestions and recommended an inductive process that involves working back and forth between the themes and database until a comprehensive set of themes emerges. Roulston (2009) added that doing this constant comparing of views and accounts from different people will provide dimension, which was precisely what I was aiming for in descriptions of the data I collected.

Creswell (p. 153) recommended that researchers analyze their data for material that can address the following:

1. *"Codes on topics that readers would expect to find, based on past literature and common sense.*
2. *Codes that are surprising and were not anticipated at the beginning of the study.*
3. *Codes that are unusual, and that are, in and of themselves, of conceptual interest to readers.*
4. *Codes that address a larger theoretical perspective."*

True to emergent research, I took into account that data might not fit my preconceived codes. I began my initial coding using Wolcott's codes that included setting, definitions, perspectives, strategies, and relationships. I kept the relationship code, but I quickly developed my own codes in order to "stay close to the data" (Wolcott, 1994, p. 152). There proved to be important topics reported by my participants. Analysis of questionnaires began with compiling all of the open-ended questions and then coding them in comparison with interview codes. Analysis of my questionnaires revealed codes that I did not anticipate. For example, I failed to include "guidance and counseling" or

“salary” on the list of choices for Question 15 about challenges of working (Appendix B). Part of credibility was making sure that my findings were grounded in the data, and doing so required me to create an audit trail of my data that was true to participant input and represented codes that I did not anticipate. Examples of codes that I did not anticipate are included in my summary of analytic codes, organized in Table 6.

Table 6

Analytic codes organized by Creswell's categories (2007)

| Creswell's categories | Corresponding codes |
|--|--|
| Codes on topics that readers would expect to find, based on past literature and common sense | ACCT (teacher accountability) SPACE (lack of/density) MOTIV (on the part of teachers, parents, students) TEST (test culture) SALARY PARENT (perspectives of, interactions with) BUSN (school as a business) RENT FOOD (school feeding programs) REL (social relations in the community) KEEP (teacher retention) TRAIN (teacher training) POVT (poverty) CONTEXT ENVRN (environment/condition of the space) HEALTH GOVT (government recognition, requirements) CONTEXT FEES (school fees – collection and scale of) KCPE (scores) COMM (community improvement) NGO (foreign influence and funding) FPE (Free Primary Education policy) CURRIC (curriculum) BOOK (teaching materials) |
| Codes that are surprising and were not anticipated at the beginning of the study | TALENT (non-academic pursuits) COUNS (guidance/counseling students) MOVE (student transfers) CORRUPT (corruption in school admin, NGO) HOPE HNGR (teachers without food) PSYCHE (reference to mental fortitude of teachers) |
| Codes that unusual, and that are, in and of themselves, of conceptual interest to readers | SBTN ("Something is better than nothing") CALL (teaching as a "calling") VIOL (examples of exposure to/protection from violence) TRAUMA (examples of) INSECURITY |

| Creswell's categories | Corresponding codes | Connection to theoretical perspective |
|---|-----------------------------|--|
| Codes that address a larger theoretical perspective | FPE | Globalization theories, global to local continuum |
| | NGO | Post-colonial, globalization theories |
| | CURRIC | Post-colonial |
| | 8-4-4 (education system) | Post-colonial |
| | BUSN (school as a business) | Globalization theories, global to local continuum, critical theory |
| | SPACE | Post-colonial, critical theory |
| | IRREV (irrelevancy) | Globalization theories, post-colonial |
| | GOVT | Post-colonial, global to local, critical theory |
| | CONTEXT | Globalization theories, motivation theory, critical theory |
| | HNGR | Motivation theory |
| | POVY | Motivation theory, post-colonial, critical theory |

Wolcott (1995) identified a difference between analysis and interpretation at the level of basic analysis. I did not aim to go beyond the factual data into interpretation, but rather as Roulston (2010) suggested, I wanted to analyze what was going on in a manner that would effectively describe the case. However, by formulating the themes that emerged, I did extend my thinking into the realm of interpretation as I considered my findings in relation to others' and my particular research questions. At the same time, I took lessons from the themes I identified as per my emergent design. In-depth analysis began once I returned from my field season, and this required significant amounts of re-reading for codes that emerged after considering the complete data set. In considering my theoretical framework and the practicality of my questions, those emergent themes manifested in the form of new questions for future research, and they will be discussed further in Chapter 5 (Creswell, 2009).

Gaps in the Data

The most significant limitation regarding the data set was the loss of NP as a project site. Violence and corruption at the school made it an unstable environment in which to conduct my research, but I consider it a lost opportunity for data. Also, the questionnaires that were not returned resulted in a less than ideal data set. These examples of lost data represent gaps in my data collection.

Working with three unrelated school sites and one NGO, I was not able to garner consistent documentation about school records and policies across sites. Even though my selected schools agreed to share documents with me initially, there was some resistance to divulge written records regarding financial and organizational policies in two of the three schools. I was not able to obtain some forms of data I desired at any school site, such as written records of hiring teachers and retention, making some triangulation of data sources difficult. Therefore, there may be gaps in the data regarding the reliability of claims regarding teacher salary and turnover, school fees, government funding and student attendance.

Also, it was not possible for me to observe every teacher in every school, so selection was based on willingness to participate. By observing a limited number of teachers, I may have a less than total picture in my observation and interview data based on limited interaction. Additionally, there is always uncertainty and caution regarding whether participants were being 100% honest at all times or whether they were reluctant to share on all items.

Timeline and Logistics

I embarked on a six-week field season in Nairobi to conduct my field research in June and July of 2012. This was my third trip to Kenya. In 2009, I spent a cumulative eight weeks in Kenya as a volunteer in various school settings around Nairobi. I made connections with educators in Kenya over the course of those weeks that served to help set up my study in 2012.

During the summer of 2012, I rented a room in an apartment in the Westlands. This arrangement required daily travel via bus, matatu, or taxi to Mathare Valley. Matatus are vans that travel organized routes throughout the city carrying passengers for a fee. Organization was of utmost importance in order to gain the most from this field season. I spent weekdays in Mathare Valley during school hours in order to be able to take advantage of any opportunities that arose. I was advised by local informants that I should not stay in Mathare Valley past 4 p.m. daily to ensure safety. The most desirable times for me to be in the schools followed a pattern of 9 a.m. to 3 p.m. Logistical limitations were a minor nuisance but did not affect my overall ability to collect a complete data set. Several Fridays were spent visiting the Kenya Institute for Education (KIE) and the Kenya Ministry of Education (MOE) attempting to procure curriculum and policy documents, as well as fulfill research permission requirements. Table 7 outlines my daily activities for six weeks in the field. Dates of individual interviews are included in Table 4.

Table 7

Timeline of field work during six weeks in Nairobi, Kenya in 2012.

| | MONDAY | TUESDAY | WEDNESDAY | THURSDAY | FRIDAY |
|---------------|---|---|--|--|-------------------------|
| | | | | Arrival | Arranging meetings |
| WEEK 1 | -Site 2 meeting | -Site 2 visit and meeting Met KIP | -Site 1 meeting -Site 4 visit & interview -Strathmore University | -Strathmore University | -Site 3 visit & meeting |
| WEEK 2 | -Site 1 visit | -Site 2 visit -Site 3 visit | -Site 2 visit | -Site 1 visit | -KIE -MOE |
| WEEK 3 | -Site 1 interview | -Site 2 interview -Site 3 interview | -Site 2 interviews -Site 3 observations | -Site 1 observations -Site 2 interviews | -MOE |
| WEEK 4 | -Site 1 observation & interview | -Site 3 observations | -Site 4 shadow -Site 3 observation | -Site 1 interviews & observations -Site 4 interview | -Site 4 interview |
| WEEK 5 | -Site 1 observation & interview | -Site 3 interviews -Site 4 interview | -Site 2 observations & interviews | -Site 1 interviews | -MOE |
| WEEK 6 | -Site 1 visit -Site 4 shadow & interview | -Site 3 observations & interviews | -Site 3 visit & interview -Site 2 | -Site 1 visit | -KIE |

Through the Site 4 director, I was introduced to my key informant, KIP. KIP was born and raised in Mathare Valley and still lives there with her sister. KIP has a secondary school certificate and worked with foreign visitors for years as a volunteer with the Mathare Youth and Sport Association. During the summer of 2012, KIP was

formally unemployed. I relied on my key informant to help me navigate through Mathare Valley to the school sites, as well as for on-site translation when needed. KIP and I arranged to meet at designated spots each day. KIP proved to be an invaluable resource. Not only did she aid me physically, but her cultural insight was extremely beneficial. I recorded anecdotes that KIP shared with me in my reflexive journal. On several occasions, those anecdotes informed my understanding of observations or data. KIP added to my understanding of occurrences such as the German upgrading project, conversations between teachers and parents, and insider versus outsider status, as I discuss in Chapters 4 and 5 (Reflexive journal, June 21 & 28, 2012; July 2, 2012)

I also needed an escort that was familiar with the layout of the community to help me with passage through the neighborhoods; my independent movement through the slums was limited in this regard. Part of my IRB proposal included provisions for some compensation for a key informant. Although I conducted my interviews in English, my key informant also served as a translator; she observed interviews to clarify any language issues, but also to pick up on gesturing, meaningful phrasing, and other cultural nuances. While English and Kiswahili are the official languages of Kenya, Sheng is also a popular language spoken amongst residents in Nairobi slums. Sheng is an informal hybrid of English, Swahili, other tribal languages and street slang. While there was never significant need for the translator in most interviews, I might never know exactly what participants may have been unable or willing to share in English. Reflected in my IRB approval, I gave my key informant a stipend of 500 KES (6 USD) per day for her time and energy. If we needed to travel by matatu or bus somewhere together, I paid the fare.

I conducted initial analysis of data while I was still collecting in the field. I analyzed the questionnaires as they were completed as a way of informing my observations and interviews. I reviewed observation and interview notes in keeping with a constant comparative approach to allow for adjustments in the design. I commenced in-depth analysis of all the data once I returned from Kenya.

Each of the sites I arranged to work with had at least one main contact person with email access. Therefore, I was able to ask follow up questions via email when necessary. I was also able to engage in member checking and fulfill reciprocal obligations to share the results. From the beginning, my plan was to maintain and foster relationships with all sites for the possibility of future longitudinal study.

Here, in Chapter 3, I outlined the details of my field research. I used an emergent flexible design with which to engage in field research in the Mathare Valley slums of Nairobi, Kenya. Using myself as a research instrument, I conducted interviews and observations, distributed questionnaires, and kept a reflexive journal. I engaged in constant comparative analysis to code my data and to triangulate my findings. In Chapter 4, I report the findings of my case based on these efforts.

CHAPTER 4

THE CASE OF NONGOVERNMENT SCHOOLS IN MATHARE VALLEY SLUMS IN NAIROBI, KENYA

The goal of this case study was to provide a comprehensive description of the micro-level realities facing nongovernment schools in the slums of Mathare Valley as voiced by school personnel. My objectives included, but were not limited to, learning about and reporting on issues regarding the conditions of slum communities and the schools therein, implementation of the Kenyan national curriculum, and the experience of being an educator in this particular context. In this chapter I present the case according to four topics. I provide an overview of both the project sites and the participants. These sections serve to illustrate the context of the research and address research questions about the conditions of the slum communities. Next, I organize research findings by themes to provide a multi-dimensional description of the realities and needs of educators working in nongovernment schools in the Mathare Valley slums. Four major themes emerged in my analysis of the data: the testing culture, space, money, and hope.

Overview of Project Sites in Mathare Valley Slums of Nairobi, Kenya

The global to local continuum is reflected in the organization of my research. Kenya was a supporter of EFA from its inception and cites MDGs in its current rationale for the FPE policy. Trends in support of universal primary education like EFA and the MDGs represent the macro-level context of my research. Kenya's FPE policy represents the meso-level context of the study. On the micro level, private schools in the slums are

educating thousands of Kenya's poor children in the face of a free government option. In Mathare Valley alone, there are 85 private schools educating children from age 3 all the way through secondary school. My research focused on primary schools in this context.

To further describe the micro-level context of my study, I analyzed the Dignitas Project parent's guide to Mathare Valley schools (2012). Dignitas Project reported that 41 of the 85 schools (48%) offer feeding programs. According to Dignitas Project (2012), only 29 of the 85 schools (34%) offer instruction up to Standard 8. Fourteen of the 85 schools only offer early childhood education programs (ages 3-5) which include Baby Class, Nursery, and Pre-unit. Another 14 schools offer classes up to Class 5, and seven schools go up to Class 7 but fall short of including a Class 8 eligible for taking the KCPE. Using the information reported by Dignitas Project (2012), I established that the 85 schools range in establishment from the year 1992 to 2012. This indicated that many schools were operating before Kenya's FPE was initiated. Even so, the mode year of establishment was 2005, two years after FPE was introduced. More schools were founded that year than any other, and the next most popular year was 2008. The school fees associated with the private schools operating in Mathare Valley range from being free of charge to costing 800 KES (9 USD) per month (Dignitas Project, 2012).

In considering my research questions regarding the conditions at nongovernment schools in Mathare Valley slum I offer a contextual description of the project sites. Acknowledgement of the physical environment was a vital piece of analyzing experiences shared in participant interviews and questionnaires. An overview of the project sites also serves to support my conclusions in Chapter 5 about context and the "single story." Physical descriptions of the schools reveal few similarities and they affirm

the localized nature of the experience in education and in the local surroundings of the slum. Except when otherwise indicated, these descriptions come from observations recorded in my field notes.

Descriptions of participating school sites

In following sections I begin to answer Research Questions 2 and 3 regarding the general conditions and working conditions of nongovernment schools in Mathare Valley. First, I describe the three participating school sites. Finally, I offer a compilation of general descriptions for other schools I visited that contributed to my overall understanding of the conditions addressed in my Research Questions 2 and 3. I include a summarized table for comparative data at the beginning of this section (see Table 8).

Table 8

Comparative summary of three participating school sites.

| Characteristic | SITE 1 | SITE 2 | SITE 3 |
|--------------------------------|--|---|---|
| Location | North west on the rim near Thika Hwy. | Southern rim near Juja Rd. (old is central; new building is further west) | Central, interior off Juja Rd. side |
| Operation | proprietor-owned | proprietor-owned | NGO |
| # students | 700 + | 915 | 327 |
| # teachers (with staff) | 14 (16) | 23 (26) | 9 (12) |
| Uniforms | Required | Required | Required |
| Curriculum | Kenya National Curriculum | Kenya National Curriculum | Kenya National Curriculum |
| Physical space | Rented classroom space scattered across an area of approximately 2-3 acres | Two locations approximately 3/10 mile apart; old rental location is an office in a permanent building, a detached kitchen across the street, and classrooms of iron-sheet construction; new owned building of cement block under construction (approx. 1.5-2 acres total) | Rented space in enclosed courtyard with detached kitchen and two stories of classrooms (approx. .25-.50 acre) |
| Permanency | Some cement blocks, some iron-sheet, one mud | Old: mostly iron sheet New: cement blocks | Iron sheet sheets |
| Electricity | None | Some capacity but not in use in classrooms | Some capacity but not in use |
| Outside space | Open field depot | Adjacent empty lot + enclosed courtyard | Small enclosed courtyard |
| Classroom structure | Varied | Old: iron sheets New: cement block structure | Iron sheets with second story |
| Bathrooms | Community toilets | Pit toilets on site | Pit toilets on site |
| Water | Provided by Site 4 | Purchased in jerry cans | Spigot on site |
| Food | Once a week donation from Hare Krishnas | Daily lunch through World Food Program and tuition | Daily tea and lunch through foreign donations |
| 2012 KCPE Performance | 46 candidates; 63% pass rate; Mean 267/500 | 58 candidates; 89% pass rate; Mean 307/500 | 6 candidates; 83% pass rate; Mean 293/500 |

Site 1.

Site 1 primary school is a proprietor-owned school located on the northern rim of Mathare Valley, near the police line and Thika Highway (see Figure 8 on page 70). This means it is at an advantageous elevation regarding the river. The school is spread out over several alleys and buildings in the area. The school offices are on the second floor of a cement block building that also houses the library and teachers' office, but no classrooms (see Figure 10). The main buildings are along a main passage or border between the slum and the police line. This location provides students with access to open space for use during recess. The perspective of Figure 11 illustrates the upper rim on which Site 1 rests. There is a clear drop off between where the children stand and where houses are located just 50 yards away. The school's location on the rim also means that behind that front line is a very steep embankment towards the river. Navigating the alleys to get to classrooms down the hill requires sure footing (see Figures 12 & 13).



Figure 10. Teachers' office in permanent structure at Site 1.



Figure 11. Site 1 students watched a goat give birth while playing in the communal outside space during recess.



Figure 12. Site 1 offices at the top left of the photo with classrooms spread across the embankment.

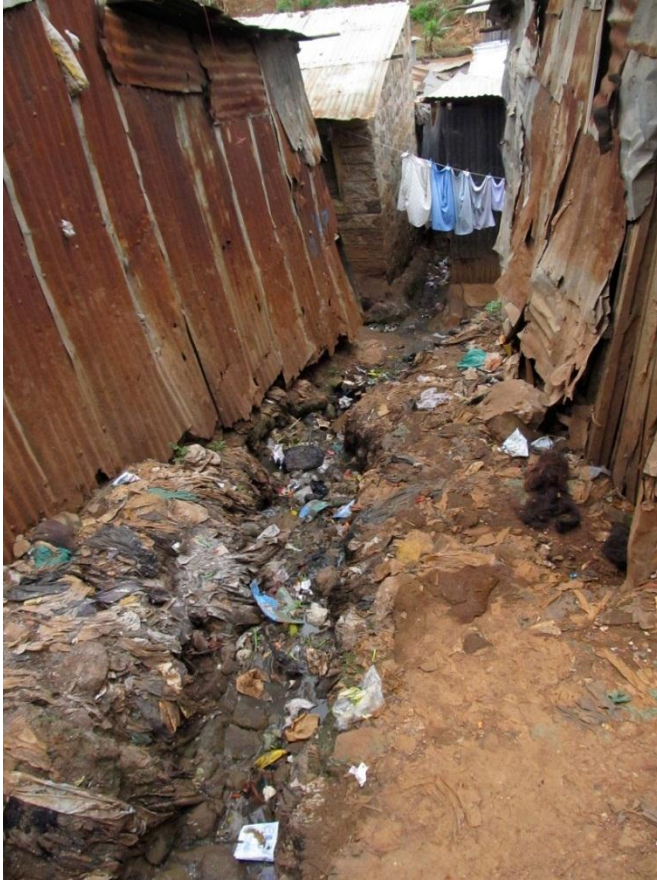


Figure 13. Steep alley that is a regular route between classes at Site 1.

At the time of my field work, the school enrolled close to 400 primary school students who are all expected to wear uniforms daily. Site 1 was the only participating site that also had a secondary school. The secondary school was not part of my research, but is significant to mention. Enrollment with secondary students was just over 700 students. The school employed 14 teachers who are all expected to follow the Kenya National Curriculum. Various textbooks and one KIE Primary School Syllabus are available for teachers to check out of the school library for use. The school also employed an office assistant and a cook.

The daily schedule for Site 1 begins at 6:30 am and ends at 8:00 pm. However, these evening hours are for the older students and KCPE candidates. Formal classes begin at 8:20 am and end at 3:10 pm. Class periods are counted in 35 minute increments and students attend eight periods a day (see Figure 14). The hours before and after formal classes are for “morning prep,” remediation, doing homework, and paid “tuition,” or tutoring, by the teachers. Students come to school Monday through Friday and the Standard 8 students also come on Saturday and Sunday afternoon (see Figure 15).

| UPPER PRIMARY | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---------------|-----------|-----------|------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|
| CLASS | 8:20-8:55 | 8:55-9:30 | 9:30-10:05 | 10:05-10:40 | 10:40-11:15 | 11:15-11:50 | 11:50-12:25 | 12:25-1:00 | 1:00-1:35 | 1:35-2:10 | 2:10-2:45 |
| MONDAY | Maths | Science | English | Maths | English | Maths | English | Maths | English | Maths | English |
| TUESDAY | Maths | English | Maths | English | Maths | English | Maths | English | Maths | English | Maths |
| WEDNESDAY | Maths | English | Maths | English | Maths | English | Maths | English | Maths | English | Maths |
| THURSDAY | Maths | English | Maths | English | Maths | English | Maths | English | Maths | English | Maths |
| FRIDAY | Maths | English | Maths | English | Maths | English | Maths | English | Maths | English | Maths |
| SATURDAY | Maths | English | Maths | English | Maths | English | Maths | English | Maths | English | Maths |
| SUNDAY | Maths | English | Maths | English | Maths | English | Maths | English | Maths | English | Maths |
| CODE | | | | | | | | | | | |

Figure 14. Posted daily schedule at Site 1.

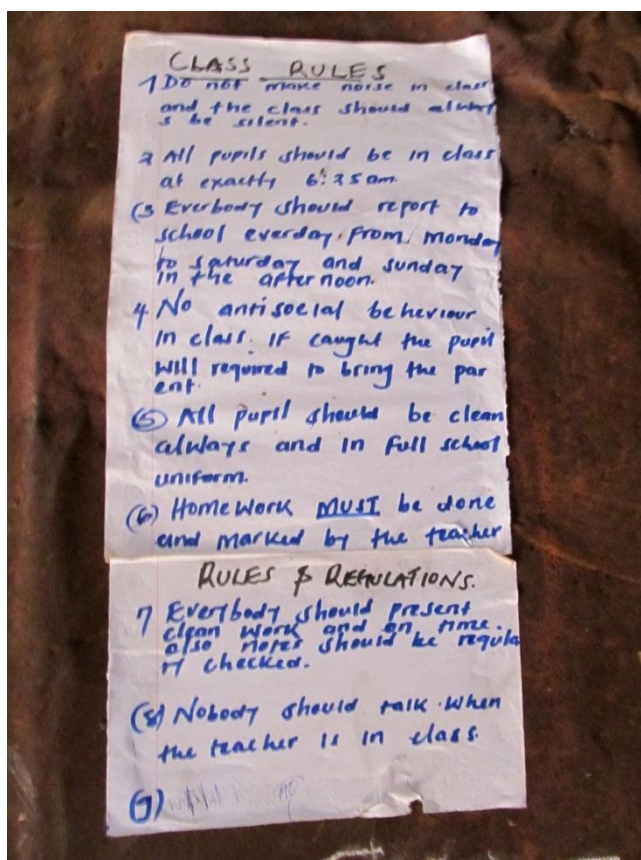


Figure 15. Posted Standard 8 rules in Site 1 classroom.

During the time I spent at Site 1, I noted classrooms of varying structure. In addition to being spread intermittently along the rim and embankment, classroom construction was unpredictable. I saw classrooms made of mud, older classrooms of rusty iron sheets with dirt floors, and brand new rooms with new iron sheets and cement floors (see Figures 16 & 17). None of the classrooms or offices had electricity. All classes had a chalkboard for teacher use and tables constructed of wood with benches attached. The Standard 8 students shared tables amongst three or four teenaged students. This was true in Standards 7 and 6, as well. Some of the younger classes had only two students to a desk because of smaller class sizes. The baby class (three years old) and nursery class (four years old) shared one room that was only closed on three sides; one side was open

to a main artery of travel for people coming into and out of Mathare from Thika Highway.



Figure 16. Standard 8 students waiting for class to begin at Site 1.



Figure 17. A newly constructed classroom for Standard 6 at Site 1.

The Standard 1 teacher I interviewed at Site 1 told stories of how homeless people and others from the neighborhood came into their classroom overnight and used it as a space to sleep or party. The room is an older building made of mud and wood, and there was no lock on the door. Local people knew that students were gone during the evenings so they made a habit of helping themselves to the space. She said that she had a routine of coming to class before students arrived so that she could clean up (Interviewee 14, July 5, 2012). Both parents and teachers at Site 1 complained of the proximity to residential neighbors and what a distraction they can be during the day. I heard examples that included local women recruiting female students to watch over children in between classes, loud music played in homes during instruction, and foul language being used by neighbors within earshot of young children (Field notes, June 10, 2012; June 18, 2012).



Figure 18. Mud-constructed Standard 1 classroom at Site 1.

I observed the school's source of water to be a jerry can with a spigot provided for them by Site 4 the previous year. Site 4 supports the water source by refilling it on a regular basis. The school does not have bathroom facilities; students have to use community pay toilets. During one school visit, a teacher explained to me how embarrassed she gets to ask the neighbors living next door to use their toilet during the school day (Field notes, July 3, 2012). I observed that many younger students in the area use the field in front of the police line as a space for open defecation (see Figure 19).



Figure 19. Open field near Site 1 used for open defecation, dumping garbage, and grazing animals.

Site 1 does not currently have a consistent feeding program. The 350 KES (4 USD) school fees charged per month cannot cover buying food for students. In previous years, Site 1 was involved in a feeding program through Feed the Children. Under suspicion of corruption, the school was disqualified from the program last year. Although it was proven over time to be simply an error in bookkeeping, the school's food

supplement has yet to be reinstated (Interviewee 11, July 2, 2012). At the time of my visits, the school had a kitchen and several large vats for cooking, but it lacked provisions. According to school personnel, this impacts enrollment, parents are upset, and the school is working to reinstate a feeding program (Field notes, June 10, 2012; Interviewee 11, July 2, 2012; Interviewee 12, June 28, 2012; Interviewee 13, June 26, 2012).



Figure 20. Kitchen and cook at Site 1.

Starting in 2012, Hare Krishnas volunteered to bring rice and beans to the school once a week. I observed this ritual on a weekly basis during my field season. Local residents were keenly aware of which day food delivery took place at the school, and they spread the word across the neighborhood. Students brought large containers from home and they were allowed to fill them up to take home. School personnel distributed the food and after the students were all served community members could come to obtain food, as well. The importance of the food was visible in the community's keen reaction.

The descriptions of the events surrounding Site 1's feeding program in my field notes revealed the first occurrence of what I later identified as a sub theme coded, "some is better than none." Interviewee 11 disclosed that at the school's peak in 2010, Site 1 enrolled approximately 1,000 students in primary and secondary classes. When the feeding program stopped in 2011, enrollment dramatically reduced by more than 200 students. At the start of the 2012 school year however, some of those same students have started to return. According to Interviewee 11, a common pattern in Mathare Valley involves parents taking their children out of schools in search of higher test scores, lower tuition, or the offering of food. However, in this case, many realized that other schools had nothing better to offer and so they came back to Site 1. When the Hare Krishnas began delivering food to Site 1, many students returned for this once a week opportunity because "some is better than none" (Interviewee 11, July 2, 2012). According to the Dignitas Project Parent Guide to Mathare Valley community schools (2012), only 41 of the 85 schools operating in Mathare Valley offer feeding programs. My analysis of the parent's guide indicated that only 18 of the schools in Mathare Valley offering feeding programs also offer instruction up to Standard 8. Based on this information and analysis, I argue that as students get older, finding a school with something better to offer becomes increasingly difficult.

My description of Site 1 and all of my subsequent research sites serves to address Research Questions 2 & 3. The goals of these questions include learning about the conditions of these nongovernment schools in Mathare Valley. The general structure by which I approached this description is repeated as well as possible for the subsequent site descriptions.

Site 2.

The second site I gained access to was the smallest and newest school with which I worked. Site 2 primary school is one project of a larger NGO with schools around Nairobi and other non-education related endeavors. According to its website, the NGO with which the school is associated considers itself a social service and has four main components for alleviating poverty in Kenya: education and talent, economic empowerment, community development, and mental and physical health. Site 2 is one of four schools operated by the NGO, but the only one in Mathare Valley. Other components of the NGO inside Mathare Valley include a micro-lending program and youth groups (Maji Mazuri Centre International, 2013).

Site 2 is centrally located in the Mathare 3C Bondeni neighborhood which considered by its residents to be the most dangerous in Mathare (Field notes, June 19, 20, 21, and July 5 & 7, 2012). The school is located just off of a wide, commercial pathway that is close to a large, sturdy bridge that crosses the river. This results in heavy foot traffic around the school. There is less residential influence at this location as compared to Site 1. However, there are several restaurants, hotels, and shops around the school.



Figure 21. Commercial thoroughfare leading to Site 2.

At the time of my field work, the school enrolled 327 students who are all expected to wear uniforms daily. This is a sharp increase from the 180 enrollment in 2010. According to the school's director, the growth is attributed to marketing, attending community meetings, and the addition of Standards 7 and 8 (Interviewee 5, June 19, 2012). I observed that the school employed 9 teachers who are all expected to follow the Kenya National Curriculum. There is a room on the ground floor that serves as a book depository. The room is kept locked and teachers may check out books as needed. I observed that many of the books were very new, many still in unopened boxes. The head teacher holds the key and is in charge of checking out books (see Figure 22). She shared that all of the books were donated and that teachers do not often use them because they do not directly align with the Kenyan National Curriculum (Field notes, July 4, 2012). The school's director has no teaching responsibilities and therefore mans the office. The school also employs a cook who prepares tea and lunch for the children and staff daily.



Figure 22. Book depository at Site 2.

The daily schedule for Site 2 begins at 6:30 am and ends at 5:00 pm. Formal classes begin at 8:00 am and end at 4:00 pm. The morning hour and a half between 6:30-8:00 am is considered “prep” for students and teachers. Tea break is taken by all between 10:20 – 11:00 am. For Baby and Nursery classes (3 and 4 years old), the hours after lunch are rest time (see Figure 23). The hour between 4:00-5:00 pm is for “tuition” and is therefore optional. Primary grade students come to school Monday through Saturday, while Early Childhood students attend Monday through Friday. Classes are in 30 minute increments and teachers usually instruct six periods a day.

TABLE 2012

| | 8:30-9:00 | 9:00-9:30 | 9:30-10:00 | 10:00-10:30 | 10:30-11:00 | 11:00-11:30 | 11:30-12:00 |
|------|------------------|--------------|------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|-------------|
| MON | Free Choice act. | Health Check | Long. act. | Maths act. | Science act. | CREAT. act. | L |
| TUE | Free Choice act. | Health Check | Long. act. | Maths act. | Science act. | CREAT. act. | L |
| WED | Free Choice act. | Health Check | Long. act. | Maths act. | Science act. | CREAT. act. | L |
| THUR | Free Choice act. | Health Check | Long. act. | Maths act. | Science act. | CREAT. act. | L |
| FRI | Free Choice act. | Health Check | Long. act. | Maths act. | Science act. | CREAT. act. | L |

Class teacher: Joyce Maina

Figure 23. Nursery class (4 year olds) teacher schedule.



Figure 24. Baby class (three years old) napping on a plastic mat over the concrete classroom floor at Site 2.

Site 2 is currently in their second location since opening in 2004. During the post-election violence in 2007, the first school burned down. The school reopened in this current space in 2008. According to school personnel, one of the first undertakings of the school when they moved into the post-election space was to pave the floor (Interviewee 5, June 19, 2012; Personal communication with school employees, January 2009;). Apparently, dirt floors are not desirable, and concrete floors have more social value in the community. In 2011, new classrooms were built on top of the original structures to create a second floor. The director told me that one reason for building a second story was to give the school more visibility in the community. It was the belief that this draws more students (Interviewee 5, June 19, 2012).



Figure 25. Site 2 from the entrance with school kitchen on left.

Ground floor classrooms are made of iron sheets with concrete floors. The second story is also iron sheets with wood flooring. On questionnaires and in interviews, teachers mentioned that iron sheets used in construction are a hazard for the students and teachers alike. Students get cut by the metal and often fall through the walls (see Figure 26). I saw no use of electricity at the school, although the director claimed that the building was wired for some electricity but they could not afford to use it. Instead, most classrooms were built with skylights cut into the roof to provide natural light (see Figure 27). All classrooms contained blackboards and student desks. Most rooms had some visual aids hung on the wall. A teacher explained to me that the posters were purchased from local residents who draw and sew on reused rice sacks (Field notes, July 4, 2012). Posters could be ordered to reflect specific content if desired (See Figures 28 & 29). Students shared desks, but there was no consistency to how many sat at each table. Class sizes appeared to dwindle in the upper grades, and some classrooms only housed five or six students. However, the Baby Classes (three years old) through Standard 2 were very popular. These rooms were crowded and located on the ground floor.



Figure 26. Lower primary grades hallway at Site 2 with ragged iron.



Figure 27. Pre-unit (kindergarten) classroom at Site 2 lit by skylights.



Figure 28. Locally-purchased classroom posters made from sewing on reused rice sacks.



Figure 29. Locally-purchased classroom poster made from drawing on reused rice sacks.

There is a small courtyard at Site 2 used for student assembly and recess (see Figure 30). Although small, this contained area is valuable in the community. According to personnel at more than one school, a defined, open area that can be supervised by school personnel and controlled for outsiders is something other schools desire (Field notes, June 19, and July 9, 2012). I noticed what I thought was debris on the roof of the school around the courtyard and inquired about it. The items on top of the roof were homemade soccer balls children made from plastic bags and other scraps. Since students have an enclosed space in which to play, they often play football in the courtyard during recess and lose the balls on the roof. I observed some students remove their socks to make balls to play with and then putting them back on after recess.



Figure 30. Looking West across Mathare and the courtyard from the second floor of Site 2; lost footballs litter the roofs.

The school has a water source inside the compound, as well as three toilets (see Figures 31 & 32). However, when I observed in the pre-unit class (kindergarten) there, the teacher explained that she has to keep the classroom door closed because of the smell from the toilets (Field notes, July 4, 2012). Site 2 provides its students with both tea and lunch. Site 2 does not participate in a food program with an outside organization like Feed the Children or World Food Program; however, they present their food as “free.” The director claimed to tell to prospective parents that their 500 KES (6 USD) per month school fees go toward teacher salaries, rent, and supplies. Food money is acquired from mainly foreign benefactors that support the larger NGO that operates the school (Interviewee 5, June 19, 2012).

My descriptions of Site 2 are a contrast and a comparison to that of Site 1. One can see the differences and similarities between the physical conditions of the schools. This comparison continues with my third participating school site.

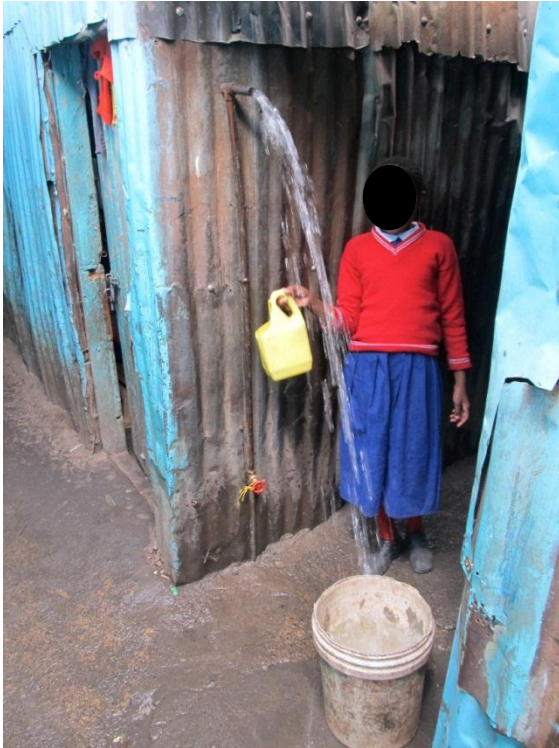


Figure 31. Water source at Site 2.



Figure 32. One of 3 pit toilets on site at Site 2.

Site 3.

The third participating school was the largest in scale. It has a reputation in Mathare Valley for its performance, and I had heard of it on previous trips to Nairobi. Site 3 is a privately-owned primary school that was started by the current director. The school is funded through tuition and independent donations. School fees are 800 KES (9 USD) per month, making it the most costly of my participating school sites and at the top of the fee range for all private schools in Mathare Valley (Dignitas Project, 2012). Site 3 is located on the southern side of Mathare Valley, close to Juja Road. Juja Road is a main thoroughfare east and west across the northern part of Nairobi (see Figure 8). The school site sits up higher on the embankment and serves as a vantage point to look across the valley (see Figure 33). It is also located close to a bus stage and on an unpaved, but main artery entrance into Mathare Valley.



Figure 33. Looking north across the most narrow part of the valley from the roof of Site 3 one can see all the way across to the police line on the other rim.

During my field season, Site 3 was in a period of transition as far as the physical school building was concerned. For the past four years, the school has been fundraising and building a permanent structure for the school. The new building was not completely finished at the time of my field work; however, Standards 4-8 were meeting in the new building (see Figure 34). Nursery class (four years old) through Standard 3 met in the school's original building, which was approximately 3/10 of a mile east from the new site along Juja Rd. The older location is rented space that entails one main office in a permanent building and a string of iron-sheet rooms constructed by the landlord behind the concrete building.

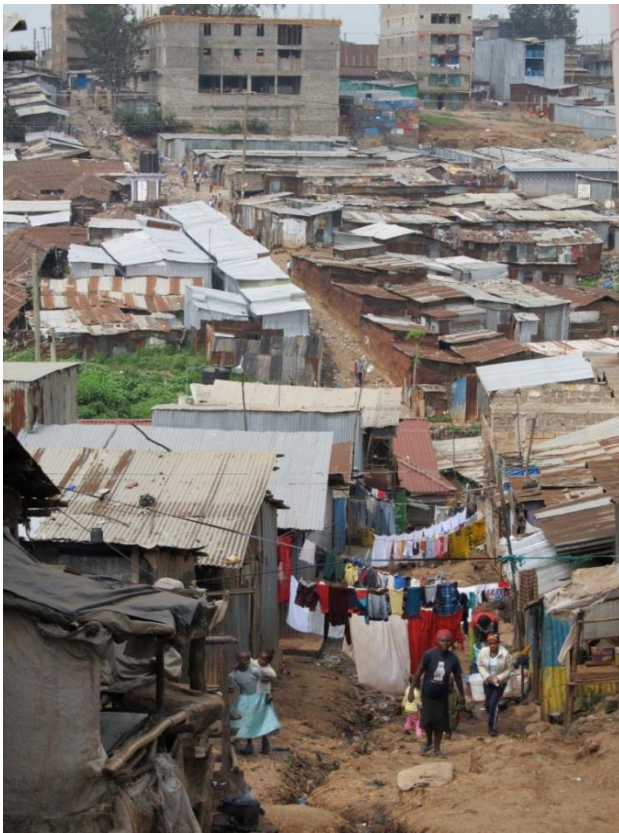


Figure 34. Standing on the northern rim of Mathare Valley looking at the new building for Site 3.



Figure 35. Row of rented classrooms at Site 3; the small outcropping on the left are the toilets.

The new building at Site 3 is considered a great asset for schooling. As opposed to being forced to find whatever space happens to be available in the slums, this building was designed specifically to be a school (Interviewee 1, June 19, 2012). It is a permanent structure in an accessible location for students and visitors alike, with learning spaces and facilities intended to support learning. According to school personnel, the building will have four levels upon completion with enough classrooms to house students in Nursery Class (four years old) to Standard 8. At the time of my visits, only two levels were usable. The interior courtyard will eventually be a secure space for student assemblies and supervised play, but currently houses building materials (see Figure 36). I noticed

that there were several classrooms in the “finished” part of the building that were not being used. When it rains, I saw some classrooms flooded in the permanent building (see Figure 37). The stairwells also collected water.



Figure 36. Site 3 under construction; houses administrative offices and Standards 4-8.



Figure 37. Unused classroom in the new building with standing water from the rain.

Due to the popularity and success of Site 3, even new classrooms were packed tightly with students. The school reported an enrollment of 915 students, all of whom are expected to wear uniforms (Interviewee 1, June 19, 2012). I compared this report to the Dignitas Project parent guide, and Site 3's enrollment number is the highest of all private schools operating in Mathare Valley (Dignitas Project, 2012). During my data collection, I learned through interviews and questionnaires that the largest class size at Site 3 included 69 students, while the smallest class accommodated 40. Subsequently, tables filled every available space and students generally sat three or four to a table. Student desks were a common construction of bench and table connected (see Figure 38). At the time of my visit, I recorded a teaching staff of 23, all of whom were expected to follow the Kenya National Curriculum during instruction. Although I never observed a teacher reference a text, students shared books at their tables at a ratio of approximately one book per three students. The school also employed an office manager and two cooks.



Figure 38. Common construction of desks in a Standard 3 classroom that accommodates 46 children at Site 3's old location.

There was no electricity being used in the new location for Site 3, but there was electricity in both the offices and classrooms at the old location. There were provisions for electricity throughout the new building to be used in the future. External windows, as well as windows into the courtyard, were meant to be a source of natural light. However, once students began using the new school, they discovered that the design was too windy. It was too cold and disruptive, so plywood was put up in all of the windows to cut down on cross breezes (see Figures 39 & 40).



Figure 39. Standard 6 classroom in the new Site 3 school building whose source of light is from an interior facing window and the classroom doorway.



Figure 40. Capacity of Standard 4 classroom in the new building at Site 3 with boarded windows and wet walls.

The schedule for students and teachers at Site 3 begins daily at 6:30 am. Formal classes begin at 8:00 am and run in 35 minute increments until 3:45 pm. After 3:45 there are games and preps. There is one morning break and one hour and fifteen minutes for lunch. Teachers reported staying at school until 6:00 pm to work with students.

There are two toilets available for students at the old school site. Toilets are located in the same small alley as classrooms, placing the pits approximately three feet from classroom doors (see Figure 35). In the new building, there were provisions for indoor toilets in the future, and pit toilets outside on the school compound for use in the meantime. There is not a direct water source for the school on site. Water is purchased from an outside contractor and brought to both school sites in jerry cans (see Figure 41).

The water and food are cooked in a detached kitchen near the old location and delivered to the new building daily. The school pays for water and delivery services.



Figure 41. Water source and kitchen at Site 3.

Site 3 offered lunch to all of its students. It was explained to me that this provision is included in the breakdown of school fees; 50 KES (.50 USD) of the 800 KES (9 USD) school fees per month are earmarked for food (Interviewee 1, June 19, 2012; July 2, 2012). Although it was never mentioned to me by school personnel, I conducted internet research that indicates Site 3 is also a partner with World Food Program. Even so, after I returned to the U.S. I received an email from the Head Teacher at Site 3 asking for financial assistance specific to the feeding program. The email claimed that it costs \$2,500 USD a day to feed the students and inquired if I could find someone to help supplement their feeding program (Personal communication, July 29, 2012).

Site 4.

Unlike the previous three sites included in my case, Site 4 is not a primary school. Rather, Site 4 is a non-profit organization that provides support for schools and teachers in Mathare Valley. Site 4 was started by an American educator in an effort to develop community leaders and impact societal change. The organization's initiatives include professional development for teachers, leadership trainings, providing school uniforms for students, providing water to schools, community liason, and counseling on issues of school governance.

Site 4 is located off of Juja Road across from a Doctors Without Borders clinic and next to the well-known Mathare Valley Youth and Sport Association on an unpaved road traversable by vehicle. The site is a sprawling residential compound protected by an 8-feet tall cement wall and hired security. The location allows staff to access schools in Mathare Valley easily by foot or matatu (van taxi).

The compound includes five offices, a conference room, kitchen, and a large tented courtyard that is used for on-site teacher workshops. There are two pit toilets on the compound, a hand-washing station, and a running-water sink in the kitchen. The whole compound has electricity for lights and internet capabilities. At the time of my field work, Site 4 had nine people on full-time staff at its Mathare location. There was also an American intern and a cook.

The four sites I described in this section were the main project sites for my research. Table 8 summarizes the basic characteristics of the four sites. I procured research permission for each site prior to arriving in country for my field work that allowed me to interview faculty and staff, observe classes, and take photos at the schools.

However, in my IRB, I also allowed for individual participants to consent to interviews. This resulted in the inclusion of participants from outside of these four sites and subsequent opportunities to briefly visit several schools other than my main project sites. I describe these other schools collectively to widen my description of local realities for schools operating in Mathare Valley.

Descriptions of other schools visited.

In addition to the three sites I obtained consent from to participate in my case, I was invited to several other schools as a guest during my 2012 field season. While these were often isolated visits, I was able to see and speak to people at more than the three concentrated school sites. The five other schools I visited varied greatly in size and condition and were spread out through Mathare Valley (see Figure 42). Schools were coded as: PS5, PS6, NP, PS8, and PS7. Most visits were a one-time opportunity, while I went to each PS5 and PS6 twice. Thus, I obtained sporadic details about each school based on the nature and time of my visit. I cannot therefore present a total picture of parallel data across all schools.

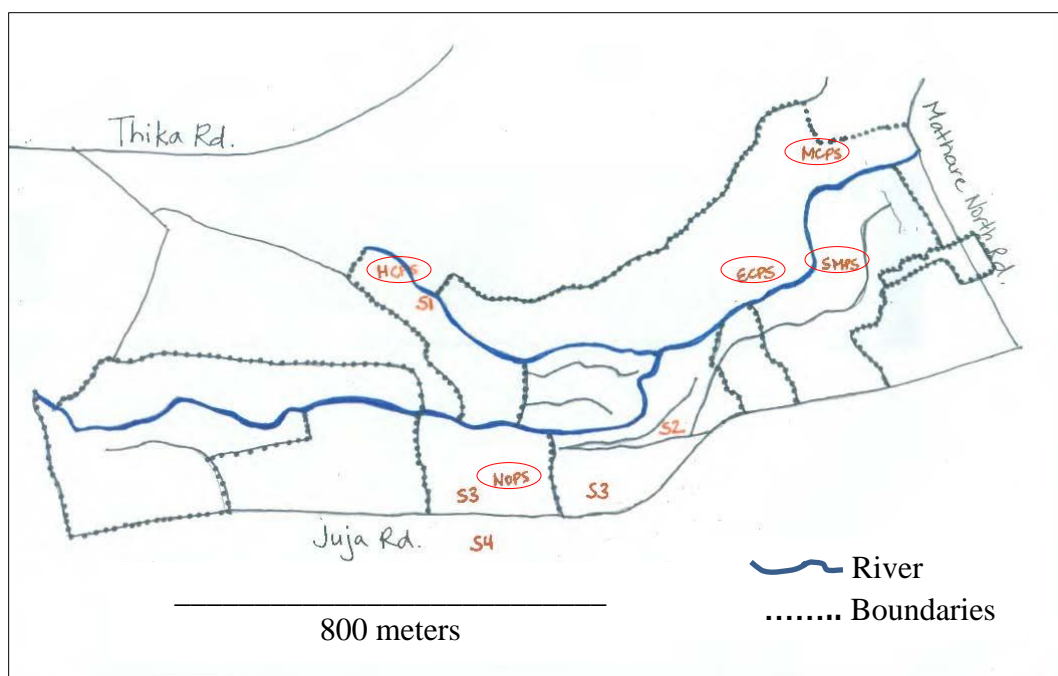


Figure 42. Map of project sites and other schools visited in Mathare Valley.

PS5 is located almost directly next door to Site 1 on the northern rim of the valley. This location puts it in direct competition with Site 1 for students. Additionally competitive is the fact that PS5 school fees, 200 KES (2 USD) are 100-150 KES (1-1.75 USD) less per month than those at Site 1. At the time of my visits, the school was housed in one large building, and there were makeshift partitions between classes (see Figure 43). The original school structure was closer to the river, but they were forced to move because the river flooded often and the school was forced to close (Interviewee 17, July 3, 2012). In describing the new school building, Interviewee 17 alluded to the common thread of “some is better than none” when he declared that current conditions were “not that good, but better than [they] were” (Interview notes, July 3, 2012). The director reported a student enrollment of 256 students from nursery (4 years old) to Standard 7.

There were only six teachers in the school, and they rotated between classes. The school had no on-site water source, no electricity, and no feeding program.



Figure 43. Standards 1-3 in their respective class spaces at PS5



Figure 44. One teacher for Nursery class (4 years old) and Pre-Unit (Kindergarten) at PS5.

Another school I visited as a guest was PS6; it is located on the eastern edge of Mathare near the German slum upgrading project in Village 4A (see Figure 42). PS6 is a

privately owned school that charges a monthly fee of 300 KES (3.50 USD). The school sits on city sewer lines, and 17 classrooms are interspersed between residences (see Figure 45). None of the classrooms were connected so the school had no continuity and very little defined space as an institution. One needed to climb behind the business on the main road to find the office. There was no common space delineated for students to play. Children played around the sewer lines, and a school toilet was perched over the river (see Figure 46). The sewer and the river made the physical location of this high-performing school extremely unhygienic. During heavy rains, the area floods and some classroom space is unusable (Field notes, June 27, 2012).

Classroom construction was mostly of iron sheets, but some cement blocks, as well. The school recently acquired another building in the area, which they partitioned to accommodate three classes and more pit toilets (see Figure 47). I observed electricity in use in one classroom and in the school office. Students were all wearing uniforms on my visits and sat in the commonly-constructed, wooden-bench desks while teachers worked at chalk boards.

The school reported a staff of 23 teachers, most of which are considered “volunteers” because they cannot be paid enough salary to be considered an employee (Interviewee 20, July, 9, 2012). The school was literally brimming with a reported 758 pupils from Preunit (Kindergarten) to Standard 8. This number included an impressive Standard 7 enrollment of over 100 students (Field notes, June 27, 2012). On both occasions that I visited, students were sitting outside of the classrooms because there was not enough space inside classrooms to work independently (see Figure 48). The head teacher with whom I spoke attributed the popularity of the school to its exceptionally

high success rate on the KCPE (Interviewee 20, July 9, 2012). After my interview with the head teacher at PS6, I checked the government records of KCPE scores and confirmed that in 2011 this particular school reported a 100% pass rate. This meant that all of the Standard 8 students from PS6 were eligible for admittance into secondary school. Recently, 2012 KCPE scores were released and PS6 boasted a pass rate of 89% with 50 of its 56 candidates scoring over 250 points out of a possible 500. Despite the fact that conditions at the school were some of the most dire I observed and there is no feeding program, they reportedly enroll students from all across Mathare Valley, as well as some students from outside Mathare Valley.



Figure 45. PS6 classrooms dispersed amongst residences.



Figure 46. Old school toilet facilities at ECCPS.



Figure 47. New school pit toilets at ECCPS share a classroom space.



Figure 48. PS6 classroom perched on the sewer line; unusable during heavy rains.

While PS5 and PS6 were less formal in structure, the three other schools I visited had more permanent construction. PS7 was a relatively new, small school. It is associated with a local church and charges students 750 KES (8.75 USD) per month for tuition. PS7 enrolls approximately 175 students from age three through Standard 8 and employs 12 teachers to instruct them (Dignitas Project, 2012). The school took over a cement block building in the center of Mathare. The rooms were very small and several had no external facing windows to allow for light, but they did have electric lights in some rooms. I estimated rooms to measure approximately 8 feet by 6 feet wide. Students sat 4 to a table. I observed there as a guest with Interviewee 19, and the classroom was too small to accommodate more adults than the teacher. Therefore, we sat outside of the classroom

and watched through an interior facing window (see Figure 49). The PS7 campus appeared devoid of designated outside play area. However, the space was well maintained and furnished with a tap on site and hand washing stations on every level (see Figure 50). PS7 also offers its students a daily meal at lunch time.



Figure 49. Observing from outside the classroom at PS7.



Figure 50. Hand-washing station at PS7.

NP had a somewhat sprawling campus in comparison to other schools and considering the definition of a slum as lacking space. All of the buildings were made of concrete, and classrooms were of considerable size; approximately 10 x 15 feet. There were several buildings in the compound, and it created a well-defined space for the school and its students. I observed a Christian Religious Education (CRE) class wherein three to four students shared a desk and no textbooks were present. According to the Dignitas Project parent guide (2012), at the time of my visit, NP enrolled approximately 440 students and employed 14 teachers. On the occasion of my visit, all students wore

uniforms, and I observed pit toilets on site. The school has a water tank and offers a feeding program to students.

In Chapter 3, I described why I chose to drop NP as a school site due to administrative strife at the school. Prior to visiting NP, I was unsure why a disgruntled headmaster would feel it worthwhile to physically take over the school whose funders refused to support his leadership. The school is proprietor owned, but also receives steady donations from abroad in addition to charging students 300 KES (3.50 USD) per month. After visiting NP, I saw that there was clear value in the physical space and location of this school. Not only was it unique in size and structure, it was clearly well established and therefore has potential to appeal to foreign donors and parents. Over the course of my three trips to Nairobi, I learned more about the social value of physical structure of space when appealing to parents. I also observed and experienced the process of visiting schools as a volunteer. The location of NP allows for visitors and potential donors to see the realities of the slums, but still access the school easily.

Another school with a more permanent structure was PS8. The school is associated with a church and has only been open since 2008 (Personal communication, June 6, 2012). According to the Dignitas Project parent guide (2012), student enrollment in 2012 was approximately 274 with a teaching staff of 17. PS8 had a clear visible presence in its neighborhood. It was a comparatively large structure built into the side of a hill with concrete blocks. The school director gave me a tour and showed me a dispensary and space that they called a lab. The director pointed to the lab as a place for students to receive medical care and diagnoses (Personal communication, June 6, 2012). The lab was a small partitioned area made of plywood with one microscope sitting on a

desk. The school had its own water source and pit toilets on site. There was a kitchen where food was prepared for the students daily (Field notes, June 6, 2012).

There was very little continuity across the schools I observed in Mathare Valley. Tables 8 and 9 include a comparative summary of the schools' basic features. Four schools were made of iron sheets, and four were built from concrete. The five schools that I visited ranged in enrollment from 82 to 440, with teaching forces of six to 23. Reported school fees ranged from 150 KES (1.75 USD) to 750 KES (8.75 USD). Three of the five schools had feeding programs in place at the time of my visit. Some of the schools had large class sizes while others had only a handful of students. Lack of electricity was a commonality I noticed at almost all of the schools I went to in Mathare. Even those that appeared to have the means for electricity were not usually utilizing it. The most common physical characteristics across all of the schools were the construction of student desks and tables and a chalk board in every room (see Figure 38). I observed that students at each school wore uniforms and had notebooks in which to write.

Table 9

Comparative summary of other schools visited in Mathare Valley.

| DESCRIPTIVE CHARACTERISTIC | PS5 | PS6 | PS7 | NP | PS8 |
|----------------------------|------------------------------|------------------------|---------------------|-------------------------------------|---------------------------|
| Location | 4B | 4A | 3B | 4A | Kwa Kariuki |
| Operation | proprietor-owned | proprietor-owned | church | proprietor-owned with foreign board | church |
| Founded | 2006 | 2005 | 2007 | 1992 | 2008 |
| Monthly fee | 150-250 KES | 300 KES | 750 KES | 300 KES | 300 KES |
| Instruction offered | Baby-Std 8 | Baby-Std 8 | Baby-Std 8 | Baby-Std 8 | Baby-Std 8 |
| # students | 82 | 616 | 175 | 440 | 274 |
| # teachers | 6 | 23 | 12 | 14 | 17 |
| Uniforms | Required | Required | Required | Required | Required |
| Electricity | YES; but not observed in use | YES | YES | YES | NO |
| Classroom structure | Partitioned; iron sheets | Iron sheets and blocks | Cement block | Cement block | Partitioned; cement block |
| Bathrooms | Community toilets | Pit toilets on site | Pit toilets on site | Pit toilets on site | Pit toilets on site |
| Water | Purchased | Water tank | Tap on site | Water tank | Tap on site |
| Food | NO | NO | YES | YES | YES |

The descriptions of these nine educational sites in Mathare Valley related to Research Questions 2 and 3 are aimed at providing a complete description of the case. My research is attempting a descriptive case study as defined by Yin (2003). I included multiple case sites with the goal of providing an “intense description of a bounded system” (Yin, 2003, p. 5). In this case, the bounded system is the community of Mathare Valley. Describing these various sites also contributed to my triangulation of data

through the use of multiple sites. In the following section, I continue to describe the case by detailing the participants in my case who represent the voices I wish to amplify through my research.

Overview of Participants in My Case

In the previous section I provided a description of sites as an introduction to the general working conditions and contextual factors as they pertain to my Research Questions 2 and 3. . In the following section I introduce the participants involved in the study. There is limited representation in the literature about the characteristics of school personnel at nongovernment schools in the Mathare Valley slums. Articulating the characteristics of study participants provides insight about the actors on the micro level of this phenomenon. Additionally, the details forthcoming established the context and critical lens for analyzing the experiences shared in interviews and questionnaires.

Initially, I asked my ideal sample, all teachers and administrators at participating sites, to answer a questionnaire on paper to be analyzed qualitatively. I distributed 82 questionnaires at the four project sites. I had a return rate of 51% which meant a real sample of 42 questionnaires. I collected and coded questionnaire data while I was in the field, and in more depth when I returned to the United States (see Appendix F). The questionnaire included items about education, professional experience, areas of need, and professional development (Appendix B). Therefore, the questionnaire responses provided informative, descriptive statistics about educators working in Mathare Valley, which I will use to describe my participants below.

Questionnaire respondents

I disseminated the questionnaire to participants in the four major sites: Site 1, Site 2, Site 3, and Site 4. However, since one of those sites is a non-profit organization that works with teachers from schools all over Mathare Valley, the respondents there represented several other nongovernment schools in Mathare. To maintain anonymity, the questionnaire respondents were not required to indicate their current school, so I only could confirm the work location for those who volunteered the information. Thus, I know that the questionnaire respondents represent at least seven nongovernment schools in Mathare Valley. The directors did not complete the questionnaire, and at least one interviewee that I know of did not complete a questionnaire.

There were 42 respondents, including 22 males and 20 females (see Table 4 in Chapter 3). Of the 42 respondents, 25 currently live in Mathare (see Figure 51). Sixteen teachers said they commute into Mathare daily to teach. The questionnaires indicated that only six participants out of 42 attended primary school in Mathare. Upon designing this study, my assumption was that it would be difficult to recruit teachers from outside the slums. Therefore, I anticipated educators would mostly represent a largely localized population more historically rooted in the community. While many of the respondents currently live in Mathare Valley, few of them grew up there. I was also surprised to learn that so many teachers were traveling for work because after my interviews I concluded that living outside of Mathare cost participants up to 20% of their salary. I will discuss this issue further in future sections.

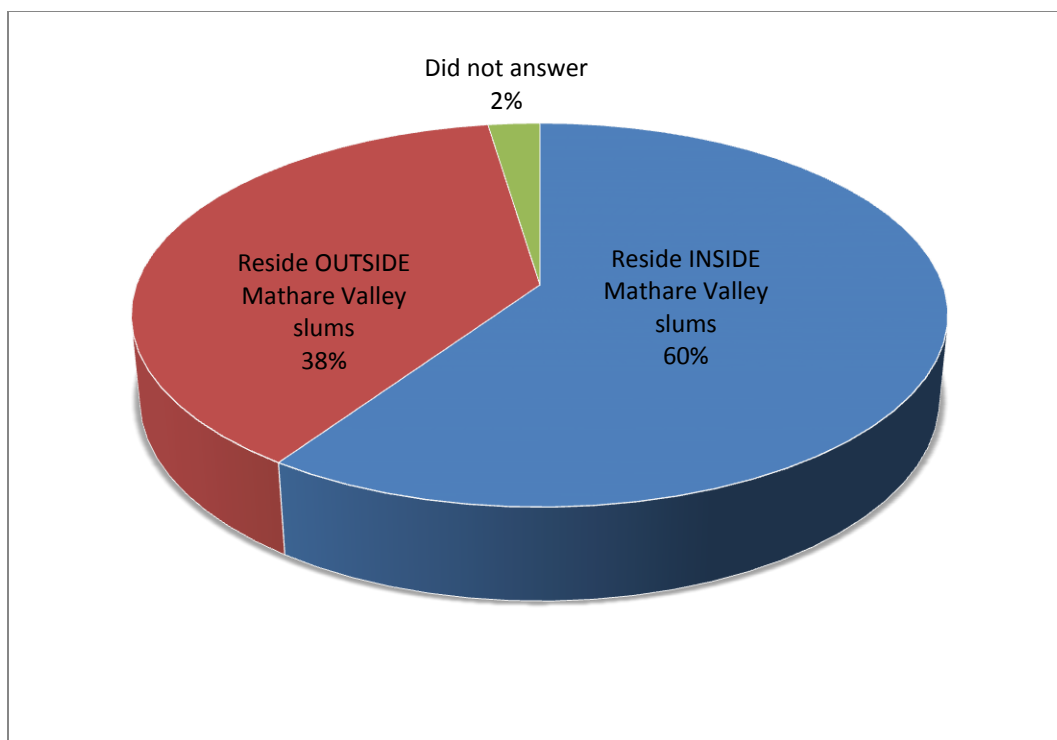


Figure 51. Questionnaire #3: Do you currently live in Mathare Valley?

According to questionnaire data, three teachers have been in the classroom for more than 10 years. The large majority of teachers surveyed have been teaching for 3-10 years. The largest response represented teachers who have been teaching for 6-10 years. However, the majority of responses to the question of how long teachers have been at their current school were less than one year (see Figure 52). The disparity between the number of years teaching and the number of years at their current school connected to a subtheme that emerged in interview data analysis. First, the idiom of “greener pastures” was a reoccurring theme referring to the constant search for something better (Interview, June 19, 2012; June 26, 2012; June 28, 2012; July 2, 2012). The questionnaire data appeared to corroborate this idea that teachers in Mathare move around looking for

stability and salary amongst these private schools and I will discuss this further in later sections of the case findings.

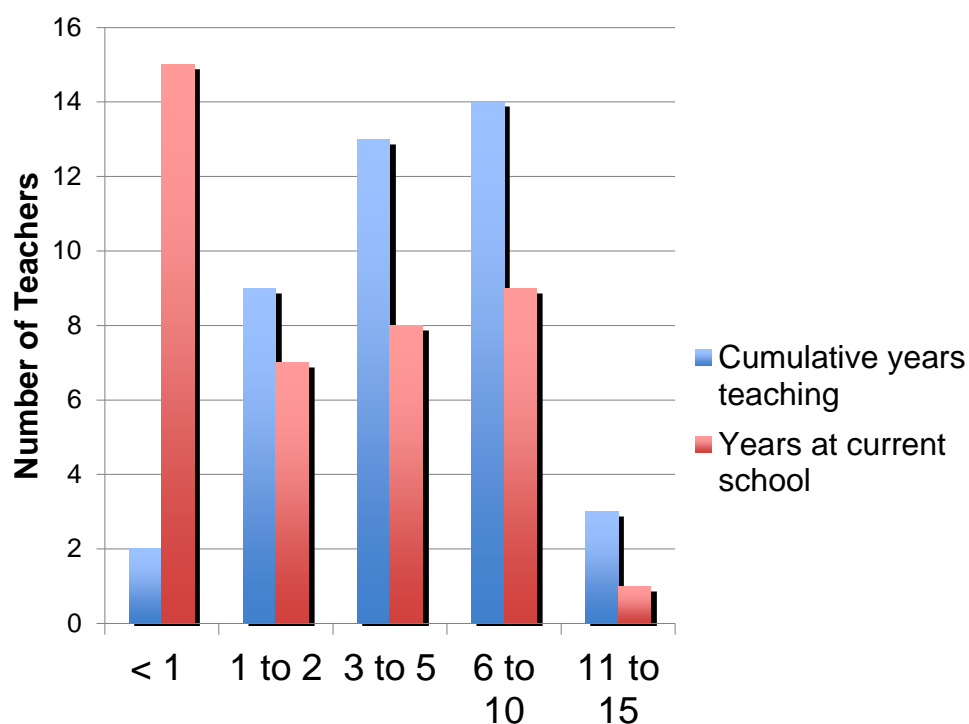


Figure 52. Representation of answers to Questions 8 & 9 on research questionnaire; How long have you been teaching? How long have you been teaching at your current school?

Interviewees

For my interviews, I prepared an interview protocol (Appendix C) with guiding questions reflective of the job description of interviewees. Twenty interview participants represented seven nongovernment schools and one non-profit organization (see Table 4). I interviewed no less than two people at each of my four major sites, Site 1, Site 2, Site 3, and Site 4. However, I also included individual interview volunteers whom I accessed through the non-profit organization, Site 4, which expanded the work location of my interviewees. Not all interviewees were questionnaire participants. There were 11 male and 9 female interviewees. This ratio was well-representative of school personnel

populations. Two interviewees did not work for nongovernment schools; they were the director and head teacher at Site 4, a non-profit organization dedicated to supporting teachers and schools in Mathare Valley. Eighteen interviewees qualified as school personnel. Only one of those (Interviewee 5) had no classroom teaching responsibilities. I interviewed the director at each of the three school sites, as well as 3-5 other teachers, respectively. Job titles for school personnel involved in the study included: Director, Head Teacher, Teacher, and Accountant (see Table 4 in Chapter 3). From the 18 interviewees representing school personnel, 11 indicated some level of higher education beyond secondary school. Five of those referenced college in a field other than education, and the rest have either diplomas or certificates in education. This was different than questionnaire responses where 19 respondents said they have a teaching certificate, and only one indicated a bachelor's degree (Appendix F). One difference is that interview participants included school directors. Four out of five of the school directors I spoke with had a bachelor's degree.

Of the school personnel I interviewed, only four people grew up in Mathare Valley, but 10 live there currently. Amongst those who did not grow up in Mathare, all but one came from rural areas originally. The most common responses for what brought them to Nairobi and subsequently Mathare were looking for work or school. Three women also cited following their husbands as their reason for moving to Nairobi. Half of the interviewees who moved to Nairobi from rural areas indicated that they had family members living in Mathare Valley upon arrival.

Details about the project sites and research participants serve as an introduction to the general descriptions and working conditions of nongovernment schools in Mathare

Valley as they pertain to my Research Questions 2 and 3. Research Question 2 asked about the general conditions of and identified issues in selected nongovernment schools operating in Mathare Valley slums. Question 3 asked about the working conditions for school personnel in these selected schools. My set of respondents and interviewees represented a relatively even distribution of gender (see Table 4) and teaching experience. I considered this to be a solid data set and representative of the context. Next, I present the thematic findings that emerged from my interactions with my research participants in the field. Thematic findings emerged in my data in the form of common sentiments and interconnected concepts such as testing, money, space, and hope.

Thematic Findings

After I coded data gathered in the field, my analysis produced several large themes. I identified the themes from the number of occurrences of codes across project sites, amongst a considerable number of participants, or both. In Table 5 in Chapter 3, I provide a complete list of codes with occurrences to serve as a reference for my ensuing thematic discussions. Within some codes I saw elemental nuances. For example, while I recorded the code for FEES (issues with school fees) 23 times, within that issue there were specific issues identified. Examples include the act of collecting school fees from parents (Interviewee 3, June 27, 2012), the need for sensitivity while collecting school fees depending on one's location (Interviewee 5, June 19, 2012), and the way that rationale for charging school fees can be based on successful KCPE rates (Interviewee 1, June 19, 2012). Therefore, I organized my codes in Table 10 to illustrate these thematic findings.

Table 10

Research findings themes derived from focused coding.

| Focused Codes | Occurr. | Relevancy to Theme(s) | | | |
|---------------|---------|-----------------------|--------------|--------------|---------------------|
| | | <i>Hope</i> | <i>Money</i> | <i>Space</i> | <i>Test Culture</i> |
| SOC RELA | 56 | X | X | X | X |
| SALARY | 34 | X | X | | X |
| ENVNT | 30 | | | X | |
| FOOD | 30 | X | X | | |
| BOOK | 28 | | X | | X |
| PARENT | 27 | | X | | X |
| G/C | 26 | X | | | |
| KCPE | 25 | | | | X |
| CALLING | 23 | X | X | | X |
| FEES | 23 | | X | X | X |
| TRAIN | 23 | X | X | | X |
| COMM | 23 | X | | X | X |
| GOVT | 22 | X | X | X | X |
| KEEP | 20 | | X | | |
| ACCT | 19 | | X | | X |
| MODEL | 18 | X | | | |
| GREEN | 18 | X | X | | X |
| MOTIV | 18 | | X | | |
| TRANSP | 17 | | X | | |
| ENROLL | 17 | | X | X | X |
| VALUE | 17 | X | X | | X |
| DONOR | 16 | X | X | X | |
| PSYCHE | 15 | X | X | | X |
| POVERTY | 14 | X | X | X | X |
| BUSN | 14 | | X | X | X |
| TALENT | 13 | | | X | X |
| IRREV | 11 | X | | | X |
| RENT | 11 | | X | X | |
| MOVE | 10 | | X | | X |
| SBTN | 10 | X | X | X | |
| TEST | 10 | X | X | | X |
| VIOL | 9 | | | X | |
| INSEC | 7 | X | X | X | |

The thematic findings herein represent the common sentiments most frequently expressed and observed during my field research in Mathare Valley. I discuss four major thematic insights in this section: 1) the testing culture, 2) money, 3) space, and 4) hope.

Similar to the way the major themes overlap one another, four common threads emerged across the major themes. Common threads that ran through the data included 1) the attitude that “some is better than none,” 2) a habit of looking for “greener pastures,” 3) the role and value of social relationships, and 4) insecurity. I chose to present my data in this format as a multi-dimensional approach to answering my research questions. When I did that, I saw the definition of major issues emerge (Appendix N). Even so, within some codes there were elemental nuances. These nuances formed subthemes and common threads.

Research Questions 1 and 4 address participants’ perspectives on education. Research Questions 2 and 3 both address physical and psychological conditions of working. The influence of physical conditions on perspective was inextricable, and the common threads I listed interlinked all of my research questions. Therefore, multiple research questions are represented in each theme. An example of the interconnectedness of my research findings across research questions lay in the common thread of social relationships. The most reiterated code in my analysis of data sets referred to *the role and value of social relationships* in this slum context (56 occurrences). Social relationships were clearly an overwhelming detail relevant to every aspect of working in Mathare Valley. However, social relationships are not represented as a major thematic section in my presentation of the case. Rather, I highlight the role of social relationships as a common thread throughout each of the four major themes. In Table 10, I listed focused codes with relevancy to themes. This way, I was able to see the interwoven nature of themes and the existence of common threads. Figure 53 illustrates the details of each theme as they relate to social relationships, and I refer to the figure in each section for

thematic findings. In addition to its presence here in Chapter 4, I discuss the manner in which relationships are woven through the social fabric of Mathare Valley in the conclusions in Chapter 5 as a significant finding.

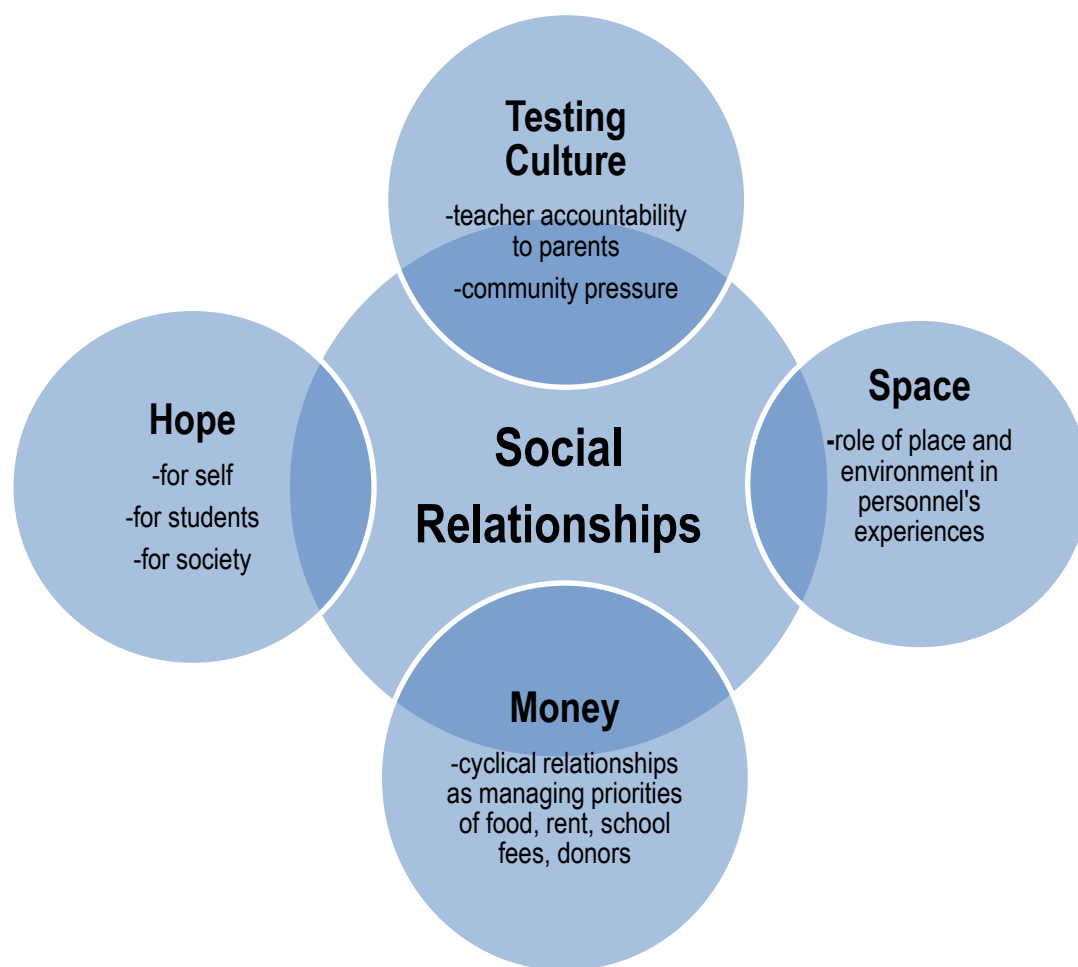


Figure 53. The “social relationships” common thread.

Testing Culture: Thematic Findings and Common Threads

The first major theme in my findings addressed my first research question about relevant, contemporary features of Kenyan education policy. The concept of testing and a testing culture were coded as TEST and occurred 10 times in interview data. However, other codes closely related to testing included:

- a) 844 (8-4-4 education model), 4 occurrences
- b) FPE (Free Primary Education Policy) 11 occurrences
- c) HS (reference to moving on to secondary school), 5 occurrences
- d) KCPE (KCPE scores as related to success), 25 occurrences
- e) TALENT (student talent development), 13 occurrences
- f) TECH (technology in school/curriculum), 7 occurrences

Figure 54 illustrates the findings of my case in relation to Research Question 1. Three subthemes emerged from the data regarding my question about relevant, contemporary features of Kenyan education policy: 1) the 8-4-4 education model, 2) FPE, and 3) the Kenya National Curriculum. Interview data focused on the features educators saw as relevant to their needs. The concept of relevancy was represented across the three subthemes. Connecting all of these issues was that of money. Money is a cyclical issue that I discuss in detail in the next section, but also played a role in establishing a testing culture in these nongovernment schools.

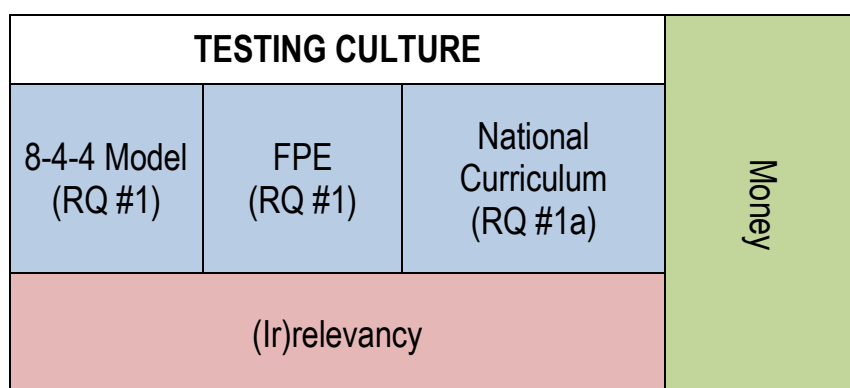


Figure 54. Construction of the Testing Culture theme

After speaking to school personnel in nongovernment schools about their understanding of and experience with FPE and the Kenya National Curriculum, issues of relevancy and recognition arose in their responses. Despite being nongovernment schools, each of the school sites and its employees claimed to follow the Kenyan national curriculum. The main goal of schools appeared to be high passing rates on the KCPE, the exit exam students in Standard 8 take to qualify for secondary school. Following the

national curriculum was the identified way to accomplish that goal. Even so, there were aspects of the curriculum that were identified as irrelevant to the slum context. Each school personnel I interviewed spoke of the FPE policy in Kenya and how they saw it affecting those in Mathare Valley. Again, the sentiment of irrelevancy came up in regards to the effect of FPE on slum residents, as interviewees expressed the little long-term impact it had in the community. The FPE policy also brought forth issues of finance that will be discussed in the section regarding money as a thematic finding. Another subtheme identified in the findings was that of the role of social relationships in regards to a testing culture. School personnel regularly referred to the community's perception of test scores (10 occurrences) and the subsequent business model of running a nongovernment school (14 occurrences). Altogether, these dimensions formed a representation of what I identified as a "testing culture." The emphasis on KCPE permeated each of my interviews (25 occurrences) and showed itself to be the most relevant feature of the current Kenyan education policy to the nongovernment schools in my case. Next, I connect to findings on Kenyan education policies to the global to local continuum and compare the ideal to the real. I discuss further implications of these issues in Chapter 5, as well.

Contemporary, relevant features of the Kenyan education policy

My first research question addressed the contemporary features of Kenyan education policy and its relevance in nongovernment schools in Mathare Valley. The main issues that emerged forth in the data regarding education policy were the national curriculum, KCPE, and FPE. Other relevant features of the policy included references to private schools in Kenya's newly approved Basic Education Bill.

The Basic Education Bill passed in Kenya in 2012. This bill confirms that primary education for any child who was born in Kenya or resides in Kenya is both free and compulsory. Therefore, “a parent who fails to take his or her child to school as required...commits an offence” (Kenya Ministry of Education, 2012, p. 26). I heard this proviso reiterated in a parent meeting at one of my school sites in Mathare Valley. In a conversation about how to improve the school’s finances, parents began to share income-generating ideas. One suggestion was to look around their respective neighborhoods for prospective students to enroll. One parent stood up to support this idea by reminding the group that they may encourage the other parents by highlighting the fact that the government has the right to arrest parents who are not sending their children to school (Observation field notes, June 18, 2012).

According to The Basic Education Bill (2012), no private school should exist without being registered under the Act. According to article 49 in Part VII of the Act, private schools should recruit registered teachers, comply with the national curriculum, maintain “premises that meet the requirements of the occupational health, safety regulations and building standards,” and provide evidence that pupils are making reasonable educational progress based on results of nationally recognized standardized achievement tests (Kenya Ministry of Education, 2012, p. 38). On two occasions during my field season, head teachers mentioned that they had been called to meetings where the City Council was encouraging all nongovernment schools to register with the Ministry of Education (Interviewee 2, July 2, 2012; Interviewee 11, July 2, 2012). Many schools in the slums like Site 1 have been, and still are, registered with the Ministry of Gender and Social Services instead. This finding corroborates reports by Stern and Heyneman (2013),

who claimed that their fieldwork indicated far more nongovernment schools in operation in Nairobi than the number of registered schools suggests. The government requirements for registration have historically been, and still seem to be, a contradiction to the very environment in which schools in the slums operate and are therefore irrelevant to their realities. Appendix L is a policy document from Kenya's Ministry of Education (2013) illustrating this mismatch between the ideal and real in regards to school registration. Requirements for registration include titles to land, open space for play, and certified teachers, all items that are particularly difficult for nongovernment schools in the slums to procure.

National curriculum and 8-4-4 model.

The Kenyan education system is structured in an 8-4-4 model and was adopted in 1985. The 8-4-4 model of education currently in place has students completing eight years of primary school and taking the KCPE at the end to qualify for secondary school. A successful four years of secondary school may lead to four years of university study.

When I asked participants about their impressions and experiences with the national education policy, the most common response was about the breadth of content in the national curriculum. Director Interviewee 11 said that the curriculum was too “bulk(y)” (June 18, 2012). Similarly, director Interviewee 1 used the descriptor, “wide” (June 19, 2012). Candidly, teacher GJMT said that the national curriculum “will make [students] grow thin” because there was so many subject areas and associated books that one needed to carry (June 26, 2012). According to the Primary Education Syllabus (2008b), lower primary classes (Standard 1-3) are responsible for 33 lessons of 30 minutes each per week. Upper primary classes (Standard 4-8) have 35 lessons of 35

minutes each. Subjects include: English, Kiswahili, mathematics, science, religious education, Mother Tongue, physical education, and creative arts (Kenya Ministry of Education, 2008b).

According to the Primary Education Syllabus (2008), participants' concerns about the content load have been heard. The introduction to the syllabus addressed the issue of overload and claimed to have reduced the number of subjects and content as a response (KIE, 2008, p. iii). Simultaneously, the curriculum adopted new learning areas such as creative arts which include music, art, and craft. The subject area of science now included aspects of technology, agriculture, and environmental education. Social studies was also a new term in 2008; previously labeled as geography, history and civics (GHC), the curriculum now includes business education and also environment education (KIE, 2008, p. iii).

Not only is the national curriculum broad for students, but it also is for teachers. The need for teacher training was a common response to Question 19 on the questionnaire about future success (9 occurrences). Question 16 regarding areas for professional development also revealed a desire to increase subject knowledge (see Figure 64). Related to school personnel's interest in and concern for the curriculum content was the finding that not one of my participating sites had access to an up-to-date Primary Education Syllabus. During my first week in Nairobi I went to the KIE, which publishes all of the syllabi and official national curriculum materials. I was unable to procure a Primary Education Syllabus and was told that it would be impossible to get one before I left the country (Personal communication with KIE employee, June 8, 2012). The most recent syllabus I was able to borrow from a project site was printed in 2008.

Another school had a single copy for all of the teachers to share that was printed in 2002. As previously mentioned, over the course of my field work, I visited KIE several and spent 3,000 KES (35 USD) on curriculum materials related to the Kenya National Curriculum, but I was unable to get the one thing for which I went. The cost of this endeavor alone may be prohibitive for nongovernment schools in attempting to implement the national curriculum. I learned from Interviewee 19 that apparently KIE has been “out” of primary syllabi for quite some time (Field notes, June 27, 2012). The blocking factor of an ill-equipped KIE is also significant in considering the experiences of nongovernment employees.

Table 11

Questionnaire # 19: Needs for future success

| Q19 | |
|---------------------------------|--------------------|
| Needs for future success | Occurrences |
| Parent cooperation | 10 |
| Teacher salary | 12 |
| Books and learning materials | 10 |
| High goals and expectations | 3 |
| Hard work and teamwork | 7 |
| Student discipline | 4 |
| Food | 2 |
| Improved classroom facilities | 9 |
| Administration | 5 |
| Teacher training | 9 |

My observation protocol was not for the purpose of evaluating teacher performance; however, I did compile notes regarding what I saw as part of keeping a comprehensive reflexive journal. I had several entries in which I expressed dismay about insubstantial and even misinformation being presented by teachers (Observation notes, June 14, 21 & 26, 2012; July 2, 2012). While recognizing the long hours, effort, and little reward teachers in Mathare receive, my observation notes revealed that in many cases,

the teachers appeared unfamiliar with the curriculum content. One example was a Standard 6 lesson about mammals I observed during a science lesson (Observation notes, June 14, 2012). For the entirety of the lesson, I documented that the only examples of mammals discussed were “whales, seals, spiny anteaters, and the duckbilled platypus.” There was no connection made to student realities in a meaningful way that demonstrated an understanding of real-world application (Reflexive journal, July 2, 2012). Students at this particular school could have looked out the window and seen several examples of mammals like dogs, pigs, and goats, roaming around outside their class. This led to a student question about mammals’ body temperature. She inquired about why, if humans are warm blooded, their bodies go cold when they die. The teacher responded by saying that the body does stay warm, and that proper scientific instruments are required to test blood temperature; so to say that the blood goes cold after death just because the skin goes cold was incorrect on the part of the student (Observation notes, June 14, 2012).

The 8-4-4 model contributes to a culture that leans heavily on examinations. Results on the KCPE are the gate keeper to secondary school. Therefore, KCPE scores were identified by interviewees as a major contributor to nongovernment school success (25 occurrences). It is this natural connection that led me to the discussion of KCPE results in the findings in the next section.

KCPE results.

Consistent with a constant comparative analytic design, I began coding my interviews and questionnaires in the field. Soon after I began interviewing, I added a follow-up question for interviews that asked whether Standard 8 KCPE scores were the most important factor of success for nongovernment schools. According to my

interviewees, pass rates serve as advertisement for the school and thus contribute to teachers' reported feelings of pressure and accountability (Interviewee 10, June 20, 2012; Interviewee 8, June 21, 2012; Interviewee 13, June 26, 2012; Interviewee 3, June 27, 2012; Interviewee 17, July 3, 2012; Interviewee 20, July 9, 2012) . Scholarly literature relayed perceptions of parents regarding private schools as better because of teacher accountability (Oketch et al., 2009). Cross referencing interviewees with the school site led me to the conclusion that this sentiment was corroborated by school personnel at each school site. School personnel compared themselves regularly to public school teachers. The basic construction of the argument was that public school teachers get paid the same regardless of how many children fill the desks or how they score on the tests. For private schools however, failure to bring in pupils or pass the tests means that they will not eat. Thus, I heard tales of how the current system has created schools that are “coaching” for the test as opposed to teaching (Interviewee 11, July 2, 2012; Interviewee 19, July 9, 2012; Interviewee 20, July 9, 2012).

The 8-4-4 model that puts students through eight years of primary school with a gate-keeper to secondary school in the form of the KCPE exit exam appeared to be contradictory in light of the new Basic Education Bill. In addition to free and compulsory primary school, secondary school is now included as compulsory, but not free (Republic of Kenya, 2012). It seemed irreconcilable to me that an institution can require attendance in secondary school while simultaneously excluding students based on performance. Section 28 in Part IV of the Basic Education Bill specifically regards compulsory primary and secondary education and states that every child in Kenya shall attend school (Republic of Kenya, 2012). However, the KCPE tests students in English, Mathematics,

Kiswahili, Science, and social studies, and scores must be 250 out of 500 possible points to guarantee students' progression to secondary school. According to the director, Interviewee 11, rather than producing well-rounded children, this model has children "as young as 12 years old devastated that they have no future" (Interview, July 2, 2012). The sentiment of "no future" was represented in a column in Kenya's Standard Digital news, as well. Agade (2013) wrote on the eve of KCPE results dissemination and compared the stress level of Kenyan students to the infamous trend of suicide in Japan.

(Ir)relevancy.

Teacher trainer, Interviewee 19, suggested that as a culture, [Kenyans] need to move beyond KCPE scores; "good scores should go hand in hand with child development" (Interview, June 29, 2012). This connected with the most repeated concern I heard as voiced by participants regarding the national curriculum. School personnel at each participating school site identified nonacademic areas in which they felt their students thrive (Interviewee 1, June 19, 2012; Interviewee 5, June 19, 2012; Interviewee 9, June 20, 2012; Interviewee 11, June 18 & 21, 2012; Interviewee 16, June 28; Interviewee 20, July 9, 2012). This connected to the idea that the national curriculum does not promote talent development in a manner that these educators see as being relevant for their students in the Mathare Valley. Educators expressed the value of sports and the arts as a vehicle for young people in the Mathare to improve their lives. Things like Life Skills and physical education were not being taught; rather, teachers used this time to teach mathematics (Interviewee 19, June 27, 2012). I saw this as another reflection of the testing culture; developing the talents of children cannot afford to be a focus because survival relies on test scores.

An example of the relevancy of sport and talent development occurred while I was in the director's office at Site 1 one afternoon. A father and son from the neighborhood came to the school to speak to the director about authorizing some paperwork. The 16 year old boy was selected for an elite team to travel with the Mathare Youth and Sport Association to play soccer in Norway (Observation field notes, June 21, 2012). Conditions of inclusion on the traveling team required the players to be enrolled in school. The boy's father pleaded with Interviewee 11 to attest to the fact that the boy attended school even though, in reality, the boy had never been enrolled in any school in his life. Interviewee 11 agreed to authorize the boy's paperwork on the condition that the boy comes to school every day for one month. I observed Interviewee 11 beseech both the father and son to see this as an opportunity for education and to "sacrifice" for one month; Interviewee 11 agreed to waive school fees if the father would buy a uniform and if the boy would make the effort to spend 30 days in class. With those conditions, Interviewee 11 said he would sign the paper, and if after one month the boy wanted to quit, he could. "I know you can play very well, but you can't play forever," he said (Observation field notes, June 21, 2012). After the family left, Interviewee 11 expounded upon his desire for talent development to be represented in the national curriculum. He said that he wanted to attract and support students in school; he recognized that these activities were a viable way to do so. He advocated a more holistic approach to education because the way the system is now, "exams determine the child's future" (Interviewee 11, June 21, 2012).

Additionally, another of my participants referred to his own experiences declaring his support for the inclusion of more space for talent development in schools. He

explained that he did not have the opportunity to attend primary school when he was young. However, when he was a teenager, he was noticed in church and was recruited to attend secondary school as a singer. For a man that has now dedicated his life to education, the link between fostering nonacademic talents and educational attainment and success were clear (Interviewee 2, July 2, 2012). To address these strengths of Mathare youth, schools like Site 2 started after school programs like the Kids Club and the Teens Club (Interviewee 5, June 19, 2012). These clubs serve to identify and nurture student talents. Observation notes showed evidence that outside pursuit of extracurricular talents has brought resources and recognition to all three of the school sites. A visit to the Site 3 website highlights numerous students who earned sponsorships through talent competition. Interviewee 11 displayed several trophies in the office for students' pursuits in sports. While I was in Nairobi, Site 2 youth performed short plays in the community about relevant health issues. These efforts increase the schools' profile for both perspective parents and potential donors.

In addition to the absence of talent development, another area in which participants felt the national curriculum was irrelevant to them was in regards to technology (7 occurrences). The Kenya National Curriculum includes technology requirements that are especially difficult for people in the Mathare Valley to meet. Computer literacy and technology elements are part of both social studies and science curriculum (KIE, 2008). Electricity was the first issue in meeting technology requirements. According to the Primary Education Syllabus (2008), one objective of primary education in Kenya should be to develop awareness and appreciation of the role of technology in national development and therefore impact national development. None

of my three participating school sites used electricity. Securing computers was another obstacle. Not only do schools need to worry about acquiring computers and other technology, but then they have to worry about safe keeping (Interviewee 11, July 2, 2012). The financial commitment required for meeting technology standards such as computer literacy is out of reach for most nongovernment schools in Mathare. Even so, school personnel expressed an understanding that students must have exposure to computers in order to succeed in secondary school. The idea that students from their school would always be at a disadvantage in this regard came up in several interviews (Interviewee 5, June 19, 2012; Interviewee 1, June 19, 2012; Interviewee 2, July 2, 2012).

Exclusion from necessary curricular elements like technology served to illustrate a sentiment first introduced in response to Mathare educators' impressions of the FPE policy. The most common response to this question was a version of the sentiment that FPE was "not for us" (Interviewee 11, June 21, 2012). I coded these responses as IRREV (irrelevance) and it occurred 11 times in the interview data set. I noted in my reflexive journal that the general responses to this question were very subdued and short (Reflexive journal, June 22, 2012). The FPE was implemented swiftly in 2003 as a fulfillment of a campaign promise. However, this policy was not accompanied by the resources to provide enough schools and teachers to effectively manage the influx of students (Dixon, Tooley, & Schagen, 2013; Oketch et al., 2010; Oketch & Somerset, 2010). Similarly, in the most recent election, President Uhuru Kenyatta pledged to provide free solar-powered laptops to all Standard 1 students beginning in 2014. The implementation of this promise and its consequences are yet to be seen (Wokabi, 2013).

FPE policy.

In the preceding sections I addressed elements of the Kenyan education policy that largely regarded curriculum. The other feature of Kenya's education policy that was crucial for me to address was that of the FPE policy. The selected nongovernment schools in my study operate as fee-charging institutions in the face of a "free" primary education policy. As I discussed in Chapter 2, FPE was initiated in 2003 to alleviate the cost-sharing model of public education.

In response to my interview question about the impact of the FPE policy, Interviewee 1 claimed that student enrollment at Site 3 actually increased because of FPE. He described a "mass exodus" from Site 3 in 2003, but that parents soon discovered the government schools were ineffective because of large enrollment numbers, and there was fallout back to nongovernment schools (Interview notes, June 19, 2012). According to this school director, FPE was most beneficial for those Kenyans who were not attending school at all. His claim was that FPE did not impact students who were already going to school. This was similar to claims by Nishimura & Yamano (2008) that numbers claiming an increased enrollment of a million children post-FPE may not have been accurate. Even now, Vision 2030 has educational initiatives aimed at focusing on increasing FPE opportunities for children in arid and semi-arid areas. Slum communities are not included on this urgent list of initiatives. In conversation about the impact and relevancy of Kenyan education policy on Mathare Valley residents, one participant claimed that "we are in a forgotten part of the world" (DPM, Interview, June 27, 2012).

Another feature of the education policy that was relevant to nongovernment schools was reported as "SIMBA accounts" (Interviewee 11, June 21, 2012; Interviewee

1, July 10, 2012; Interviewee 5, July 11, 2012). Post FPE, the government set up a program for School Instructional Materials Bank Accounts (SIMBA) where participating schools were provided with funds to support textbook acquisition. Appendix H is a letter from the Ministry of Education, Science & Technology (MOEST) announcing the appropriation of these funds to nongovernment schools.

SIMBA accounts were applied for by nongovernment schools, and if awarded, schools were given money earmarked for textbooks. Two of the three school sites which participated in my research were approved for SIMBA accounts. Appendix I is a letter from MOEST to Site 1 awarding the SIMBA funds. Participating schools with which I spoke received funds for 1 to 2 years, but have not received any support since 2008. Neither had any explanation for why funds stopped. A head teacher I interviewed claimed that the funding was discriminatory and the inconsistency caused it to “lose meaning” (Interviewee 2, July 2, 2012). Even so, Interviewee 11 faithfully keeps records for the Quality and Assurance office so that Site 1 will be prepared when there may be funds in the future. This type of participation and insecurity was reflected in observations from my field notes, as well (Observation field notes, June 26, 2012). An example of the ways these nongovernment schools seemed to be trying to grasp at what they can come at the time of my first scheduled meeting with head teacher, Interviewee 2. Interviewee 2 had to postpone our first arranged time because that morning the school was called to a meeting by the Ministry of Education. Interviewee 2 missed class and paid transport downtown for a meeting in regards to an unknown topic. After he and an estimated 300 other teachers waited 2 hours for the meeting to begin, at 1 pm, the meeting was cancelled. Before he left, he spoke about how even though the school gets little to no

acknowledgement or support from the government [they] feel like they have to go to all meetings because if they do not, they may be marginalized or left out of programs (Observation field notes, June 26, 2012).

Although inconsistent, SIMBA funds were intended by the government to be spent on student textbooks (Appendix I). However, Interviewee 11 explained that nongovernment schools have to make decisions about priorities for the schools' unique needs. Appendix K is a letter from Site 1 to MOEST explaining that the SIMBA funds they were furnished were not enough for all of the students enrolled. MOEST awarded Site 1 funds based on an enrollment of 326 students, when in reality, Site 1 had 618 students to serve. Interviewee 11 admitted that Site 1 did not use those SIMBA funds for textbooks. He said that rent and teacher salaries were bigger priorities than providing a text for every student (Interview notes, June 21, 2012). Discussions about FPE and SIMBA accounts illuminated a common thread that I coded "SBTN," which stood for "some is better than none." Director of Site 3 discussed the purchasing of textbooks with SIMBA funds in these terms. While questionnaire responses did reflect a need for more resources and texts, interviewees consistently responded that a 1/3 book to student ratio was "good enough" (Interviewee 1, June 19, 2012). The need for materials was triangulated across data sources. With 10 occurrences, books and learning materials appeared third in the ranking on questionnaires for what will be most important for schools' future success (see Table 12). On the question regarding challenges of working at their current school, questionnaire respondents marked "lack of materials" 11 times, which meant that nine other factors were considered more challenging (see Figure 56).

However, I recorded the code BOOK, which represented teaching materials as a need, 28 times in interview analysis (see Table 5).

The “social relationships” common thread and the testing culture

Another common thread of the testing culture that I observed and heard regarded social relationships and pressure to send children to school. School personnel spoke about this social pressure and I observed it in parent meetings, as well. Teachers reported that some parents will arbitrarily send children to school because of the increasing awareness and social value put on education post FPE. Head-teacher Interviewee 6 said that people in Mathare will chastise parents if it is known that their child is not in school (Interview notes, June 20, 2012). This example was given in response to a question about how it is possible that low performing nongovernment schools manage to stay open. Multiple school directors explained to me that some entrepreneurs in Mathare open schools with little to no resources or educational motivation (Interviewee 11, July 2, 2012; Interviewee 17, July 3, 2012). They charge as little as 50 KES (.50 USD) per month. The impression of interviewees was that parents who do not understand or value education will seek out these schools to send their children only to avoid social scrutiny (Interviewee 6, June 20, 2012; Interviewee 17, July 3, 2012). This is important when considering teachers' complaints about parents in Mathare not valuing education. Sending children to school so as not to be seen by neighbors with children at home does not necessarily translate to valuing education. As previously mentioned, I witnessed a parent meeting where parents were expressing ideas for how to bolster the school's success (Field notes, June 10, 2012). Several parents corroborated the idea of seeking out parents of young people they see out of school. Parents in the meeting all agreed that they see children out of school

and know people in their neighborhoods who do not send their children to school. Dialogue in the meeting got very excited around the fact that those parents should do whatever is necessary to send their children to school. The recommendation was that school parents visit the parents of children out of school and encourage them to attend Site 1. In a showing of the role of social relationships in the context of Mathare Valley, this idea was quickly refuted with concern by others about slum culture that discourages getting involved in neighbors' business (Field notes, June 18, 2012). Social pressure and being involved in others' business is an observable part of the social culture in the slums (Reflexive journal, July 3, 2012). Connected to a lack of privacy in living quarters, I heard several candid stories regarding intimate details of neighbors' lives (Personal communication with Mathare residents, June-July, 2012). Additionally, the practice of mob justice reinforces the power of social pressure in Mathare Valley. I witnessed acts of mob justice where residents were pursuing thieves on two occasions during my field research and heard stories of others (Field notes, June 11, 2012; June 28, 2012). My key informant explained to me that many residents do not feel the police are worth involving because they do nothing for the community so it is up to them to take of things themselves (Field notes, June 11, 2012).

In summary, the national curriculum and 8-4-4 model, KCPE exit exams, and execution of FPE policy appeared to be the most prevalent pieces of contemporary Kenyan education policy in Mathare Valley. The common subtheme amongst these policy features seemed to be one of irrelevance to the realities of the slum context. The micro-level realities for schools operating in the slum context did not match up with the meso-level policies. My observations, interviews, and document analysis revealed a

“testing culture” that was focused on quantifiable measures of success. These measures of success impacted every aspect of the working conditions for school personnel in nongovernment schools in Mathare Valley. The testing culture appeared to have created a competitive market for nongovernment schools with a sense of urgency amongst community members for return on their educational investments. Not all of my data sets were consistent, as was seen in the impression of materials as a need. However, the record keeping of Site 1 did corroborate the claims of SIMBA funding as an implication of the FPE policy. Also, the role of social relationships as a common thread came from spending time in the field and was not evident in document analysis, but proved a living part of the micro-level reality of trying to run a successful school and make a salary in a competitive market. Aspects of the testing culture will be seen throughout subsequent themes of money and hope discussed further in this chapter.

Space: Thematic Findings and Common Thread

Space was one of the top three occurring codes in interviews and I describe it in this section as a thematic finding of the study that addresses Research Questions 2 and 3 (see Table 1). I expected the issue of space to emerge from the research based on common knowledge of the slum context and the literature. I coded two versions of “space”; the first, ENVIRONMENT, concerned the environment and conditions of space, and occurred 30 times in data analysis. The second, SPACE, concerned issues of physical school space and occurred 42 times. Slums are defined by limited space and its implications. The findings in my research provided details of exactly how issues of space impact education. Interviews, questionnaires, and photos showed that the general, mostly observable conditions and issues related to the slum context are complicated by

relationships to the physical environment and the sociocultural environment, confirming that “place in post-colonial societies is a complex interaction” (Ashcroft et al., 2007, p. 345). Manzon (2007) also described how comparisons of place include the exploration of “situatedness” and “the rules of the game” for that place (p. 121, 93).

Figure 55 illustrates the main subthemes related to space. The location of each school within Mathare Valley impacted the environment and subsequent experience of residents, educators, and students. The other main subtheme was the need for space.

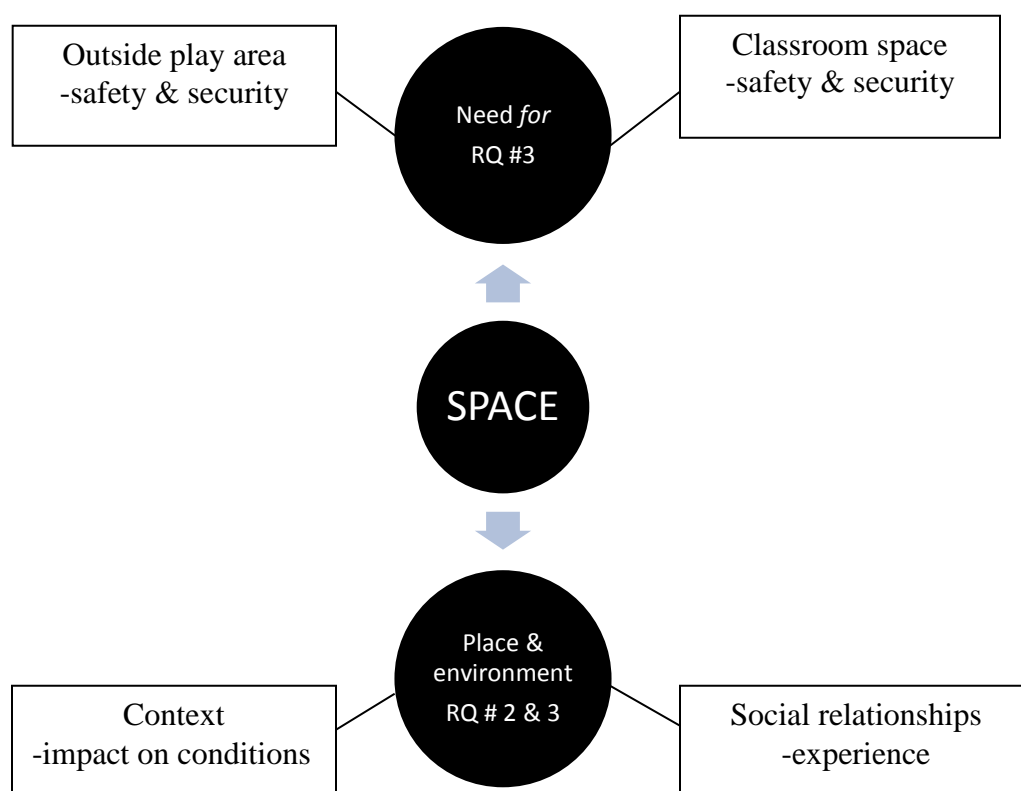


Figure 55. Thematic findings related to space.

As related to my research questions regarding the conditions in which these selected nongovernment schools exist and educators work, the issue of space became prevalent in my coding and analysis. Describing the slum context in Kenya, Gulyani

(2010) outlined living conditions as a combination of four dimensions: tenure, infrastructure, unit quality, and neighborhood location and features. These dimensions showed themselves in my data as also relevant to running a school in the slum context. Schools I visited had issues with rent and insecurity in their space. The materials and quality of classrooms and buildings varied greatly and impacted teacher and student experience. Finally, the location of the schools within Mathare Valley proved to be significant not only in terms of access and infrastructure, but also in social relationships and contextual experience. Earlier in this chapter I provided an overview of many basic features of the school sites that apply to the discussions here, too.

The need for space

In considering the general conditions of nongovernment schools, space varied based on location within the slum and the finances of the school. Codes for space, referring to the need for improved classroom facilities, were represented in questionnaire data from all sites except for questionnaires coded as coming from Site 3. This made sense because Site 3 has a new permanent structure. Issues of school space were coded 42 times in interview analysis, and the most prominent element of space reported by school personnel was that of procuring physical space for learning and safety (Interviewee 1, June 19, 2012; Interviewee 7, June 21, 2012; Interviewee 11, June 18, 2012; Interviewee 14, July 5, 2012; Interviewee 20, July 9, 2012). Interviewee 1 made the point that for most nongovernment schools, what is being used as classroom space was not designed for learning (Interviewee 1, June 19, 2012). One of the benefits of building a new Site 3 school from scratch was that the school space was intended for learning and designed with students in mind.

An interesting conundrum regarding space was that of balancing the business model of these nongovernment schools with limited available space in the slums. Two of my three main school sites are proprietor-owned institutions attempting to operate at a profit. The third is supported by an NGO, and yet, still struggles to pay its teachers' salaries (Interviewee 5- 7, June 19 – 21, 2012). Goals of schools obviously include financial success in terms of at least being able to provide a living wage to teachers, and to achieve that, schools must perform. The better schools perform, the more students enroll. However, the more students enroll, the more pressure it puts on the space. The boundaries of Mathare are marked by major highways; there is only so much expansion possible regardless of urbanization and growth. Schools in the slums are in the position of trying to find space within this densely populated area. If the school grows, finding adequate space to accommodate the students becomes even more difficult.

Classroom space.

In interviews at each school site, school personnel expressed their concerns regarding classroom space (Interviewee 4, July 10, 2012; Interviewee 7, June 21, 2012; Interviewee 14, July 5, 2012; Interviewee 16, June 28; Interviewee 17, July 3, 2012; Interviewee 20, July 9, 2012). For many teachers classroom space was an issue in terms of number of students per square foot, and this was especially true if a school produced high passing rates on the KCPE (Interviewee 1, June 19; Interviewee 4, July 10, 2012; Interviewee 7, June 21, 2012; Interviewee 17, July 3, 2012; Interviewee 20, July 9, 2012). The issue of classroom space was also closely tied to the issue of rent. If schools began in one space and succeeded to a point that they grew out of their original building, they had to look for more classroom space available to rent in the surrounding areas. Often, that

meant schools with classrooms dispersed through residential areas. Parents at Site 1 complained that their children traversed a steep embankment between residences to access classrooms (Observation field notes, June 10, 2012). Teachers at Site 3 were traveling 3/10 mile between classes to accommodate their students (Field notes, July 10, 2012). For Site 2, accommodating growing enrollment meant having to build a second story on top of existing iron-sheet structures (Field notes, June 19, 2012). When identifying areas of need for schools' future success, school personnel consistently identified improved classroom space.

Outside space.

Every school site that I visited expressed the need for space for students to play outside. This may seem obvious given the physical and geographical realities of the slums. However, that does not diminish the daily reality for teachers and students. Children need to play for healthy development, and teachers have responsibilities regarding physical education requirements as outlined in the Kenya National Curriculum (2008b). I observed that the reality for teachers and students in Mathare Valley was that outside play was largely unavailable or unsafe. Even schools that had access to play areas recognized that advantage, and personnel spoke of it during interviews (Interviewee 11, June 21, 2012).

Five interviewees representing each school except for Site 1 indicated the need for space conducive to play. The location of Site 1 near the police depot field gave them daily access to some open space for children. In fact, Site 1 has several trophies for its soccer teams that reflect the benefit of access to open space. This same depot field was meant to be where schools as far away as Site 2 and Site 3 play, as well. Directors and

teachers at both Site 2 and Site 3 admitted that they forego doing most physical education activities, even those required in the national curriculum, because of the inconvenient access open space. A casual connection came from my key informant, as well, who reported that for the 20 years she has played with the Mathare Youth and Soccer Association (MYSA), the MYSA youth trek every evening to the police depot field to play. It was essentially the only place available to Mathare residents at large, including schools therein. However, use of this space was considered to be a cost-benefit ratio that did not favor the schools. Educators described leading students through the slums to get to the field as time consuming, difficult, and potentially hazardous to the students (Interviewee 1, July 10, 2012; Interviewee 2, July 10, 2012; Interviewee 6, June 20, 2012; Interviewee 5 interview, July 10, 2012).

While Site 2 did not have easy access to an open space for play, they did have a small, enclosed courtyard (see Figure 30). Similarly, the new Site 3 building was designed to create an interior courtyard to accommodate students. Site 3 students could be seen from all levels, and they were literally walled in with concrete when using the space. The concept of a protected space such as this was referenced by school personnel at other schools that did not have such an area. Interviewee 20 spoke of the consequences of not having a confined space for children to play. One of the most pressing concerns he mentioned specific to his school was the exposure of students to unsavory neighbors, strangers, street dealings, and temptations during break times (July 9, 2012).

Relation to place and environment

My analysis of codes regarding space revealed another distinct issue related to schools' space. This was not the amount of space available for teachers and students, but

rather their place within Mathare Valley. Location became a clear issue in considering the conditions of these schools, as place impacted the relationship with environment both physically and socially.

Gulyani (2010) noted this trend when she spoke to how the slum neighborhood in which entrepreneurs reside determines the nature of both their customer base and their social economic network. Specifically, in Nairobi slums, she found that those residing in easily accessible or “safer” slums had different experiences than those in other areas. Mathare Valley has 10 designated neighborhoods, each with governing bodies, facilities, and reputations. I visited schools located in six of the 10 neighborhoods in Mathare. The participating school sites in this study were located in 3A, 4B, and 3C Bondeni, respectively.

Widely accepted amongst its residents was the notion that 3C Bondeni is a notoriously dangerous section of Mathare Valley (Personal communication with residents, 2009; Interviewee 5, June 19; Reflexive journal, June 20, 2012; Interviewee 11, June 21, 2012; Interviewee 7, June 21, 2012). Site 2’s location in 3C Bondeni served as an example of how teachers’ and students’ experience connected to place and determined interaction with the environment. Site 2 is located relatively close to a main thoroughfare into Mathare Valley from Juja Road. There is a wide road that comes off of Juja Road for several yards then narrows and turns muddy with a steep slope. Police reportedly avoid coming “into” Mathare and instead use the large perch of an entrance to exact control. According to school personnel, when there is any kind of strife in this section of 3C Bondeni, police will stand at the top of the road and launch tear gas into the neighborhood. Instances of trouble may include fighting, mob justice, thieves trying to

escape into Mathare, and gang violence. The practice of throwing tear gas was noted in three interviews at Site 2 as being particularly disruptive and detrimental to the school's ability to retain teachers (Interviewee 6-8, June 19-21, 2012). When I spoke to a teacher at Site 2 who was raised in Mathare, I asked if she thought outsiders could be effective teachers in this context. She claimed that yes, they could, but that it would take time.

According to teacher Interviewee 7, when people from outside first arrive they are fearful, not social. I asked for an example of this fearful behavior, and she cited the fact that when the "tear gas comes, they are the first to run and leave the children behind" (Interview notes, June 21, 2012). For her, dealing with tear gas was "normal" because she understood that it was an implication of being located in 3C Bondeni and in close proximity to an entrance point. It was reported that approximately 10 times per year, the school must be evacuated because the police throw tear gas and it comes into the school. Additionally, it was reported that when that happens, it is regular practice for residents to begin throwing stones in return (Interviewee 7, June 21, 2012; Interviewee 8, June 21, 2012).

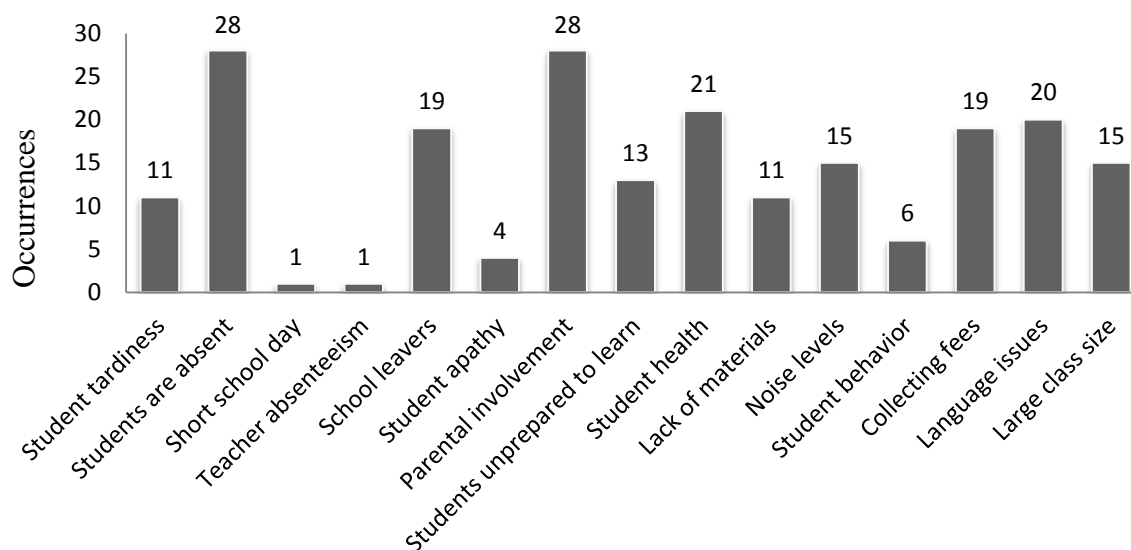
After these accounts of tear gas, I took advantage of my emergent flexible research design and included questions about outsider status when I interviewed someone who was raised in Mathare Valley. I asked Interviewee 7, 13, 14, and 20 whether or not someone can come from outside the community and be an effective teacher there.

Answers were mixed; overall, however, it was conceded that the key for success was time in the slums and an acceptance of the environment (Interview notes June 21, 2012; June 26, 2012; July 5, 2012; July 9, 2012). Mathare Valley natives reported to me that teachers needed to get accustomed to and understand the physical environment and be more

flexible and understanding with both parents and students regarding the realities of their lifestyles.

In the context of the slums, physical space is directly related to health, due to proximity to sewage and limited access to clean water and toilet facilities. When school personnel responded to the questionnaire, the third most popular answer in regards to challenges of working at their current school was student health with 21 occurrences (See Figure 56). My interview analysis resulted in eight coded references to student health. In turn, student health affects attendance, which was the most popular concern reported in Question 15 (see Figure 56). As evidenced in photographs, it is easy for bacteria to be passed in a slum setting through contaminated water and open sewage as it flows through passage ways and the river (see Figure 57). I saw young people swimming in the river searching for pieces of scrap metal and plastics (Field notes, June 27, 2012). Three teachers expressed specific concern over this practice as an effort to pay school fees (Interviewee 13, June 26, 2012; Interviewee 16, June 28, 2012; Interviewee 17, July 3, 2012). This practice connects to the theme of money, as well, and I discuss it further in the next section. Also, schools that rent space near the river often have to cancel class for flooding (Interviewee 17, July 3, 2012). School personnel acknowledged that in order for students to succeed in the schools, they need to be healthy. During my observation of a parents' meeting at Site 1, there was much conversation of a Standard 7 student who missed weeks of class due to pneumonia. The cause and extent of which was blamed on the conditions of the classroom and the fact that water collects in the room (Field notes, June 10, 2012). Interviewee 1 explained why Site 3 includes a "health fee" as part of the school fees. He said that ill children are regularly sent to school and that they suffer from

diseases that could be handled but are not because of parents' poverty (Interview notes, June 19, 2012).



■ Question 15: Which of the following issues would you say is a challenge of working in your current school?

Figure 56. Questionnaire responses; challenges of working



Figure 57. The river that flows through the center of Mathare Valley.

One way to control for student health was to make the school a manageable space. Hence, conversations with participants often reflected the desirability of a enclosed physical space and toilets for the schools. Despite being so successful on KCPE, the head teacher at PS6 was very candid regarding the school's physical environment and related health hazards. He readily admitted that the school has to cancel classes when there is too much rain because the sewers flood classrooms and passageways (Interviewee 20 interview, July 9, 2012). At PS5, Interviewee 17 reported that proximity to the river and the resulting environmental distress was the reason he chose to relocate the school. According to Interviewee 17 and corroborated by others, buildings closer to the river are cheaper in rent because of the well-known, compounding hazards of living so close to the water (Interview notes, July 3, 2012; Interviewee 16, June 28, 2012).

Another way that place and location appeared in the data directly related to Gulyani's findings about transportation. "In slums, the importance of location is amplified by lack of adequate and affordable transportation" (2010, p. 1722). Consistent with Gulyani's findings, my data showed teachers walking for as long as one hour each way to school and others spending up to 20% of their salary on transport. Head-teacher Interviewee 12 claimed that the first question he asks applicants is where they live; he knows salary can be consumed by transport and does not want that adding to the reasons for a hired teacher to leave (Interview notes, June 28, 2012). Another head teacher, Interviewee 20, subscribed to this rationale saying that while people from outside Mathare can succeed as a teacher there the money for fare is too often a deal breaker; he found it a better practice to hire people from Mathare for that reason (Interview notes, July 9, 2012).

The "social relationships" common thread and community relations

An unexpected finding regarding the working conditions in nongovernment schools was the varying role of social relationships. The role of social relationships appeared to be significant in regards to space; it was reported that a crucial part of the success of a nongovernment school is the establishment of a relationship with the community. In this case, space refers to place and location within the community and how the school interacts within the space. Head teacher at Site 3 shared that she felt very proud to work where she does because she knows the school is a respected space in the community. An example she provided was that sometimes students will ask if they can hide from danger in the classrooms. For Interviewee 4, this was an indication that she and

her colleagues are doing something right; they are trusted and have made the school a safe place (Interviewee 4, July 10, 2012).

According to school personnel at many levels, the reputation of a teacher or an administrator plays a role in community acceptance. Conflicting reports about parent interactions appeared to be connected to time spent in Mathare Valley and connection to the community. Newer teachers complained that combative parents were a challenge of the job, while more experienced teachers at the same school mentioned parent relationships as a benefit of the job (Interviewee 3, June 27, 2012; Interviewee 1, July 10, 2012). Interviewee 13 said that if a teacher establishes a good reputation in the community, people will seek out that teacher to hire them away (Interview, June 26, 2012). This sentiment connected to the common thread of teachers looking for greener pastures. I coded this issue as GREEN and it emerged 18 times in interview analysis. This concept was supported by questionnaire data for Questions 8 & 9 regarding teaching experience and participants' time at current school (see Figure – earlier in this chapter).

On a similarly note, Interviewee 5 was very clear about expectations regarding the pursuit of school fees in Mathare 3C Bondeni. He claimed that even if a parent walks away from the school with several thousand shillings due in school fees, he will not go after them for the money. He said, “I could look right in their face standing in front of the school, and I won’t say anything about it” (Interviewee 5, June 19, 2012). According to him, the culture of 3C Bondeni would not support such confrontation in a way that would benefit him personally or professionally. Even other interviewees from outside 3C Bondeni used that neighborhood as a comparison to consider the varied experience of school personnel based on place within the slums.

Another connection between the physical environment and social relationships came in the form of anecdotes of teachers being protected from violence. Interviewee 1 claimed that the “hearts of children are better than bodyguards” (July 10, 2012). He has been working in Mathare 3A for almost 15 years and he feels safe, protected, and loved in the neighborhood, even when there is “war in the slums.” When I asked for an example of what he meant by that, he recalled a time when the notorious Mungiki gang was on a killing rampage in the slum. According to him, he alighted from a matatu in an unfortunate place at an unfortunate moment, but students helped him hide until it was safe. More than one interviewee recounted stories of how social relationships within the context of the schools’ neighborhood served them socially. Both Interviewee 1 and Interviewee 17 described times when, in the vicinity of their respective schools, thugs attempted to attack them but then realized each was a local teacher and backed off (Interviews, July 10, 2012; July 2, 2012).

An interesting finding that connected space to community relations came while I shadowed Interviewee 19 to several schools in Mathare one day (Field notes, June 27, 2012). We passed a government school and decided to stop in. We received permission from the staff to enter the gates and walk around the compound. The school was located in the 4A section of Mathare. Mathare 4A has been involved in a slum upgrading project since the 1990s (Reback, 2007). One piece of that project was A Government School. The school is located on a main commercial thoroughfare, very close to the PS6 school previously described. The two schools could not be more vastly different. PS6 was the direst setting I observed in Mathare, while A Government School looked like it could have been located in a wealthy suburb. Upon entering the gates, we found a pristine

compound with very few students inside. The grounds were expansive and well groomed (See figure 58). There were large, well-lit classrooms with new desks, chairs and tables (See figure 59). However, several empty classrooms were noted with desks and tables going unused. I also observed that several classrooms had two teachers to serve the students.



Figure 58. A Government School grounds in Mathare Valley.



Figure 59. An empty classroom at A Government School in Mathare Valley.

We were surprised to find the school in such good condition considering the realities just beyond its gates. Consistent with a constant comparative approach, I began including questions about A Government School in my subsequent interviews and follow-up interviews. After our visit, I asked school personnel at the school sites about their understanding of A Government School (Interviewee 11, July 2, 2012; Interviewee 17 July 3, 2012; Interviewee 6 & 7, July 4, 2012; Interviewee 13-15, July 5, 2012; Interviewee 20, July 9, 2012; Interviewee 4, July 10, 2012; Interviewee 5, July 11, 2012). How is it that this school exists in Mathare Valley and is not full of students? Almost every time I asked a resident about A Government School their answer began with a chuckle. People laughed, and then they would claim, in short, that the school was not of good quality. The school grounds may be beautiful, but it is not producing results on the KCPE exam. A Government School seemed an interesting example of outside efforts to address a social issue, but failing to meet the true needs and desires of the community, which I will consider further in Chapter 5. Related to space, it appeared that space was not enough. Despite being accessible, having quality facilities, plenty of classroom space, and protected outside play space, the community was not taking advantage of the school.

My key informant, a lifetime resident of Mathare Valley, told me her perspective of the German initiative that attempted an upgrading project in the Mathare Valley slums. According to KIP, the German project leaders wanted to improve the housing conditions for people living in Mathare Valley. They tore down existing houses made of mud and iron sheets in exchange for brick houses. However, the brick houses were small in size and not well ventilated. Many people in Mathare had been living in those areas for decades and often had much larger spaces than the ones being offered by the upgrading

project. Many had several rooms to accommodate their large families. Now, they were being offered one “better” room to accommodate the same family. Residents found the German alternatives to be unacceptable and unreflective of their realities (Field notes, June, 28, 2012).

Further research into this slum upgrade project led me to a case study report by Andrew Reback from 2007. According to Reback, this upgrading project has been an ongoing effort between Amani Trust and The German Bank (KFW) since the 1990s. It came up against many local obstacles and was abandoned more than once. The lessons learned from the project included the idea that “any program must recognize the potential for conflicts of financial interest between structure owners and tenants” (Reback, 2007, p. 12). In corroboration of Gulyani’s (2010) findings and Neuwirth’s (2006) claims about entrepreneurial enterprise, it was concluded that the upgrading project in Mathare 4A “underestimated the power of the entrenched power structure, and assumed that delivery of ‘something better’ would overcome any objections” (Reback, 2007, p. 12). Consideration of what is “better” will be explored as an implication of the findings in Chapter 5.

The project identified many issues whereby residents had difficulty adjusting. One instance that directly connected to things I heard from my research participants regarded the move from an informal water market where water was paid for upon delivery to the concept of paying for water through metered usage. Residents rejected the metered water model, despite lower overall water costs. Garbage collection points were also not used as expected with much trash still dumped into sewers (Reback, 2007). The perception of “upgrading” was clearly a cultural understanding embedded in the nuances

of the slum context. Similar accounts were reported to me by school personnel and even reflected in contemporary media. A street vendor in Kibera slum was quoted in *The Economist* discussing how the growth of the street market has encroached on what once was a thoroughfare (2012). Interviewees 19 and 20 both remarked to me about how some improvement projects in Mathare were thwarted by disregard for the intention of the improvement. Interviewee 20 gave the example that when they try to clear space for drainage within the slum, people will build homes in any open space and upset the flow of the water, which negatively impacts the school (Field notes, July 9, 2012).

My analysis of codes regarding space led to several distinctions, including the need for more and improved classroom space, as well as outdoor space. Safe space was an identified area of need, especially in regards to keeping children contained during the school day. School and working conditions were shown to be largely dependent on where schools are located within the space of the slum itself. Photos proved to be an important data source in triangulating the data regarding space in reminding me of the local realities in both the classroom and the community. Place within the slum impacts teachers' and students' experience with the physical and social environment.

The theme of space drew a clear link to the colonial history of Kenya and the urban development of Nairobi. In this case, the postcolonial theoretical lens I employed served to help me understand the depth of the geographic conditions and the importance of efforts like that of The German Bank in Mathare 4A.

Money: Thematic Findings and Common Threads

The major themes represented in my case study are those that one would expect to find given the research questions and context. Conducting research in the slums

inevitably illuminated issues related to poverty. Money is obviously a root issue in poverty, so it was no surprise that this should be a major theme. I explicitly chose to identify one thematic finding with the title of “money” because of its broad application. The four subthemes of money represented in this chapter are illustrated in Figure 60, and include a) sources of finance, b) rent, c) school as a business, and d) general areas of need.

Money was a part of the findings for each of my research questions. In regards to Research Question 1, schools spend money to buy tests as a way to measure performance and market success to stay relevant in the Kenyan education environment post-FPE (Appendix H). School fees were an elemental source of finance and concern for teachers and schools, and the collection of school fees determined other aspects of working conditions as related to Research Question 3. Money was a prevailing theme connected to the most popular concerns related to future success and working conditions (Research Question 4). Money is the prerequisite for being able to acquire space, procure textbooks and materials, pay teachers livable wages, and provide food for students (Research Question 2). In the case of selected schools in Mathare Valley, the insecurity of funds also impacted social relationships and livelihoods.

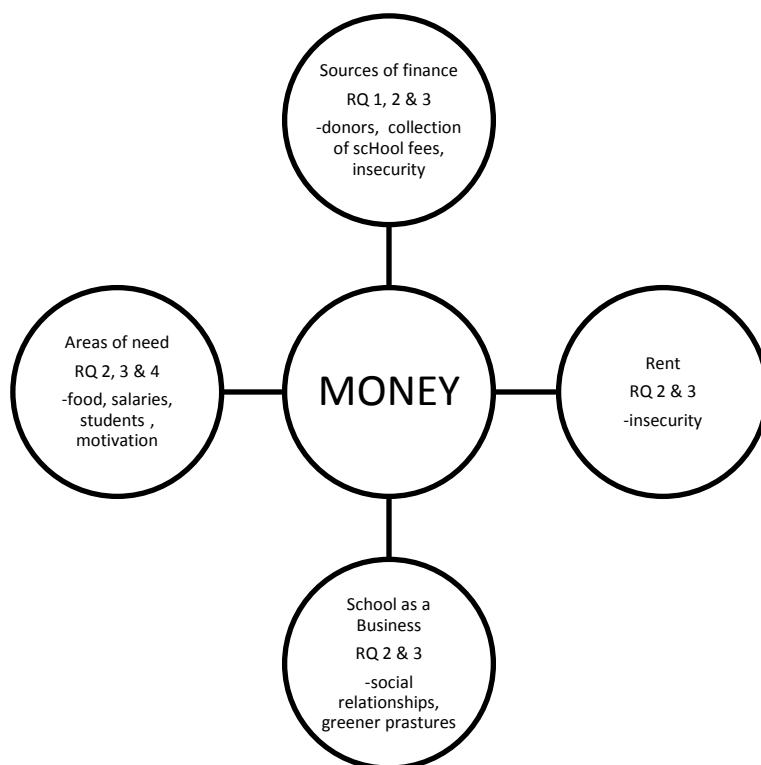


Figure 60. Thematic findings related to money.

Sources of Finance

All three directors at participating school sites cited the same major sources of funding: school fees and donors. Donors were most often referred to as “well-wishers” by study participants. However, for the purpose of this discussion, I will continue to use the term donor. Donors were most often foreigners, and the implications of this relationship will be discussed further in Chapter 5. Two of my participating sites are schools without a sponsoring NGO or church. Even so, they find outside donors to help support the school. Site 3 has one major benefactor who was credited almost single handedly with making the building of the new school possible. She is an American who lives in Kenya. She was a visitor in Kenya several years ago and was introduced to the director at Site 3. She began advocating for the school immediately and eventually moved to Kenya. According to school personnel at Site 3, she does not work; she focuses on fund raising (Interviewee

1, June 19, 2012). The other school site, Site 2, is part of a larger NGO, and the school is only one project of many. Site 2's NGO has been operating in Mathare Valley for 20 years and receives the majority of its funding from the United States and Holland (Personal communication, June 2009). Relying on donors as a source of funding contributes to insecurity because schools cannot budget for donations; they do not know from where or when donations will come (Interviewee 1, June 21, 2012).

All three school directors reported that school fees were not being paid by all of their students. It was estimated that between 50-60% of students at GJ were paying at least some of their school fees (Interviewee 11, June 21, 2012; GJMT interview, June 26, 2012). At Site 2, it was reported that as few as 30% of the students contributed school fees (Interviewee 5, June 19, 2012).

Collection of school fees.

The schools where I interviewed school personnel reported school fees ranging from 150 KES (2 USD) – 800 KES (9 USD) per month. The range of school fees are listed in Chapter 3. The schools with feeding programs, Sites 2 & 3, charged 500-800 KES (6-9 USD), while the highest performing school of the sample, PS6, charged 300 KES (3.50 USD). As previously mentioned, every school I visited reported that not all of their students pay fees. The actual collection of schools fees appeared to be a fundamental piece of the working conditions at nongovernment schools in the slums. Interviewees described school fee collection as an active endeavor requiring social grace and awareness of community structure (Interviewee 5, June 19, 2012; Interviewee 7, June 21, 2012; Interviewee 3, June 27, 2012; Interviewee 16, June 28, 2012).

The common thread of social relationships showed itself to be related to money, as well. School director, Interviewee 5, reported that the main issue in his job was “collecting the budget” (Interview notes, June 19, 2012). He identified the collection of school fees as the most challenging part of his work. He said that parents come crying and begging for leniency on a regular basis. As the director, he must balance being “tough in a kind way.” As mentioned in the section regarding space, directors reported that understanding your place was a crucial part of being successful in collecting school fees. For Interviewee 5, operating in 3C Bondeni means recognizing that it is a “very sensitive area;” you cannot confront parents for fees out of fear of violence. To manage the school in this context, Interviewee 5 reported that he must “focus on things [he] can predict” (Interview, June 19, 2012). This is a key point in this case and is reported about in Tooley’s (2009) book, as well. If private schools [in Mathare Valley] insisted that parents pay for uniforms or school fees upfront in one lump sum, their enrollments would not be so high. It is their consideration of the context regarding school fees that is contributing to private schools’ success.

Some teachers reported that part of their responsibilities at the school included making home visits to pursue school fee payment. Teachers also reported a strong sense of accountability related to school fees. The sentiment was that if they were doing their jobs, parents would pay their fees. According to Interviewee 16, teachers “must work hard to convince [parents] to remove money from [their] pocket and pay fees” (Interview notes, June 28, 2012).

While codes for school fees and parent interaction were high in the data I collected, the two codes had an overlapping subtheme of teacher accountability in the

context of private schools in the slums. In interviews, teachers spoke of the pressure they feel to earn their salaries and the subsequent strain it can put on relationships with parents in the community. Studying parents' decisions about private schools, Tooley, Dixon, & Stanfield (2008) concluded that an important issue was the perceived lack of commitment of teachers in the government schools and the associated issue of the accountability of teachers in private schools. This was corroborated by Oketch et al. (2010), who asked school transfers in Nairobi why they left public schools; more than half cited a perception of better pupil discipline and better teachers as a key reason. This sentiment was largely corroborated by my interviews and was observed as a regular topic of conversation amongst people in Mathare Valley. Responses to my questions about A Government School were unequivocally met with blame; the teachers had no accountability.

Related to the common thread of greener pastures, codes revealed that school personnel at each school site mentioned the phenomenon of families in Mathare amassing a balance at one school and then moving on to another without settling their debts. In this way, parents manipulate school fees and the presence of the private sector to get an education for their children without paying school fees at all. Head-teacher Interviewee 6 admitted that she sometimes felt "demoralized" by seeing so many students transfer. She felt that "[her] work has been taken by someone else" because she put energy into building a foundation both academically and emotionally with children (Interview, June 21, 2012). She reported that school records indicate only one student who has been at the school consistently from baby class (three years old) to Standard 7.

Rent

Money was found to be related to the common thread of insecurity because there is little chance for long term planning. With little security or predictability for budgets, school directors are left to prioritize spending. Each school director with whom I spoke recognized that salary was the most common concern amongst their staff. However, individually, they also admitted that rent was the more pressing need (Interviewee 11, June 18, 2012; Interviewee 17, July 3, 2012; Interviewee 5, July 11, 2012; ECTD interview, July 9, 2012; Interviewee 1, June 19, 2012). Priorities were connected to space; securing tenure, finding more space, or building more appropriate space was first on each of the director's lists. Buying classroom materials fell to the bottom of priorities because of the common sentiment that there was enough to get by; there was "no sense in buying textbooks" for every student when they can share (Interviewee 11, July 2, 2012).

As mentioned in Chapter 1, Gulyani & Bassett (2010) reported that despite living conditions in Nairobi's slums being deficient in all dimensions, it does not translate into lower rents. Nairobi's settlements were characterized by Gulyani & Basset (2010) as a trap of low-quality but high-cost housing overwhelmingly populated by tenants renting from absentee landlords. Conversations with school personnel around issues of rent regularly referred to the unpredictable nature of landlords. A teacher and accountant, Interviewee 13, noted that the school is often battling perception with reality in regards to school finance and rent (Interview notes, June 26, 2012). The regular stream of parents in and out of the school is a visible signal to both teachers and landlords looking for payment. When people see lots of parents, the assumption is that the school has money from school fee collection. However, often parents are only bringing 50 or 100 KES (.50

or 1 USD) at a time. The school keeps detailed daily records so that when the landlord demands rent, accounts can show the receipts to validate any late rent payments (Interview, June 25, 2012).

There was a common sentiment of fear from both personal and professional levels about eviction (Interviewee 13, June 26, 2012; Interviewee 3, June 27, 2012; Interviewee 15, July 5, 2012; Interviewee 17, July 3). Rent was an issue that emerged from the data not only for the schools' tenure, but also in regards to the teachers' quality of life. Some teachers reported monthly rents equivalent to their salary (Interviewee 8, June 21, 2012; Interviewee 15 July 5, 2012). Participants at every school site had stories of landlords entering homes and removing belongings as a consequence for missing payments. One teacher at Site 1 shared that she lived alone and paid 2,000 KES (23 USD) of her 5,000 KES (58 USD) salary toward rent. She said that she had an agreement with the landlord because she needed more time to pay; her last remuneration came 3 months ago. Even with an agreement in place, she lives with the constant feeling of insecurity because, "you never know; maybe things will get hectic and the landlord will throw you away" (Interviewee 15 interview, July 5, 2012). "Despite the persistent heroic image of the squatter as self-builder and owner-occupier," the reality in Mathare and other Nairobi slums is that one of tenancy, insecurity, and often, exploitation (Davis, 2006, p.44). I related the common thread of insecurity to lack of money and the uncertainty of being paid a salary.

School as a Business

Access to funding was a major concern for participating schools. According to one school director, they are all "competing to survive" (Interviewee 5, July 11, 2012).

Even so, there exists a collaboration of nongovernment schools in Mathare. Apparently, there are approximately 30 schools that volunteer to meet every term and support each other with information sharing and organization of interschool activities (Interviewee 5, July 11, 2012).

A case study on the Mathare 4A slum upgrading project reiterated the work of Robert Neuwirth (2005) in considering the power of entrepreneurial endeavors in the slums as undeniable. Reback (2007) reported that one lesson learned through the slum upgrading project was that local income needs cannot be underestimated. “In Mathare, people used a wide variety of tactics...in order to generate personal income” (Reback, 2007, p. 12). Nongovernment schools in Mathare were very much business models. School directors and teachers recognized the role of the proprietor–client relationship. A common complaint of teachers was that of the practice of visiting homes to encourage school fee payment (Interviewee 3, June 27, 2012; Interviewee 6, June 20, 2012; Interviewee 17, July 3, 2012). It was reported as an exhausting practice necessary for survival that teachers go out into the community in pursuit of their salary. At the same time, school personnel recognized needing to keep “clients” satisfied in order to maintain income, as well.

With 85 nongovernment schools operating in the three square mile area of Mathare Valley, competition is great (Dignitas Project, 2012). School personnel at GJ specifically spoke of the competition with foreign-funded schools (Observation field notes, June 20, 2012). Several school employees were complaining about outside donors supporting schools that are “planted” near schools like Site 1 and “take” their best students. A nearby church-run school was seen as a threat to Site 1 because it offered free

uniforms, food (including fish), and books to the top-performing 5% of students from local schools. The complaint was that locally run schools cannot compete with schools with that kind of outside backing. Obviously scholarships and donations are desirable for any family in the slums, and these incentives draw out the highest performing students from schools like Site 1. Consequences include surrounding schools seeing their best students migrate and subsequently lost positive influence on their mean KCPE scores, a determining factor in school enrollment and financial success.

An interesting counterpoint to these views of school success was presented to me by the head teacher at PS6. PS6 was unparalleled in KCPE success; in searching public records, I found no evidence of another school in Mathare that boasted a 100% pass rate. This school alone is an example of the significance of context in education; even in considering school as a business. PS6 is a slum school with dire physical conditions, no feeding program, and teachers who are mostly volunteers. I asked Interviewee 20 about the keys to their exceptional academic success. His response was three fold:

1. Commitment of teachers,
 2. “This is a call; we are not doing it for the money,”
 3. Giving back to the community; “We are molded from the same ground”
- (Interview notes, July 9, 2012).

Identified Areas of Need

According to questionnaire data, participating teachers identified the most pressing need to ensure future success of schools involved teacher pay (see Table 12). Question 19 regarding future success was an open-ended question, so I coded the written responses to find recurring themes. In interviews, participants expressed teacher salaries as being linked to teacher motivation. I coded 34 occurrences of SALARY in interview analysis, as well as 18 occurrences of MOTIV (motivation). Interviewee expressed the

need for increases in pay, as well as on time delivery, as being crucial to retaining teachers in the future and improving their productivity. The next most popular interview responses involved improved teacher parent relationships and increasing learning materials. These sentiments closely mirrored questionnaire responses and all involve elements of money.

After social relationships (56), salary (34) was the next most prevalent focused code that emerged from interview data (see Table 6). I noticed that consistently in interviews, participants did not use the term “salary.” My notes indicated “remuneration” as the most popular term for the concept of teacher payment, followed by “allowance” and even “motivation.” Even so, the most common concern I heard from teachers was that even when salary payments were regular, they were still not enough. This outlook was conveyed in my interview questions directly to teachers regarding the challenges of working, and also questions posed to school directors about the most common concerns they hear from teachers. Head-teacher, Interviewee 20 shared that all teachers at PS6 are considered “volunteers,” not employees, because they cannot survive on the salary offered (Interview notes, July 9, 2012).

When asked about the most common concerns they hear from teachers, all directors included “payment” in their answer (Interviewee 5, June 19, 2012; Interviewee 11, June 18, 2012; Interviewee 1, June 19, 2012; Interviewee 17, July 3, 2012). Due to my engagement in member checking prior to arriving in Nairobi, I removed any direct questions about teachers’ salaries from my questionnaire and interview protocol. Therefore, I only recorded salaries when they were offered by participants. At my participating school sites I recorded reports of promised salaries varying between 2,000-

6,000 KES (23-70 USD) per month for teachers. I say “promised salaries” because there were accounts of agreements that had never been completely fulfilled (Interviewee 13-15, July 5 2012). Personnel with more than classroom responsibilities reported a salary up to 10,000 KES (116 USD) per month. However, this person also indicated that he had yet to receive a full payment. Site 4 personnel reported that they work with teachers in Mathare Valley making as little as 1,500 KES (17 USD) and as much as 10,000 KES (116 USD) per month.

Money connected to issues of other codes like teacher motivation and psyche in that teachers reported it difficult to continue in the profession without livable wages. A way that one school director tried to ameliorate this fact was by keeping finances transparent. According to Interviewee 11, in this setting, if administrations keep finances private, it creates a “broken link” and “teachers cannot keep hope” (Interview, June 21, 2012). On the other hand, if teachers can see when the school does not have money they will maintain loyalty to the school because they know that when the school does get money, so will they. The motivation for this school director’s attitude towards transparency was also fed by the common thread of greener pastures. He acknowledged that teachers may be “here working with you, but they are out there looking for greener pastures at the same time” (Interviewee 11, June 21, 2012).

In a similar gesture towards transparency, the practice at PS6 was for all of the teachers to sit down together to discuss the budget. According to the head teacher, school personnel then decide how to share the money. The priority was to pay trained teachers (of which they had four), and some will end up with no pay. In a nod towards the “some is better than none” subtheme, Interviewee 20 described this uncertainty as a way of

keeping teachers motivated. While no one can be assured what their allowance will be, there is a chance that they could get 3,000 to 6,000 KES (35 to 70 USD) (Interview, July 9, 2012).

The majority of questionnaire participants indicated that they intended to stay in the profession as long as possible, with 29% responding that they would leave the profession if a better job opportunity came along (see Figure 61). Every classroom teacher I interviewed in the field said they would leave their current school to take a teaching job at a government school if they had the opportunity. Additionally, others admitted that they will leave their current school “as soon as someone else can give me more money” (Interviewee 15 interview, July 5, 2012). In connection to salary as an area of need to retain teachers, I observed parents at a school meeting urging each other to pay school fees with the specific intention of retaining teachers (Field notes, June 10, 2012).

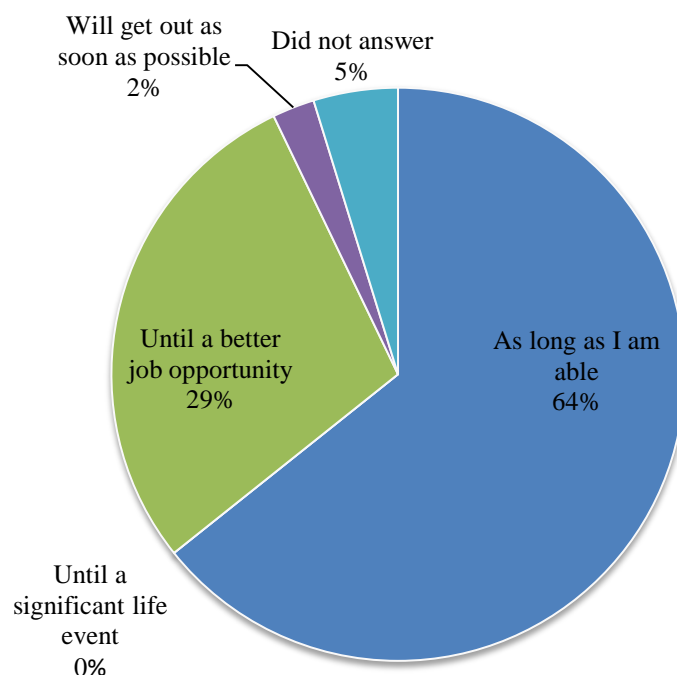


Figure 61. Questionnaire # 12: How long will you remain in teaching?

Teachers I interviewed were candid with their movement between schools as related to the search for “greener pastures” in regards to salary. Teacher Interviewee 14 came from another school where the director was corrupt and not paying teachers. She had been at Site 1 for six months and said that she would give the school three more months to begin paying her what they promised or she would leave (Interview notes, July 5, 2012). Teacher Interviewee 8 was at his current school for three years but had only been at his previous school for one. He reportedly left that school because his 2,000 KES (23 USD) monthly salary was equivalent to his rent. Unfortunately for him, he did not find a greener pasture, as his current salary is the same. Head-teacher Interviewee 6 confirmed that the school loses a lot of teachers after one year or less when the school fails to pay (Interview notes, June 20, 2012). This movement was reflected in the

questionnaire data in a wide discrepancy between the number of years teaching and the number of years at teachers' current schools.

In a clear example of the role of motivation theories in the data, Teacher-trainer Interviewee 19 used a "zero level" illustration to explain the movement of teachers amongst slum schools. She explained that you have to bring people to a hypothetical "zero level" by meeting their basic needs. Even a motivated teacher will struggle when their basic needs are not being met. If salary cannot keep you fed and in clothes and shelter, you won't have much loyalty and will go where you can at least start at zero level (Interview notes, June 29, 2012). This is an example of how my theoretical framework informed my data analysis. The base of Maslow's hierarchy could be described as Interviewee 19's zero level. Maslow's research is very clear about meeting basic needs throughout one's life, and that it is an ongoing process throughout our lives.

Food.

One of the most poignant issues related to the theme of money was the prevalence of food in the data. I coded 30 occurrences of FOOD across 100% of my interviews. In another lesson learned about data collection and triangulation, I did not include food on my questionnaire items related to challenges. However, food was represented in every single interview I conducted. Food was an identified area of need for both teachers and students. Teachers told of being hungry while they teach and specifically not being able to buy meat for themselves or their family (Interviewee 17, July 3, 2012; Interviewee 2, July 10, 2012).

Similar to the way teachers' experience was affected by lack of food, teachers expressed a more common concern about students' hunger. The value of food in

education is well documented. Head-teacher Interviewee 2 described food as a “bridge” that brings students to school (Interview notes, July 2, 2012). Not surprising was the claim by school personnel that any food offered at school may very likely be a child’s only meal. What was surprising, however, was the assertion that parents’ priorities did not necessarily include food. School personnel at two separate sites made similar comments about some parents’ rationale for preferring to send their children to schools with feeding programs; according to participants, some parents do not consider buying food for children a priority in the household budget (Interviewee 1, June 19, 2012; Interviewee 11, July 2, 2012). When asked to describe how student hunger impacts teacher experience, Interviewee 10 said, “Sometimes the children will tell you they are sick, but upon further assessment you realize they are just hungry (Interview notes, June 20, 2012).

The head teacher at PS6 said that if the school could offer lunch, they would not have students late for class; those that are able have to take time and money to go home or go purchase food. He talked extensively about his concern for the girls in his school. One anecdote included girls being distracted by neighbors during lunch time. The school’s location on the main road puts students in direct contact with community members during break times. According to Interviewee 20, men will offer girls food and such; when students are so hungry and they see people eating they will do anything to get it. Interviewee 20 maintained that these men were often laying the groundwork to marry the young girls. For the girls, marrying can be an attractive option as a way to gain food security.

A head teacher, Interviewee 20, spoke of the way hunger impacted the relationships between students and teachers and contributed to the school's success; when "students see you are hungry too, they feel connected to you and more willing to communicate and work for you" (Interview notes, July 9, 2012). Since neither teachers nor students had the money to procure food and the only reason to leave at lunch time is to go to get food, teachers at this school called the midday break "humble time" and use it as one-on-one time to talk about their lives with students.

A teacher at another school expounded on her experience with hunger (Interviewee 15, July 5, 2012). "For a human being to be alive, he or she needs food. But here there is no food. No nothing. I can't afford to get breakfast, and there is no lunch here. You have to use energy to teach and where will you get energy if you have no food?" In response to this, I asked her how she keeps motivated to come every day. Her reply was that she comes because she has "nothing else." She "keeps hope" that she will get her salary soon and that food will arrive soon, and until then she will keep working (Interviewee 15, July 5, 2012). The theme of hope will be explored further in the next section of this chapter.

Salary.

Interestingly, the data revealed salary to be both a challenge and a benefit of working in nongovernment schools in the slums. Connected to the common thread that "some is better than none," school personnel regularly recognized that there are many people in Nairobi looking for work, and that even the prospect of payment was valuable. While "some salary is preferable to none," many teachers reported to look for outside sources of income. This practice of supplemental income was an original question I

included in the questionnaire (Appendix B). However, it was deemed undesirable during member checking, so I removed it before entering the field. Interviewee 6 said taking on extra jobs caused teachers to come to school tired (Interview notes, June 21, 2012).

Teachers I talked to who offered information about outside sources of income included mostly tuition for tutoring, but also hair braiding, selling at market on weekends, and contracted accounting work.

One of the objectives of the Site 4 professional development for Mathare schools administrators was trying to get schools to consider “the professional environment” (Interviewee 18, June 10, 2012). Recognizing that schools run as businesses, they try to paint a picture with a direct link to profit. Knowing the conditions in which teachers work, Site 4 tries to cultivate strong leaders who can foster a supportive team dynamic wherein teachers are willing to make sacrifices to drive results (Interviewee 18, June 10, 2012).

Despite the expressed issues regarding salary, the common thread of social relationships in the slum context showed itself often during my daily interactions in Mathare Valley. I watched friends and acquaintances exchange money on a daily basis. A common part of communication included personal needs for food or transportation and when one person had, there seemed to be a regular practice of giving to those in need. I asked my key informant about this, and she said simply that it is the only way to make it through when you live with unpredictable sources of income and cost (Field notes, July 4, 2012; Interviewee 7, July 4, 2012). During my school visits I witnessed more than one occasion when parents came to the school and rather than contribute school fees left with a loan instead. An example of this type of social relationship occurred while observing a

Pre-unit class (kindergarten) in 3C Bondeni. A parent came in during the lesson to inquire about her child's performance on the midterm exam. After speaking with the teacher for a while, Interviewee 7 took her wallet out of her jacket and gave the mother coins (Observation field notes, July 4, 2012).

Student realities

Issues and areas of need reported by school personnel in the slums included student realities. Teachers' experiences are directly connected to students' experiences and money deeply impacts that relationship, as well. Student realities are impacted by money in terms of food, insecurity at home, parent responsibilities and absenteeism.

A common concern that teachers reported hearing from students was about money to pay fees (Interviewee 10, June 20, 2012). Parents may not be able or willing to pay school fees, and motivated students were reported to take on the responsibility themselves. A common solution to this issue was mentioned at more than one school site; students miss class to collect recyclables to sell (Interviewee 2, July 2, 2012; Interviewee 13, June 26, 2012; Interviewee 16, June 28, 2012; Interviewee 17, July 3, 2012). At least once while crossing the river, I came upon young people "fishing" in the water for scrap metals and plastics to sell (Field notes, June 27, 2012). Sometimes, students were reportedly coming from child-headed homes where children take care of their siblings while parents go "up country" to look for casual work (Interviewee 10, June 20, 2012). Student absenteeism is a problem not only for the students, but also for the teachers. Teachers reported that a major challenge of teaching in Mathare is when children miss lessons because parents cannot pay fees, and that impacts learning because the teacher will not be able to repeat the lessons (Interviewee 12, June 28, 2012). The need for

children to work to pay for their education was supported by Guylani and Bassett's (2010) conclusion that one-income households cannot survive in the slums.

Thematic findings regarding money were expected in considering the definition of slum communities. Money overlapped with other themes and played a role in almost every issue facing slum dwellers. The exchange of money was a cyclical relationship that required awareness of social relationships. Overall, issues with money came down to prioritizing and survival. School directors felt pressured to prioritize paying rent over teacher salaries or classroom materials. In turn, lack of income impacted teachers' quality of life. Diminished quality of life for teachers pointed to insecurity and subsequent motivation to look for greener pastures.

Hope: Thematic Findings and Common Threads

My analysis of the Dignitas Project parent guide to Mathare Valley community schools (2012) revealed that the word *hope* is the most commonly repeated word in the titles of schools in Mathare Valley and occurs in the titles of seven schools. The theme of hope was most strongly represented in my data in response to Research Question 4, regarding identified issues and areas of need in nongovernment schools. Hope emerged from the data in the form of aspirations for the future. Hope was represented in terms of hope for the future of the participants themselves, their students, their community, and their nation. Seen in the desire for professional development, community connections, and motivations for teaching, the theme of hope was a bright thread woven throughout the data collection. Hope was a prevalent theme and an important distinction in the findings. Participants demonstrated feelings of hope that in a way that I consider crucial in describing the realities of working conditions in Mathare Valley. Hope is transcendent

from the physical environment that is such an obvious part of the slum context. In this case, psychological effects were part of the working conditions that emerged from the data in regards to motivation, insecurity, counseling of students, and personal growth. Feelings of hope and aspirations were a dominant part of the conversation during interviews.

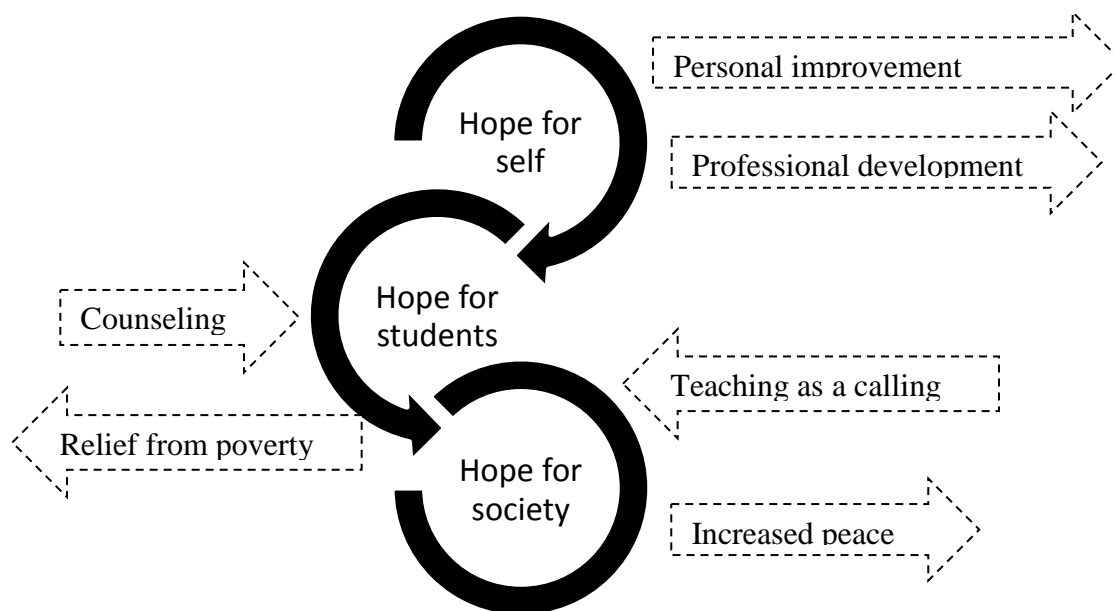


Figure 62. Thematic findings related to hope.

The starting point for the consideration of hope as a research theme emerged in my analysis of the questionnaire. Question 18 was an open-ended question about the central mission of the schools at which participants worked. After analyzing the responses, thematic codes emerged and I identified six recurring sentiments that I represent in Figure 63. Educators described the central mission of their schools as aiming to 1) provide access to education (2 occurrences), 2) increase knowledge and literacy in the slums (6 occurrences), 3) empower youth (4 occurrences), 4) help the poor (5 occurrences), 5) improve society (7 occurrences), and 6) improve the lives and futures of

children (5 occurrences). The most prevalent reply, representing 24% of the responses, indicated a mission “to improve society,” This led to my reanalyzing interview data for themes of societal concern. What emerged was an abstract sense of hope interwoven throughout the more concrete context conditions. I coded HOPE 36 times in reference to interviewees’ references to hope and the future.

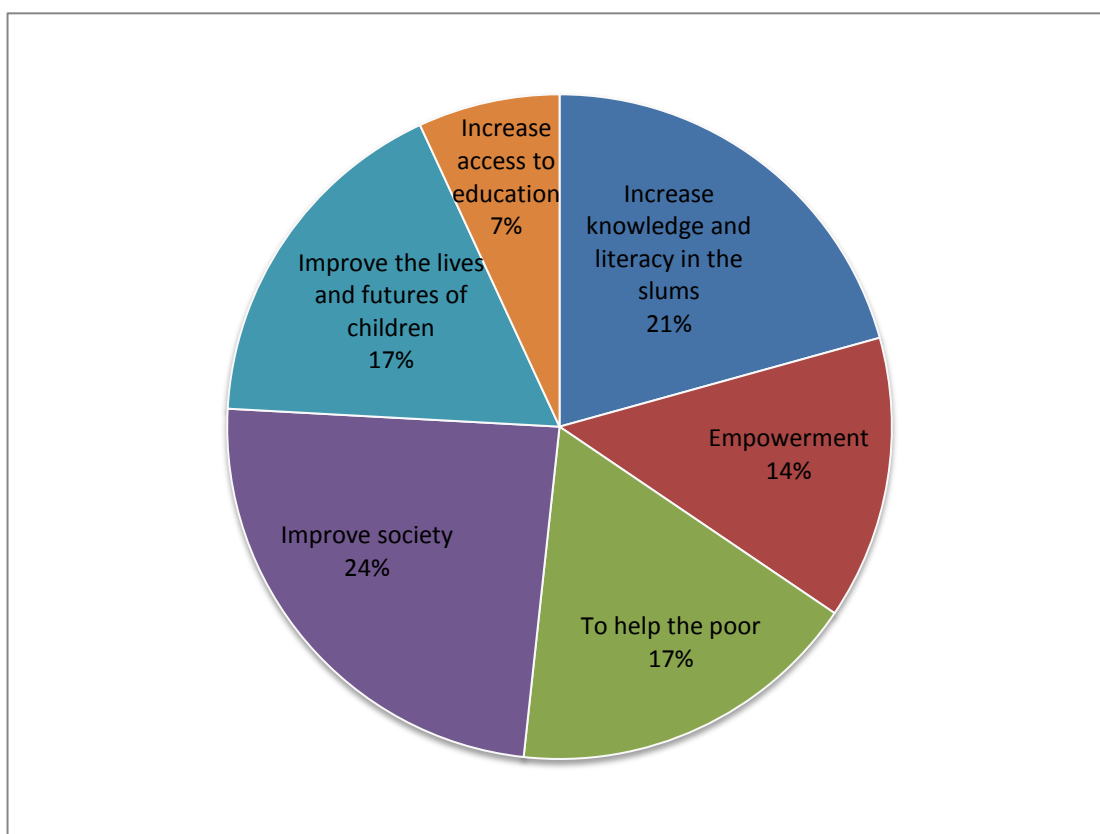


Figure 63. Questionnaire # 18: How would you describe the central mission of the school in which you currently work?

Before exploring the realms of self, students, and society specifically, I found evidence of the theme of hope reflected in school personnel’s reason for working in schools. Twelve of the teachers interviewed expressed that teaching needed to be a “calling” in order to carry on in Mathare. “Teaching in Mathare is a call, not a job” (Interviewee 1, June 19, 2012). This sentiment was represented across all seven work

locations of interviewees. In research Question 3, I focused on the working conditions for school personnel in nongovernment schools in Mathare Valley. Mugisha (2006) reported that it is usually difficult for schools to attract and retain qualified staff due to the hardships associated with teaching in slum schools. Government schools in the slums tend to be better with regard to infrastructure, teacher qualifications, and textbook provision. Significantly, data collection maintained that nongovernment school personnel required intrinsic motivation to contend with the physical conditions of the context.

As previously mentioned, many participants specifically used the words “call” or “calling” to describe their reasons for teaching (Interviewee 8, June 21, 2012; Interviewee 6, June 20, 2012; Interviewee 10, June 20, 2012; Interviewee 16, June 28, 2012; Interviewee 11, June 21, 2012; Interviewee 2, July 10, 2012; Interviewee 4, July 19, 2012). While similar sentiments were coded as CALL for an occurrence rate of 23, the actual word “call” or “calling” was used 18 times by interviewees to describe their professional incentive. Sometimes the call was described as so strong that it was the motivation for waking up in the morning. Head-teacher Interviewee 4 claimed that when she was not at school, she didn’t feel complete. She had a sense of responsibility that culminated in a “voice telling [her] to go” everyday (Interview notes, July 10, 2012). Even for those educated in the field, according to the director of Site 1, teaching in Mathare goes “beyond training;” you have to want to help the poor. His words were that teachers “must have something plus” and come purposely to help children (Interviewee 11, June 21, 2012). In support of this sentiment, teacher-trainer, Interviewee 19, reflected that in her experience working with teachers all over Mathare Valley, most teachers she meets are very committed to “go beyond the call of duty.” She claimed that the best

teachers she works with are those teachers who have an “inner call to make change happen and a bond to teach” (Interview notes, June 27, 2012). If the call to teach is not there, teachers in Mathare Valley “will not be comfortable here” (Interviewee 20, July 9, 2012).

Hopes for self

The study questionnaire included probes to identify issues and areas of need for nongovernment schools in Mathare Valley. After coding and analyzing answers to open-ended Question 17, about the benefits of working at an educator’s current school, I identified five major subthemes of hope that emerged from responses. The five subthemes included 1) gaining experience, 2) developing social relationships, 3) improving society, 4) getting a salary, and 5) improving myself by increasing knowledge Table 12.

Questionnaire #17; Benefits of working at your current school

| Q17 | |
|---|--------------------|
| Benefits of working at your current school | Occurrences |
| Gaining experience | 14 |
| Development of social relationship | 17 |
| Improving society | 10 |
| Getting a salary | 15 |
| Improving myself and increasing knowledge | 12 |

Three of the five aspects relate to hope for one’s self. While committed to the profession in general (see Figure 61), the recurring common thread of “greener pastures” was present in this data sets well. Following up on this idea from the questionnaires, in the interviews I found that participants explained that a benefit of wherever they were at the time had the potential to serve them in the future. Teachers expressed hope for finding

a position with a better salary, and more than once, the sentiment in regards to gaining experience was that “if I can teach here, I can go on to teach anywhere” (Interviewee 8, June 21, 2012; Interviewee 14, July 5, 2012). Mathare native and teacher Interviewee 14 said that the most satisfying part of working at her current school was that it gave her “the opportunity to gain experience to take somewhere else” (Interviewee 14, July 5, 2012).

One hope that teachers expressed in relation to working conditions was that of reward. While identifying it as a calling, teachers still anticipated that their commitment would someday result in reward. When describing what kept him coming to school every day, teacher Interviewee 3 replied, “the hope that one day I will be rewarded; if I can deliver, I may be able to see the light” (Interview, June 26, 2012). Teacher Interviewee 8 felt that he was chosen by God to be a teacher, so he couldn’t demand money for teaching because he hoped God would reward him (Interview, June 21, 2012). Head-teacher ECCTD worked at the school from which he graduated and in the community that supported him to go on to secondary school and university. He reportedly made a monthly salary of 1,500-2000 KES (17-23 USD). His hope was that if he could afford to stay on there, eventually the school would get some “well-wishers that will pay teachers” (Interview, July 9, 2012). During a casual conversation in the teachers’ office one day, the head teacher and director were speaking of the struggles and sacrifices they have made to keep the school afloat. The head teacher recently completed his P1 certificate but pledged his loyalty to his current school and his confidence in its future success. A reversal of the “greener pastures” common thread, he declared that despite his increased marketability he was not looking for another job. Addressing the director, he said, “I

know when you break through, you will not leave me behind” (Observation field notes, June 21, 2012). This exchange was simultaneously an expression of hope for the future and statement of confidence that the school will achieve success.

“Hope” for one’s personal achievement also emerged through expressed aspirations of continuing education. One of the benefits expounded upon by interviewees was represented in the questionnaire as “increasing knowledge.” I recorded at least two occurrences on which school personnel referred to access to books and materials specifically, as a benefit of working at the schools. Classroom teachers, Interviewee 2 and 14 compared lesson preparation to their own learning, as the challenge to teach pushed them to learn more about the curriculum topics (Interview notes, July 2, 2012; July 5, 2012). This kind of personal growth was mentioned by the teacher-trainer, Interviewee 19, as an “unintended consequence” of involvement in Site 4 professional development. Interviewee 19 reported that after a fellowship with Site 4, teachers have such an increased sense of efficacy that they then feel empowered to shop around to schools other than the one with which they were trained (Interview notes, June 29, 2012).

Teacher education.

Teacher training was also a popular answer regarding future needs for success, and this need was represented in the data collected from all four sites. This correlates with answers to Question 12 on the questionnaire, which gauged interest in remaining in the profession. The majority of teachers indicated a preference to stay in the profession “as long as they are able” (see Figure 61). Consequently, they expressed a desire to improve their future in said profession through continued education. Most uncertified teachers like Interviewee 7 articulated goals that included getting a diploma in early

childhood education (Interview, June 21, 2012). Similar to the contradiction of salary being both a benefit and challenge of working in Mathare Valley, education is both a desire and a recognized shortcoming.

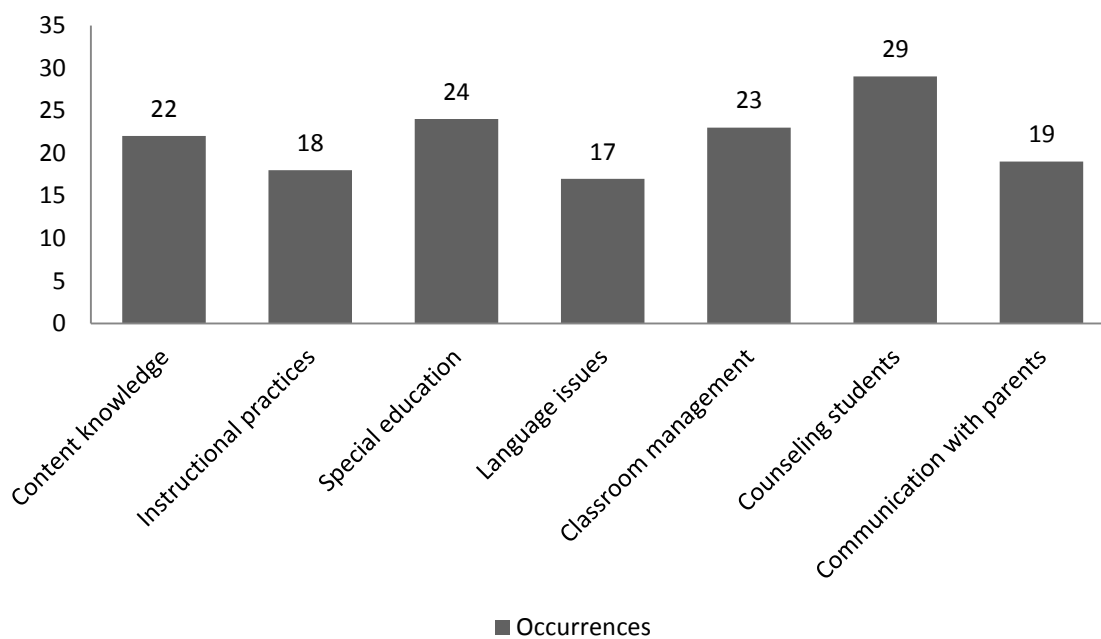


Figure 64. Questionnaire #16; Thinking about your professional development as a teacher, in which areas of your job do you desire more education or support?

During personal communication with teacher-trainer Interviewee 19, she commented positively to me about the school, PS5. I visited and interviewed the director of PS5, but it was not considered a participating site for this research. The PS5 director did study education at university; he is a certified accountant, but expressed to me that he truly saw teaching as a calling. PS5 was the school I described earlier in this chapter, with no walls to delineate classrooms and only six teachers rotating through the 10 classes. Without realizing that I knew the director, Interviewee 19 used PS5 as an example of a notable institution in their eagerness and commitment to professional development. The PS5 school personnel were known to actively seek out help; that proactive attitude and

commitment caused Site 4 to make a special exception to include them in the fellowship program. Interviewee 19 used this as an example of how a “one size fits all model [was] not relevant for this context” (July 9, 2012). I explore the relevance of context further in Chapter 5.

Figure 64 represents answers to questionnaire item 16, which was directly related to Research Question 4 regarding the identified areas of need for staff development in nongovernment schools in Mathare. A desire for further education on how best to counsel students was the most frequent response. The urgency of this concern was reflected in interviews, as well. Reference to the guidance and counseling of students was ranked seventh for most represented codes in interviews (Table 6). I recorded the code for guidance and counseling 26 times in interview analysis and this occurred at each school site. Other popular questionnaire responses to #16 were increasing knowledge of students with special needs (24) , discipline (23), and subject knowledge (22).

In response to questionnaire item 16, teachers answered that they were most interested in receiving further education regarding counseling. In interviews, respondents included this interest in responses to the major challenges of working in the slum context. This matter was directly related to concern about and recognition of the immediate environment. The dynamics of the environment included previously described characteristics of the project sites and addressed themes such as space and money. These subthemes of hope overlap to build students’ realities; school personnel reported students to be dealing with issues of abuse, hunger, neglect, and trauma. A Head-teacher Interviewee 2, noted specifically that some children “have not healed from the post-election violence or other loss” (Interview notes, July 2, 2012).

A common sentiment in regards to hope and to supporting students in light of the living conditions in the slums was that teachers felt unprepared to deal with the gravity of these issues. One teacher estimated that he spends at least 30 minutes a day counseling students, mostly about problems at home and fighting with parents (Interviewee 3, June 26, 2012). Teacher Interviewee 9 has P1 certification and completed a teacher education program. He said that although he learned some educational psychology, it was not applicable to the slum environment. Guidance and counseling for student development and health was the most urgent area in which he desired more training because “the psychology of a child in Mathare is not the same” (Interview, June 20, 2012). Interviewee 9 said that he volunteers with the teens club so that he can help students deal with “depression and stress” outside of class and then concentrate on academics during class time. He explained that he saw academics as a way to relieve that pressure; focusing on work was a way to “distract” students from their social problems. Another teacher reiterated that he cannot deal with students’ issues en masse because the most important goal is achievement. His strategy was to take the first five minutes of every class meeting to “bring children back to class” and focus them away from the commotion in their lives outside the door (Interviewee 2, July 2, 2012).

Hopes for students

School personnel at nongovernment schools in Mathare Valley spoke repeatedly about the interests of their students (see Figure 63). The working conditions of those in this context included hopes for an improved future for their students. Rogers (2006) argued that “assumptions about what is normal” often cause disadvantage; therefore systems and norms need to change in combination with the individuals in need” (Rogers,

2006, p. 130). This concept was reflected in the hopes school personnel articulated for both their students and their communities.

NEC EXTRA-COACHING TIME TABLE 2012

| DAY | CLS | MORNING (7:00-7:30) | EVENING (4:30-5:45) |
|--------|-----|------------------------|------------------------|
| MONDAY | 6 | SCIENCE | STUDIES |
| | 7 | KISWAHILI | MATHS |
| | 8 | SCIENCE | KISWAHILI |
| TUES | 6 | ENGLISH | MATHS |
| | 7 | STUDIES | SCIENCE |
| | 8 | KISWAHILI | ENGLISH |
| WED | 6 | MATHS | KISWAHILI |
| | 7 | ENGLISH | STUDIES |
| | 8 | STUDIES | MATHS |
| THUR | 6 | KISWAHILI | SCIENCE |
| | 7 | SCIENCE | ENGLISH |
| | 8 | ENGLISH | SCIENCE |
| FRIDAY | 6 | STUDIES | ENGLISH |
| | 7 | MATHS | KISWAHILI |
| | 8 | MATHS | STUDIES |

VB service to children is service to God. Give the best.

Figure 65. Time table posted at PS7 reflecting commitment to children.

School personnel saw their schools as a place for children to have “normal” childhoods better than their own so they can become productive members of society (Interviewee 2, July 10, 2012). Head teacher Interviewee 2 was adamant that nongovernment schools in the slum context must focus on children’s needs in order to succeed (Interview notes, July 2, 2012). Teacher, Interviewee 16, spoke of how she felt she can effect change by showing students love and friendship on a daily basis; sometimes that means “giving them [your] transport money” (Interview notes, June 28,

2012). Again, Maslow's hierarchy proved to provide a lens through which to understand my data. Feelings of love are a vital part of Maslow's hierarchy and the pursuit of self-actualization (see Figure 54 in Chapter 2).

Some hopes for students involved confronting the common thread of insecurity in regards to everyday comforts. Issues of hope were seen in the approach to everyday situations. Head-teacher, Interviewee 12, explained that food at school impacts student motivation through a sense of hope. "Even if a child misses a meal at night, they know there will be lunch at school, so they can feel good anyway and have something to look forward to" (Interview notes, June 28, 2012). Influencing what was "normal," Head-teacher, Interviewee 20, expressed that teachers encourage hope in the children by assuring them, "You are better than those out there; someday you will be able to buy your own food" (Interview notes, July 9, 2012).

Head-teacher, Interviewee 20, explained that the vision he wanted to impart to the students was that they are better than others in Mathare because they are in school and *can* be better than what they see. To help illuminate this, the school reported a habit of bringing alumni back to the school to talk to others and encourage them so "they can see the path" (Interview notes, July 9, 2012). This is a clear connection to Rogers' (2006) idea of helping the individuals in need while at the same time affecting what is "normal" in the context of their community (see Figure 66).

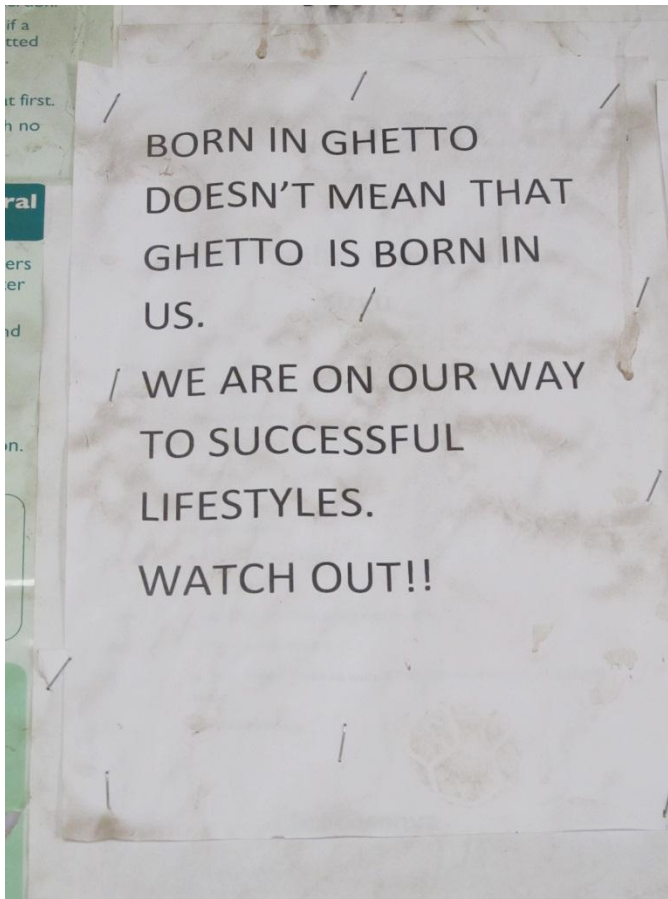


Figure 66. Poster seen in a Mathare Valley community center office reflecting the theme of hope.

Other efforts in hopes of future success were exacted toward females in the community. Two teachers spoke of clubs they started specifically to help girl children navigate puberty and support them in their continuing education (Interviewee 16, June 28, 2012; Interviewee 4, July 10, 2012). Efforts to change the community norm regarding girls in education were also reflected in a poster hanging in the Site 3 school office that urged families not to exchange their girl children for cows (see Figure 67). In the same photo, one can see stickers representing the MDGs and the constitutional rights of children, indicating an overall sense of hope for the improvement of society.



Figure 67. Plethora of stickers at Site 3 as related to the theme of hope.

Continuing education for students was another aspiration for school personnel in regards to students. Similar to Rogers' argument about societal expectations, Interviewee 12 spoke to hopes for students' futures by qualifying them within stereotypes of the slums. "People think nothing good can come from the slums, but in Mathare teachers are working really hard so students can go to better schools upcountry" (Interview notes, June 26, 2012). Interviewee 16 reflected a similar sentiment when discussing the social stereotypes of Mathare. "Mathare is dirty and many are not even able to eat, so people believe they are poor and can't do anything" (Interview notes, June 28, 2012). The director at Site 3 echoed this outlook when discussing his call to teaching: "We take students to national high schools every year; sometimes I think, if I wasn't called here, where would that student be?" (Interviewee 1, June 19, 2012).

Hopes for students had natural connections to issues of insecurity for both individuals and Kenyan society at large. Justifying his reasons for opening a primary school in Mathare, Interviewee 17 said that his main goal was to “bring change” and that knowledge can be better realized at a younger age. College educated as an accountant, he expounded, “I am not after a good job, I am after transforming the lives of young people” (Interview notes, July 3, 2012). Director Interviewee 1 also spoke to the leadership potential of his students. “I see this school bringing up leaders. An institution that brings up future leaders is important” (Interview, June 19, 2012). In this way, educators’ hopes for their students connected to their hopes for the future of their society.

Hopes for society

In *The Farther Reaches of Human Nature*, Maslow (1971) went so far as to argue that a humanistic educational approach would develop people who are “stronger, healthier, and would take their own lives into their hands to a greater extent” (p. 195). According to him, this increased personal responsibility for one’s life would lead people to actively change the society in which they lived. This concept is reflected in the hopes expressed by school personnel in Mathare through their visions for the future.

For example, in Chapter 1, I noted that power struggles and ethnic identification had a notorious impact on the standard of living in Nairobi. Even now, stereotypes used to define different ethnic groups are reflective of the roles colonial authorities assigned to them (Wrong, 2010, p. 49). These stigmas and socially constructed boundaries were mentioned in interviews as multiple school sites referenced collaborative experience with colleagues and denounced tribalism amongst personnel in the schools (Interviewee 11, July 2, 2012; Interviewee 2, July 2, 2012). I coded these as evidence of hope for society

at large because they were articulated as intentional efforts to create a productive community within the school that could be modeled for the students and the community.

Significant to consider in terms of hopes for society was participants' connection to the slum community and the prevalence of the common thread of social relationships in the data. School personnel's hopes for society were represented in the responses to number 18 on the questionnaire, which regarded the central mission of schools. After thematic analysis and coding, the most common answers involved the improvement of society and the community at large. This sentiment was connected to responses to Question 17, about the benefits of working at current schools. Relationships within the community and the opportunity to have a positive impact on society were popular answers..

Gulyani (2006) found that both residents and scholars need to adjust their "temporary resident mentality" of the slums. She concluded that residents were living in Nairobi slums for an average of nine years. A more permanent mindset in regards to tenure can serve slum residents both psychologically and financially. Feeling a true connection to the community and accepting their place within it was represented as positive in anecdotes about finding safety in space, creating bonds with students over hunger, and sensitivity when collecting school fees. Teacher trainer Interviewee 19 has worked with educators across Mathare Valley. She confirmed that most of the best teachers she works with have a connection to Mathare; most live in Mathare and are passionate about change (Interview notes, June 29, 2012). A classroom teacher, Interviewee 14, noted that she was proud to work in Mathare and is a native of the slum; she wants to make others proud as well (Interview notes, July 5, 2012). I concluded that

the value of a connection to the community was demonstrated throughout the thematic findings and cannot be separated from any part of the case study. This is also noteworthy since participants identified the need to improve community and family relations in interviews, and parent cooperation was the second most popular response (10 occurrences) on questionnaire #19 in considering schools' future success.

Hope for society was a conception imagined through the students in the slums and their potential to become visible members of society. Articulated by teacher Interviewee 16, "we are here, we have trained, and we are working hard, but the government is not looking at us. Our children are not Kenyan citizens." Another teacher alluded to feelings of invisibility when she mentioned that "they are all children of Kenya" and deserved equal opportunities to succeed (Interview, July 10, 2012). Kubow (2007a) also reported that teachers in her study saw education as a vehicle for an "enlightened citizenry" (p. 325). References to the future of Kenyan society included teacher Interviewee 10's reference to the old education model wherein education was "only for the rich" (Interview, June 30, 2012). She felt that if people have the opportunity for education, they should take it and considered one of her duties as a teacher in Mathare Valley to spread that message to families. Head-teacher Interviewee 2 reflected this outlook that valued education as an opportunity for social mobility on a global scale. He saw a clear connection between his role as a teacher and hope for his students as global citizens. He expounded about the importance of teaching in English so Kenyan students can be a part of "the global village" (Interviewee 2, July 10, 2012). According to him, the urban context was more conducive to teaching in English, and because he was aware of English as human capital, he had a responsibility to support the practice for the sake of

students' future. This participant's perspective served as reinforcement that Human Capital Theory belonged as part of my theoretical framework, and was a key connection to the global to local continuum. Interviewee 2's awareness of the way the levels of reality interrelate demonstrates the way people at the micro-level create knowledge that is relevant to their own context, but influenced by the meso and macro-level dialogue. Similar sentiments by educators about English as "the key to admission to the world economy" were discussed by Napier and Majhanovich (2013) regarding language of instruction in Tanzania, Malaysia, and South Africa (p. 5).

The areas of need asked about in my fourth research question were most significantly addressed in participants' discussions of future success for schools. As actors in the phenomenon of private schools for the poor, school personnel are best situated to identify micro-level needs. The overlap of actors' expressions of hope for themselves and others served to illustrate world culture theories. In this case, schooling was a "favored technology for identity affirmation and goal attainment" (Ramirez, 2003, p. 242). According to Ramirez (2003), the connections participants were making between hopes for themselves, their students, and their society assumes a world education model where education is a human right and contributes to human capital. The narrative at work in Mathare and at large fosters the idea of universalism where all individuals and societies would benefit from schooling (Ramirez, 2003). I explore the implications of that universal idea further in Chapter 5.

The theme of hope presented many dimensions to my case that spanned data sets. School personnel's hope for self, hope for students, and hope for society was reflected in both interview and questionnaire analysis. In both, hope was closely related to the future

and the micro-level realities that were in my case. For example, hopes for improved space and salary were two of the most frequently cited needs for immediate amelioration. The theme of hope also served to provide insights into the hardships of life in Mathare Valley slum schools and into how complex and overlapping the themes emerged to be. Long term hopes, highlighted elements within the complexity of the common thread of social relationships. I consider the implications of these nuances and the case as a body further in Chapter 5.

Other Findings in the Case

Although I identified major themes through which to report major findings, my research illuminated other issues I am obligated to report. The complete list of codes I provided in Table 5 (p. 107) demonstrates the range of issues school personnel in these nongovernment schools brought forth. Specific references to student realities included HIV/AIDS (3 occurrences), prostitution (4), drugs (3), and abuse (3). Another issue that was significant in the data analysis was the code for corruption, which occurred 12 times in the data. In relation to Research Question 2 about working conditions of nongovernment schools in Mathare, I coded issues of corruption (12) and parent manipulation (5).

I also found a certain religious aspect to reported issues. Figure 63 demonstrates the connection some educators had between their work and God. I coded 23 occurrences of CALL wherein participants discussed their motivation for teaching. In discussions of teaching as a calling, several teachers identified it as a calling from God (Interviewee 11, June 18, 2012; Interviewee 8, June 21, 2012; Interviewee 16, June 28, 2012).

In summary, my four research questions were each addressed in the major themes of testing culture, space, money, and hope. Research Question 1 is about the contemporary features of the Kenyan education policy as relevant to nongovernment schools in Mathare. Among the main findings in response to this question include the fact that the Kenya National Curriculum was reported to be followed in each of the schools, though it was seen to be too broad to be implemented effectively. KCPE exams appeared to drive school success and were a major focus of all schools. FPE did lead to sporadic funding in the form of SIMBA accounts to supplement text purchases. Overall, participants reported a lack of acknowledgement on the part of the government for their role in educating Kenya's youth.

With Research Question 2, I asked about the general conditions and issues associated with operating nongovernment schools in the slums. Among the main findings in response to this question I found a lack of space, few materials and environmental hazards. Each school reported issues related with school fee collection. Issues reported at every site involved social relationships in the community. General conditions also involved both teachers and students moving from school to school within the slums, looking for "greener pastures."

My third research question was about the specific conditions for school personnel working in selected nongovernment schools in Mathare Valley. Among the main findings in response to this question, personnel reported that teachers' schedules general begin from 6:30-7 am and go until approximately 5-6 pm. Class size varies upon age group and school performance. Generally, teachers were found to have access to a text to use for instruction. Salaries were reported as unreliable and meager; ranging from 1,500-10,000

KES (17-116 USD) per month. The sentiment that “some is better than none” was prevalent in discussions of working conditions.

Finally, Research Question 4 was in regards to identified needs as voiced by personnel working in these nongovernment schools. Among the main findings of this question, personnel identified relationships with parents, teacher salaries, classroom materials, and teacher education as the most pressing. School personnel at every site indicated teacher education as vital to future success, and the thing they were most interested in learning was about counseling students and special education.

In this chapter I provided descriptions of both the sites of and the participants in my research. I presented the findings of the case as themes that demonstrate an interwoven contextual social fabric. In Chapter 5 I discuss the implications of research themes and their common threads. I consider the importance of context in attempting to comprehensively describe the living and working environment in Mathare Valley.

CHAPTER 5

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

In the previous chapter I provided a comprehensive description of the case as it related to the research questions regarding nongovernment schools in Mathare Valley. I offered descriptions of the sites to illustrate the setting, descriptive statistics of the participants, and the general findings of the case. I presented the thematic findings as a dynamic representation of the issues in and across all of my data sets including those brought forth by study participants. Through interviews and observations in the field, I obtained data from multiple sites and people to construct a comprehensive representation of micro-level realities in nongovernment schools in the Mathare Valley slums of Nairobi, Kenya in juxtaposition to the Kenyan education reform landscape. Here I offer my summary of major findings of the case, as presented in Chapter 4, as a reference for consideration of the implications that I discuss in the following two sections (see Table 6). Overall, my study centered on the importance of understanding the realities of urban slums. I was able to document in detail the many realities of operating a school in the context of Mathare Valley.

Following the global to local continuum, my research questions established a foundation exploring the nature and challenges of providing education services in the slums of Mathare Valley. Ramirez (2003) asserted that actors and their interests and goals are often not problematized in research about the expansion of mass schooling. I followed the global to local continuum from the influence of international reform

recommendations on Kenya's Free Primary Education policy to the context of the slums where teachers are servicing the demand for primary schooling in nongovernment schools. It was important to study education realities in this context because understanding the working conditions of teachers in the slums advances our understanding of larger educational issues for slum-dwellers. Using the tools of qualitative research, I learned about who is working in these nongovernment schools, and how they experience their role as primary-school educators in this context.

Context: Implications of the Findings

The Free Primary Education policy in Kenya is the site of the policy-practice dichotomy illuminated by the type of research I conducted. The reality is that thousands of people living in poverty are not being served by FPE and are paying fees for a private primary education. In Kenya, FPE is reported to have led to an increased enrollment of over 1 million primary school children in the first year of implementation. This also included an increase of 48.1% in Nairobi (World Bank, 2009). However, even after the introduction of free primary education in 2003, there is a marked difference in enrollment between urban slum and non-slum areas. This policy-practice dichotomy is a consequence of the context in which the policy implementation takes place. The policy-practice dichotomy and its relation to the global to local continuum are widely documented phenomena explored by researchers such as Anderson-Levitt (2003), Brook Napier (2003), and Vavrus & Seghers (2010).

The Importance of Context

Most ubiquitous to me in considering implications of the research findings was the notion of context. Immediately visible were the disparities in both conditions and

resources of the schools involved in the study. My discussion with participants about issues of context were similar regarding the themes presented in Chapter 4 in terms of being intertwined with social relationships and the overall experience of being an educator at any particular school. However, when I looked at the overarching presence of context as a concept, the implications of the data point to the significance of context in school personnel's experience working in nongovernment schools in the slums. The experiences I recorded were largely dependent on details of the context of individual schools and neighborhoods. Mugisha (2006) asserted that traditional "urban" and "rural" distinctions conceal the slum population because it is considered urban; however, the local realities in the slums are not generalizable in urban terms. Based on the data from this case study, I would argue that the slum micro-level reality itself is more complex than the "slum" distinction can portray, and is not likely to represent a true common experience.

When I began coding my data, "context" was a clearly prominent topic, so I initially included it in the major thematic findings for the study. However, as I began to analyze and write, I decided that the issue of context was not a finding of the case per se, but rather one of the larger implications. Consideration of this concept as the implication of the findings established the case study as a documentation of "examining phenomena not in disjointed isolation," but in affiliation to and dependence on more encompassing social conditions (Crossley, 2009, p. 1183).

There is a major crossroads between the codes for context and social relationships. As presented in the data throughout Chapter 4, social relationships played a role in every major theme. The social perception and perpetuation of the testing culture

lay considerable pressure on KCPE performance. Household decisions to send children to school appeared to be largely based on test scores and that sentiment was repeated throughout the community. Social relationships proved to be part of how school personnel navigate the physical space of Mathare Valley. Expectations for social interactions changed based in which neighborhood people resided or worked. Issues of money pervaded so many aspects of the school experience; social relationships impacted the payment of school fees, the motivations of school personnel, and even created bonds between teachers and students through shared experience of poverty. Taking that into consideration, I synthesized the data according to how I saw them fitting into the larger comparative and international education field of research.

My findings in the case of nongovernment schools in Mathare Valley fit with others in the field in a descriptive sense. The conditions I found were similar to those described by Stern & Heyneman (2013), Tooley (2009) and the work of the APHRC. As I mentioned in my rationale, I contributed to the findings by providing the educators' voice in this particular context. Published in 2013, the edited volume, *Low-fee private schooling: Aggravating equity or mitigating disadvantage*, is an up to date compilation of world-wide explorations into this phenomenon. Most prevalent as a research site was Kenya; with three chapters dedicated to its condition. Work therein was reflective of my own in terms of describing the context and reviews of the literature, and validated my study and its place in the field.

The Industry of Private Schooling in this Context

Mukudi (2004) asserted that one must assume household-level demand for education in the slums exists, but the extent of access is context dependent. The

enrollment numbers and presence of private schools in the slums indicate that there is household-level demand for education. Extent of access was based on school fees; not only how much, but also payment schedule. My data supported the reported problem that parents have with paying for school associated fees in one lump sum. Tooley (2009) remarked on it, and every school site I studied confirmed that parents pay bit by bit as they can. Any kind of fee required by parents for government schools will affect access to schools for people in poverty. In fact, Mukudi (2004) claims that universal primary education will never be realized as long as poverty levels remain high and fees of any sort are associated with schools.

As mentioned in Chapter 2, Rogers (2006) differentiated between access and accessibility. He argued that access assumes that individuals who are in need will be able to make up what they lack with exposure to education. Accessibility maintains that systems cause the disadvantage, and that therefore the systems and the norms need to change (Rogers, 2006). In this case, access assumes that parents will take what is offered simply by way of it being available. My data included the attitude that slum dwellers were more discerning education consumers and that a system offering poor quality was unacceptable. This was evidenced by an unfilled government school next door to an overflowing nongovernment school that sits on a sewer. This concept is not novel to the field of comparative and international education. However, it is an issue of policy to practice inconsistency and the reason that research within the global to local continuum exists.

Questions in the current literature often center on why families are making household decisions to pay more for private schools when government schools are less

expensive (APHRC, 2011; Dixon, Tooley & Schagen, 2013; Gertler & Glewwe, 1990; Ngware et al., 2011; Oketch et al., 2010). Conclusions include much focus on the quality of schools. In addition to that, my data suggested that in this context, many of the households participating in nongovernment schools are not in fact paying more, or paying at all. This concept is supported by the work of Musani (2008). Also, in response to questions in the current literature, later in this discussion I propose that perhaps there is a sense of the government school as an outside entity that is seen as unwelcome and unnecessary. Citing Geldof, Tooley (2009) asserted that “development *can* succeed when people ignore the advice of experts to find their own culturally appropriate model. Perhaps the lesson of history is that a centralized public education system is not the culturally appropriate model for people in sub-Saharan Africa today” (p. 243). At the end of my study, I can say that based on my observations, the private schools in Mathare Valley are serving residents of the slums in a way that the centralized education system of Kenya is not.

One of the lessons learned from the Mathare 4A upgrading project was that any program entering Mathare needed community engagement to address resident expectations and design standards. Reback (2007) claimed that you cannot give people what you think they want. This sentiment is another instance in which I saw the global to local continuum reflected. The global dialogue about universal education created national policies that assumed they could give people what they wanted. However, slum residents were not a part of defining the existing problems or defining need. Therefore, they have continued to find their own solutions to problems. The phenomenon of private schools for

the poor existed prior to FPE in Kenya and the market for them has only increased since its implementation.

One of the major aspects of finance that I heard from schools is the percentage of students paying their school fees. Every director whom I interviewed reported that not all enrolled students paid school fees, but instead either carry a balance, receive scholarships or are granted tuition breaks from the school (Interviewee 1, June 19, 2012; Interviewee 5, June 19, 2012 ; Interviewee 11, June 18, 2012; Interviewee 17, July 3, 2012). I will look further for research into this phenomenon, but the literature I read focused more on the numbers of students enrolled and questions about why parents are making household decisions to pay for private schools (APHRC, 2011; Gertler & Glewwe, 1990; Oketch et al., 2010; Tooley, 2009). In his book about the phenomenon of private schools for the poor worldwide, Tooley (2009) included an extensive quote from a Kenyan parent; she extolled that private schools are more understanding of their plight and do not require parents to pay all at once like government schools. Data I collected in the field left me wondering about those students who do not pay at all. Previous reporting about private schooling in Kenya discussed whether people enrolled in private schools are making a statement and choice about education quality and accessibility, but what if part of that is the potential to not pay at all (Ngware et al., 2011; Oketch et al., 2010; Tooley, 2009). It is well documented that FPE is not actually free. There are still costs associated with enrollment. So, although school fees in private schools may appear to be more, if schools are not collecting said fees, we may not be seeing a comprehensive representation of the phenomenon. Of those who were open to discussing it, one school claimed a rate of only 30% of students who paid school fees. The highest report was 80% remuneration. Two

other directors indicated that approximately 50-60% of students pay at least some fees. Three schools reported that part of their appeal in the community was their ability to find sponsors and scholarships for students. The role of social relationships in terms of outside donors came into play here with schools having access to funding sources other than school fees. It is my conclusion that this percentage of students attending private schools for free is an unintended outcome and potentially important piece of the puzzle in understanding this phenomenon in Kenya. Similar discussions took place in the work of Brook Napier (1996), and Watkins (2012) touched on this piece briefly when he addressed that the *poorest* are still not participating in low-fee private schooling in India.

Brook Napier (1996) explored the way blocking factors such as poverty, disadvantage, corruption, neocolonial domination, foreign debt, and rapidly growing populations impact the realities of implementing policies into action at a local level. In the case of Kenya, the implications of these blocking factors result in low participation rate in public schooling amongst urban slum dwellers, and a growing private school industry. The private school industry in Mathare Valley could be seen as the transformation Bray (2003) talked about when he said that schools inevitably come to reflect national culture and local realities. If the private school industry is taken as a viable part of the economy as suggested by experts in issues regarding the slums (Davis, 2006; Gulyani & Bassett, 2010; Tooley, 2009), there is the potential to improve quality of schooling through public-private partnerships. Berliner & Biddle (1995) described the common social view of “differences as deficiencies.” People “confuse what schools are with what they would like them to be so they are never satisfied with reality, no matter how impressive the performance. We don’t need to condemn the schools of today in

order to debate what the schools should be like in the future” (p. 11). Perhaps the dialogue about schools in the slums should move from being about why households are making the choice to participate in private schools, but rather how the government can support those choices in a way that will serve students.

Innovation in the industry.

The role of the entrepreneur in slums is undeniable and widely documented. In *Shadow Cities*, Neuwirth (2006) claimed that slum communities and their economic markets are the way of the world for the urban future. Gulyani and Bassett (2010) affirmed that idea and maintained that widespread entrepreneurial activity in Nairoboi’s slums can be considered a successful tool in poverty alleviation. More specifically, Reback (2007) warned against underestimating the power of the relevance of informal income in Mathare 4A. The strong presence of business and ingenuity in the slums plays a role in both the education and private sector. “School as a business” was a recurring code in my data analysis, appearing 14 times, and market decisions were reported to drive many school directors and teachers.

Recognizing the power of entrepreneurialism, there are community organizations that offer micro lending programs that include courses on business all over Mathare Valley and other slums as a way to improve individual’s lives, as well as the community at large. In looking at and listening to participants talk about what was relevant regarding school curriculum, it seemed to me that courses in business ethics and economics could be very beneficial to young students in the slums. If this kind of local knowledge was applied to schools, perhaps instead of being able to identify a spiny anteater as a mammal

(Observation field notes, July 2, 2012), students might be able to make decisions about supply and demand in a way that they could apply to their lives in a meaningful way.

Tanner (2005) made an important connection to the global to local continuum as it applies to my research. His assertion was that basing standards, in this case of education, on international bodies (i.e. MGDs) tends to lean on ethical obligations to children. As stated in my discussions of critical theory, in this case, the government has an obligation to the children of Kenya. However, Tanner's point was that this is a misstep and that more appropriate efforts should be focused on tying standards between the child and the community.

Along these lines, Brook Napier, (2010) provided five rare examples of innovation in addressing the context of education programs in South Africa. Three of those closely connect in relevance to connecting children in Mathare Valley to their community; these South African schools serve as models for how entrepreneurial approaches to private schools in the slums could look. The issue at large in this situation is that my observations and interviews did not reveal such innovation in the primary schools that tied children to their community through education. This gap exists despite claims of irrelevancy and complaints about the testing culture. While the mere existence of these nongovernment schools represents the needs of the community and the slum context, the resourcefulness seemed to end there. However, other work in South Africa confirms my findings, too (Brook Napier, 2003).

Participating schools in my research reported a level of irrelevance for their students regarding the national curriculum. Science experiments required materials they did not have. Syllabi included subjects that did not reflect their lifestyles (PE and Life

Skills). Yet, I did not see or hear about any schools promoting a curriculum of social responsibility and capacity building like the Brook Napier (2010) reported on in South Africa; where students gain technical skills and earn wages in addition to completing school. Schools are already operating within the slums, have identified issues of irrelevancy, and are trying to compete while simultaneously improving society; the possibility for innovation seems endless. This is not to say such cases do not also exist in Kenya, but at the time of my field work there were none such in Mathare Valley.

Another connection to the innovative examples described by Brook Napier (2010) is in regards to the prestigious Utalii Hotel and school that is perched on the rim of Mathare Valley. The bright white hotel is visible from virtually every vantage point in Mathare, and guests' rooms and events areas overlook the expanse of the slums (see Figure 68). Guests of the hotel pay approximately 9,000 KES (100 USD) per night to stay there. The hotel is a college, as well, and students are involved in running every aspect of the hotel and restaurants. Despite a visible pipeline for young people into the workforce, I heard of no school in Mathare Valley like the general education course on hotels and catering offered in a Johannesburg high school (Brook Napier, 2010).



Figure 68. The white buildings of the Utalii Hotel and school overlooking the residences of Mathare Valley.

Context is impacting every element of the schooling experience for these nongovernment schools. It was my impression the context is pushing in on the schools, but rarely are the schools pushing back in an effort to adapt and innovate. Given the influence of the rhetoric of human capital theory and “education is the way out,” it may be overpowering the idea of trying something new on a curricular or instructional level. A consideration of avenues to pursue in the future is whether or not this kind of innovation is culturally accepted.

Hybridity as a Post-colonial Concept: The Case

The role of social relationships in this case was undeniable. While no universally agreed upon issue was identified, the evidence showed that being tied into the social fabric of Mathare Valley was a critical piece of the phenomena. One thread of that fabric was the issue of insider status versus outsider status. There were clear insiders and

outsiders in this physical context. The valley itself creates very clear boundaries so one knows when they have entered Mathare. I met many people in Nairobi who have never been inside Mathare Valley nor any other slum. If one does not have business there, there is little reason to enter.

I began to consider the idea of residents of Mathare as participants in hybridity (Young, 2007). They are both insiders and outsiders; outsiders in the Kenyan context, but insiders in the context of urban slums. Evidence of feelings of being outsider was evidenced in interview data such as claims by Interviewee 16 that “we are working hard, but the government is not looking at us. Our children are not Kenyan citizens.” Another teacher alluded to feelings of outsider status when she mentioned that her students “are all children of Kenya” and deserved equal opportunities to succeed (Interview, July 10, 2012). Teacher-trainer, Interviewee 19, claimed they were in a “forgotten part of the world” (Interview, June 27, 2012).

Further evidence of this insider versus outsider status could be linked to my observations of mob justice in Mathare. It was explained to me on more than one occasion that past experiences taught residents not to see the police as a viable source for protection in their community (Field notes, June 11, 28, 29, 2012). This sentiment points to a larger institutionalized “blind eye” to the problems of slum dwellers. Thus, the cultural practice has become to take care of issues within the community itself. There is an insider response to problems that is a result of a perceived outsider status.

Personal communication with several Mathare Valley residents over the course of my three visits there from 2009-2012 dealt with ways in which self-identity as a Mathare resident is used to gain insider or maintain outsider status. This seemed to reflect the

“dialectic of attraction and repulsion” as associated with hybridity (Young, 2007, p. 159). Acquaintances from Mathare recounted times when they were at job interviews or in other social settings outside of Mathare where they felt it was best that people not know they were from Mathare. The sentiment was that when people know that about you, they treat you differently because they assume you are a thief, a thug, or unreliable. This was reflected in a teacher interview as well when Interviewee 13 communicated that “people think nothing good can come from the slums...Mathare is dirty and many are not even able to eat, so people believe they are poor and can’t do anything” (Interview, June 26, 2012).

On the other hand, for each instance when residents of Mathare may withhold their association with the slums, I heard equal accounts when they used that identity in times when they felt stereotypes might work in their favor. For example, apparently when a young person feels threatened physically in a situation outside of Mathare, often a first response is often to say something along the lines of, “Do you know where I am from? I am from Mathare. Are you sure you want to [mess with] me?” as a form of hazard (Personal communication with Mathare residents, June 23, 2012). When in need of financial assistance, the stereotype of helplessness can also be plied.

The struggle with identity as an insider or an outsider played out in a classroom visit with my key informant one day. My key informant was deeply upset by an exchange in the Standard 6 classroom at Site 1. Through the thin, iron-sheet walls, the Standard 6 class heard others greeting us as we were on our way to their class. So, as soon as the door opened, the students burst into applause. KIP walked in first and I was a step or two behind. Before I got into the room, apparently, one of the boys said, “We don’t need to

clap for her; she's not a *mzungu*." There was a bit of back and forth between the students about clapping for a Kenyan versus a *mzungu*. Later some girls in the class wrote, "We love our visitors" on the board, and KIP felt the plural *visitors* was a gesture towards her (see Figure 17 on page 124). The experience made KIP feel bad and question whether or not she was "relevant" as a being. It seemed a very sensitive issue for her, her identity as a Kenyan, and especially as a born and bred Mathare resident. For several weeks she had been guiding me to schools and sitting patiently in the event that she may be needed to facilitate my work. It made me think about my role in her feelings of relevancy. It also gave me cause to reflect on the elaborate greetings the students in each classroom at every school have for visitors; I began to feel cynical as if the school was teaching them to pander to potential donors (Reflexive journal, July 2, 2012).

As a white, middle class woman from the United States, it would be naïve to think that my background would not shape my interpretations during my study in the slums of Kenya. There were times that I felt my outsider status made me susceptible to manipulation. Teacher Interviewee 4, told me that when people in Mathare see white people, they "think in terms of funds" (Interview, July 10, 2012). Generally, when I walked through Mathare, people would comment and call out with "*mzungu*" or "*howareyou*", but on this day, as I was walking through the heart of Mathare couple of people walked past and said "*foreigner*." It did not feel positive or like a general observation. Then, one man called out from behind me "we don't need foreigners here." It was the only time I heard people in Mathare use that term specifically. Upon reflection, I am curious to if there was something about that particular area or section of Mathare that was connected to that response (Reflexive journal, July 9, 2012). I noted that I was

near a Bridge International Academy. I had just had a conversation with Interviewee 19 about the Bridge school as we passed because its physical presence was quite profound. The school had a lot of land, with a large fenced-in area. Bridge International Academies are a foreign funded “school in a box” project that just recently came to Mathare Valley. Apparently, the transition into the community had not been smooth, and I wondered if that may have contributed to my encounter (Field notes, July 9, 2012).

However, my outsider status provided me with unintentional outcomes for my case, as well. One example was intimately related to the issue of A Government School and my subsequent considerations of Tanner’s comments about rejection. I was sitting in a waiting room at the office of the Provincial Director of Education waiting for my appointment and there was a group of teachers there waiting and talking. They began discussing the botched Head Teacher meeting that Interviewee 2 had told me about previously; this was the meeting discussed in Chapter 4 that he missed our appointment to attend. While the group of teachers had previously been code switching between English and Swahili regularly, one teacher started speaking English exclusively and told a story about a “mzungu” that came to his school once. The visitor apparently told this teacher, “You know, because you are black, you’re using 5% less of the brain than whites.” The storyteller looked my way and repeated himself, presumably so I could hear. One of the ladies with him looked at me and said, “Don’t listen to him,” but then he essentially roped me into the conversation. Apparently, the racist gentleman in question was German, so I lightheartedly assured them that I was not a German. Even so, the teacher went on to explain the German was a well-to-do business man who was building schools all over Kenya. The story teller went on quite a tirade about how the German

thinks he can just put up structures with no regard to Africans. He postured that it was ridiculous to think this outsider could come to Kenya with his German ideas and not even bother to consider the insider perspective of those already in the schools. In conclusion to the story the teacher exclaimed, "...it's another Colonialism. He is a colonial!" (Reflexive journal, June 22, 2012).

This experience had clear connections to the larger comparative and international education context. The German man's claims about the brain reflected modernization theory which assumes that the causes of Third-World conditions are rooted in the people in those places (Samoff, 2007). The German's plans to build schools support these theories that "problems of Third-World education are to be explained in Third-World schools" (Samoff, 2007, p. 47). This reconnects with Roger's (2006) claims about existing systems of what are normal and the need to address systemic causes of disadvantage rather than the individual manifestations of said inequality.

Additionally, I felt the encounter had another layer of the insider versus outsider dynamic; it was my impression that my appearance as an outsider was assumed and I was brought into the conversation because of it. Similar to the hope of donation amongst many school personnel, my outsider status made me an identifiable source; in this case for airing grievances and perhaps giving a voice to the story. This reflection became part of my understanding of my roles as a researcher, as well.

A Government School in Mathare Valley served as a font of much reflection about the context of the Mathare Valley community, issues of post-colonial influence on culture, the relevancy of a FPE policy. Things came together when contemplating human capital theory to understand my data. Through the lens of human capital theory, Tanner

(2005) presented the issue of lending and borrowing in a way that illuminated my whole study. His perspective was that it is not reasonable to think that national standards can be enforced just because it is the law. Attempts to “put in place a superstructure of supervision and responsibility are often costly and *experienced as interference by outsiders*” (emphasis added; p. 15). I had considered the perception of outside influence many times before in researching the global to local continuum, but this insight seemed particularly poignant as applied to the Mathare Valley context and my field work therein. The Mathare 4A upgrading project, the unfilled A Government School, and the sheer numbers of families participating in the private school industry suddenly seemed to come together and open up new possibilities for considering the phenomenon of private schools for the poor.

If residents of Mathare Valley see themselves as outsiders in the Kenyan context, and the slum community is where they have insider status and support, even the Kenyan government schools could be perceived as “interference by outsiders” (Tanner, 2005, p. 15). Just because the constitution created a model for the implementation of free primary education does not make it an immediately ingratiated part of the culture. It was my conclusion that either conscious or unconscious tendencies may be a cultural contribution to the reason so many people are choosing not to attend government schools.

The Danger of the Single Story

One of my conclusions based on the data from this research was that there is no single story in considering nongovernment schools in the slums. There is no composite representation of these schools. Each is different based on the motivations of those running the school, the location, its establishment in the community, facilities and

resources, and its connection to outside funding. This is just in Mathare Valley; there are many other slum communities in Nairobi alone. If I “reduce space to a stage,” I run the risk of contributing to a single story of slum dwellers and their schools that perpetuates imperial stereotypes about “the slums” as this other place unlike my own (Carter, 2007, p. 335).

The phrase “the danger of the single story” came from a video recorded TEDTalk from featuring Nigerian author, Chimamanda Adichie. I saw the video in 2010, and while I was in Nairobi writing memos in my journal. I made a note to myself to include this concept in my analysis (Reflexive journal, July 2, 2012). According to Adichie, the way to create a stereotype is to show a single story of a people, over and over again; then that is what they become. She pointed out that the single story of Africa is full of “beautiful landscapes, beautiful animals, and incomprehensible people, fighting senseless wars, dying of poverty and AIDS, unable to speak for themselves, and waiting to be saved by a kind, white foreigner” (2009). Single stories create stereotypes, and one of my concerns about my research in Mathare Valley is possibly contributing to the single story of slum dwellers as Others. Invoking themes of post-colonial theories, Adichie (2009) claimed that power is the ability not just to tell another’s story, “but to make it the definitive story of that person.” Most poignant to this case study was the argument that stereotypes are not necessarily untrue, but that they are incomplete. While slums can be defined by physical attributes and measurable densities and in this case all of the nongovernment schools involved were in one particular slum, what I learned from my research was that there were too many nuances to claim a common condition for Mathare schools or their actors.

Further, I saw the seamless interweaving of my research participants' expressions of hope as illustrations of Ramirez's world culture theories. In this case, schooling was a "favored technology for identity affirmation and goal attainment" (Ramirez, 2003, p. 242). According to Ramirez (2003), the connections participants were making between hopes for themselves, their students, and their society assumes a world education model where education is a human right and contributes to human capital. Tracing the history of education policy in Africa, Sifuna (2007) supported the development of globalization theories; human capital and modernization theories dominated the planning process post-independence and assumed that education was the most profitable investment for the nation and individuals. Consequently, I saw the contemporary narrative at work in Mathare and at large, fostering the idea of universalism where all individuals and societies would benefit from schooling (Ramirez, 2003). While the idea of education as human capital is widely held, in consideration of the context of the slums, it may not be applicable. The research of Gulyani and Bassett (2010) amongst 500 enterprising-owning slum residents in Nairobi concluded that the level of education attained had no significant influence on poverty (p. 1719). If education is not in fact, a vehicle for advancement that students can attain, the question of "education for what" remains.

Reflections on the Roles of the Researcher

The experience of collecting data in Mathare Valley was both physically and psychologically taxing, and it taught me a lot about conducting field research. Even being somewhat familiar with the community I was entering, the reality of working in the slum context was arduous at times. Within three weeks of my field season, I became quite overwhelmed by guilt and heartache. The recurring theme of hunger in my visits and

conversations was unexpected and it struck me as especially poignant. I listened to teachers talk about how difficult it is for them to manage students when they are hungry, and how teachers are not making enough to feed themselves and their family; at the end of the day, I would pay my transport fare and ride away. In six weeks, the money I spent solely on transportation to and from Mathare Valley was equivalent to what some of my participating teachers will make in a year. The fact that I left Mathare Valley every day, filled my belly with food, slept securely in an apartment with a locking door, and had running water in my private bathroom seemed hypocritical. At one point it became too much for me and I broke down emotionally. Creswell (2009) called this an issue of “moral inquiry” (p. 90). I struggled to rationalize how my research would improve the human situation for the participants who were giving so much to me. I wondered whether I would benefit from the research more directly than the people I was writing about. I had to lean on the support and advice from my major professor at that point to refocus myself mentally.

One way that I was able to reframe my perspective was facilitated by an old friend of mine who lives outside of the city. He is a retired Kenyan teacher, and when we discussed my research, his response was that teachers must be so happy to hear that someone from outside Mathare was interested in what they are doing. This sentiment struck me as potential reciprocity; as I moved forward, I began to look for and notice this attitude amongst my participants. It was true that more than one teacher made a comment after an interview regarding feeling happy for the chance to talk about these things and feeling validated that someone was interested in their work. This was another aspect of the insider versus outsider dynamic I discussed in the hybridity section of this chapter.

My outsider status made me an identifiable source of potential income, but also a voice for the stories of educators.

This field research also confirmed much of what I read about in my program of study. Of course we read about building trustworthiness and establishing yourself in the field as an academic concept from a theoretical perspective. Even so, it was satisfying to watch it play out in front of my eyes and in my own life. Upon reflection, I felt good about the length of my field season and that I chose a research topic based somewhere I had been before. All of it proved to be crucial in this research process. Sometime after the three week mark is when I began to see people relax more around me, as well. My memos detailed a perceptible shift; I acquired the distinct impression that school personnel realized that I really was a teacher and I was genuinely interested in talking and even sharing a bit about our profession. Changes in behavior included the desire to talk more during break times and after interviews; teachers candidly shared stories and asked me about education in the U.S.A. Lincoln and Guba (1985) were very prolific about the role of reflection in good qualitative research. By being able to reflect what participants shared with me, I established trustworthiness as a colleague.

There was one school that was especially open and organized from the beginning. During the first week, they requested I teach some while I was there, so I told them I would do so on the last day that I was in the field. A teacher that I interviewed and observed asked me to teach a geography lesson. I spent a good amount of time with his students during my time there, so we were quite comfortable with one another by the end. I felt it was a good way to offer reciprocity in the best manner I knew; my major professor had encouraged me to believe that offering my interest, commitment and

sincerity was a significant gesture. I planned a lesson using only what was available at the school to model some strategies that the teachers could use. It was fun and very satisfying to work with the students but also to share some ideas with the teachers.

Things hit a stride during my field season between weeks three and five. Then, I experienced a frustration point that I attributed to awareness based on time in the field; an emotion noted by Wolcott in *The Art of Fieldwork* (1995) After approximately five weeks in the field, the overwhelming guilt and emotion that I experienced in the first half of my visit morphed into a nagging sense of cynicism or skepticism about everything and everyone. Either directly or indirectly, I felt that people were always asking me for something; everyone seemed to want or need something from me. The schools I worked with, the students, my key informant, acquaintances I met, even old friends I had there all seemed to be angling for something. There was an assumption that I had money to give, and everyone had a story to tell. Sometimes it felt as if the participating school sites were treating me as a potential future donor, sponsor, or “well-wisher.” The students at every school I visited had big, rehearsed greetings for visitors that began to feel like pandering. It seemed to come from all angles, and it was a part of my experience in the field every day. The breaking point was when it spread to what little social time I had, as well. People I met wanted me to come to events or meetings for whatever NGO with which they were involved. Old friends spent our time together explicating how if they just had \$500 dollars, it would change their lives and everything would work out. Even taxi drivers took the opportunity in the car ride to tell me about how difficult it was to make ends meet. While I of course recognize the many hardships of people in Nairobi and

definitely did not want to diminish anyone's suffering, I began to feel a bit manipulated and skeptical.

Those thoughts reinvigorated feelings of guilt, which then culminated in confusion about what was real and what was imagined. I wrote in my reflexive journal about how much I might be projecting onto other people. I was witnessing and hearing about so much corruption, manipulation, and mismanagement of organizations and schools in Mathare, and I wondered whether I was allowing cynicism to influence my understanding of daily exchanges, experiences, or expectations.

Although school sites signed the consent form and I was very explicit with interview participants, I wondered if the participating schools may have had some expectations of what they would get out of this experience beyond what I expressly explained during the research authorization and consent process. In interviews, many teachers mentioned a version of "someone to come and save us" as one of the main things needed for the school to succeed in the future. I got the feeling that perhaps the directors had the hope that in the end I would become a supporter of the school or sponsor to students.

Grappling with that moral inquiry and engaging with my reflexive journal proved to be a fundamental part of the research process for me. In addition to the insight I gained about my research questions from the data, I felt more enlightened about the research process, as well as sociocultural nuances of the broader phenomenon at hand. After seeing and hearing all I did in an official research capacity, I began to reflect on previous visits as a volunteer; I thought about how naïve I was. I felt I was guilty of perpetuating a system based on dependency and even the single-story rhetoric about poverty-stricken

Africans. While disturbing in some ways, this reflexivity about the ways my social background and behavior impacted my research served to inform my conclusions and interpretations of the implications of the data (Roulston, 2010, p. 116).

Limitations

There were several limitations in this research design including my status as an outsider, language, access to sites, elements of risk in the field, logistics, and limited time in the field. Additionally, as a single case study with multiple sites, generalization is limited. An overarching limitation was that of cultural competency. In addition to being a cross-cultural setting, there were several cultural aspects unique to the slums that limited my access.

Most notably, my sample size was a limitation of my study. One of the main implications I found was that there was very little continuity amongst the schools I researched. Since my conclusion was that there was no single story to report and 85 nongovernment schools operating in Mathare Valley, the opportunity to obtain more school sites certainly would have expanded the dimensions of my descriptions.

Overall, my study took place in a difficult context that challenged my ability to gather data. The key lesson learned was being prepared at all times, as Roulston (2010) noted; I had to be flexible in dealing with unexpected events. This proved useful to prevent time lost because of lack of materials or absence. I carried everything I might need with me as often as possible so that I was prepared for the unexpected. Often this meant having data with me to read and code while I waited for interviewees, or being able to move on to another school when an impromptu opportunity presented itself. For

the purposes of answering my research questions, the limitations detailed above were not destructive to my goals.

Directions for Future Research

The sociocultural environment of the slums is so dynamic that future research could take many directions. My observation field notes were rife with notations that could be explored further. For the purpose of this dissertation, I had to concentrate on pursuing answers to my specific research questions. The phenomenon of private schools for the poor is growing globally, so continuing research has several natural directions. In fact, I would be most interested in pursuing a comparative study in which I conduct similar field work in other slums worldwide to compare to my findings in Mathare. In addition to those considered in the ‘Implications’ section of this chapter, the four most pertinent issues of future research that I identified from my data include 1) NGO and foreign presence in the slums, 2) cultural perceptions of the value of education, 3) language issues in teaching, and 4) the psychological issues endured by both teachers and students in these schools.

The final question I asked in every interview was essentially, “what am I missing?” I asked school personnel to complete the following thought: “You cannot effectively describe teaching in Mathare without addressing _____.” The coded responses to that question influenced what I identified as directions for future research. Again, my goal is to place the educators’ positions at the center of my work.

NGO and Foreign Presence in the Slums

Responses to my final question were, not surprisingly, mostly dimensions of the environment. However, there was also a significant amount of intrigue on the part of

school personnel around the role of NGOs in this business of private schooling in the slums. My observation field notes recorded many thoughts, feelings and experiences that pointed to a post-colonial presence. Issues of dependency and aid had a clear connection to ways the entrepreneurial schooling market runs. The incident regarding NP was a good example of this; the fact that I was informed of the goings on there by a foreign woman contacting me from the U.S.A. was the first hint. Over time, I learned that in this case, basically all of the money for the school comes from foreign donations, and this turf war is really about the potential to get future funds from donors. After visiting, it was clear that the location was very desirable; it was no wonder that the headmaster felt it was worth fighting for. In speaking with others in Mathare, there was the sentiment of “there will always be more [muzungus that will give money]” (Field notes, June 28, 2012). The lesson learned was that competitive market for nongovernment schools operating in the slums is not only for student enrollment and tuition, but also for lucrative outsider support.

Another school I worked with was struggling with the leadership of their parent NGO. Similar issues of distrust and management of foreign-funded donations tainted the school’s reputation. In recommending this topic as a central issue pertaining to the business of education in Mathare Valley, one participant claimed to know of schools that alter results of KCPE scores to appeal to donors, and of another that was telling donors that school fees cost twice as much as reality in order to collect double funds (Interviewee 2, July 2, 2012). Due to the “informal” nature of these schools in the slums, it would be interesting to pursue this specific line of research regarding the presence of NGOs in the slums and what that looks like on the ground level.

Cultural Perceptions of the Value of Education

Another direction for future research based on my data collection has to do with the cultural perception of the “value of education.” School personnel consistently articulated an impression that parents in Mathare Valley do not understand the value of education. At the same time however, parents are enrolling their children in private schools in record numbers. Not only that, but previous research suggests the reason they are doing so is based on a perception of higher quality teachers and instruction in private schools; this would infer that parents do, in fact, have a sense of the value of education. There appeared to be a dichotomy between what teachers say and parents do. A possible link to this idea is couched within the ambiguousness surrounding A Government School. If parents in Mathare do not value education, then despite reports of poor performance, one could assume that A Government School would be full of students. A Government School is a “free,” government school with class size averages of 40-50 students; this is not much different than the private schools in this case study (Field notes June 27, 2012).

The findings of this case study suggest that social pressure has something to do with private school enrollment, but the cultural perception of education’s value is a phenomenon that I could explore in more detail as many other scholars have. This has an interesting connection to human capital theory and the conflict mentioned earlier in this chapter. Is the “value of education” part of a global rhetoric that is universally accepted, but unfounded in the context of the slums? Research that focuses specifically on this dichotomy of perception and reality would be an interesting undertaking that could be an extension of the relationships I have already begun to build in my own research.

Language Issues in Teaching

Another possibility for future research emerged from divergence in my data. Question 15 on the questionnaire asked participants to identify issues that are a challenge of working in their current school. Participants were to mark as many issues as were applicable to their situation. During data analysis in the field, I tallied the responses and found 20 occurrences of “language issues,” making it the fourth most popular answer (see Figure 56). Consistent with a constant comparative approach, I incorporated a question about language into follow-up interviews and interviews that took place later in the field season. However, interviewees consistently denied language being a problem or particular challenge in their classrooms. Classroom teachers dismissed language barriers as being a major concern or something to which they had to devote significant time or energy. This divergence would be an interesting avenue to pursue more specifically. My questions include whether there is a reason that perhaps teachers were willing to indicate language issues anonymously, but not in person. With a clear connection to post-colonial issues of power and language, it would be interesting to see if their claims are corroborated through further research. Many scholars in comparative education fields and postcolonial settings focus on language issues and would connect to this setting (Napier & Majhanovich, 2013).

Psychological Issues Endured by Both Teachers and Students

Personally, I found the most poignant feature of the working conditions for teachers in Mathare to be the strength of psyche required to work with local students. As a former classroom teacher, I am acutely aware of the emotional toll working with children on a regular basis. This is amplified when one considers the slum context and the

exposure to health issues, violence, and trauma that young people experience on a regular basis. My own subjectivity as a classroom teacher led me to consider this a pertinent area for future research. However, my inclination towards the subject is supported by the urgency conveyed in the data regarding teachers' desire to learn how to help their students. Qualitative research in this arena would be extremely sensitive given the nature of the issues and the fact that one would be involving the confidentiality of children. Even so, I believe it to be a worthwhile undertaking that would further contribute to understanding the micro-realities of the slum context.

The role of NGOs in the slums, perceptions of education, language, and the psyche of students and teachers are all areas of research that could emerge from my data and experiences. The relationships I began to build in the summer of 2012 could very likely grow in these directions as I continue in the field of comparative and international education. Appropriately, all of these topics would be supported by trends probing issues of context in comparative education (Crossley, 2009).

In closing, the overall findings of this case describe the multi-dimensional realities of living and working in the context of slum communities. School personnel deal with universal teacher issues like those of salary and curriculum implementation. Unique issues in this case were related to the environment in which these schools operate. Survival in the environment of Mathare Valley requires a constant search for "greener pastures" on the part of both students and teachers. Another example of a unique finding was the sentiment that "some is better than none," as it is a clear connection to the sparse lifestyle synonymous with living in the slums. Across themes, space, money, and hope, the idea that one must recognize what is there rather than what is not was a poignant

finding in the case. After my field season working in Mathare Valley I gained a greater understanding of the work that educators do in that context.

Even more so, I learned about the process of undertaking such arduous field-based, micro-level, qualitative research. The depth of the experience was invaluable as I transition into the profession as a researcher. My efforts this summer added insights to the larger narrative about low-fee private schools for the poor as related to the realities of educators. There are consequences, both physical and psychological, that come along with working in the slum context, as my participants described. On a positive note, the other insight my work provided was that of the power of social relationships in this particular community. The social fabric of the slum community in which I worked greatly influences the experience of schooling. Even so, my research findings culminate in the power of context, and the fact that the slum label is not indicative of a common experience. The variety of working conditions and experiences told by the educators working in nongovernment schools in Mathare Valley exhibit that conclusion.

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APPENDIX A

MOES&T REGISTRATION REQUIREMENTS

| | | |
|--|--|---|
| Telegrams: "EDUCATION", Nairobi FAX No. Telephone: 020 - 318581 When replying please quote | MINISTRY OF EDUCATION  REPUBLIC OF KENYA | JOGOO HOUSE "B" HARAMBEE AVENUE P. O. Box 30040 NAIROBI KENYA |
| REF: | | DATE: |
| The Headteacher/Manager School/Academy P. O. Box | | |
| DOCUMENTS REQUIRED FOR REGISTRATION OF YOUR INSTITUTION | | |
| Please forward the following items/documents (ticked below) to this office immediately in order to facilitate the quick processing of the institution's registration:- | | |
| 1. Duly Completed and signed application forms for the Institution. 2. Duly Completed and signed application forms for the Manager of the institution. 3. A recent Full School Inspection Report from the DEO's/MEO'S or PDE's Office (stamped & signed) 4. A detailed recent Public Health/Sanitary Inspection Report (stamped and signed). 5. Title/Deed/Allotment letter or a valid Lease Agreement covering a period of not less than 8 years. 6. Certified copies of professional and academic certificates of all teachers/Manager 7. Certified copies of registration certificates of the teachers with T.S.C. 8. Supporting D.E.B minutes or Extract from the D.E.B minutes signed by the Secretary and Chairman 9. Site/Plan/Sketches of the institution showing the existing facilities and future development or extension plans. 10. A copy of the Registration of the institution's Business Name under the Business names Act or A certified copy of the registration of the organization as a Society or Limited Company and a copy of the Memorandum of Association. 11. Ksh Registration fees (Bankers Cheque made to the Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Education, Science and Technology). Money/Postal orders are NOT ACCEPTED. 12. | | |
| FOR: PERMANENT SECRETARY | | |
| NB: Charges for registration are as follows:- | | |
| (i) Public Schools (Provisional and Re-registration) 1,000/= | | |
| (ii) Private (Provisional Registration) 10,000/= | | |
| (iii) Private (Re and Full Registration) - 5,000/= | | |
| (iv) Church/Religious based schools (Provisional and Re-Registration)- 4,000/= | | |

Source: Kenya Ministry of Education (2013)

APPENDIX B
QUESTIONNAIRE

This questionnaire is part of a study which intends to describe the working life of teachers in nongovernment schools in Mathare Valley. It may take 20-40 minutes to complete this questionnaire. By completing this form you will be helping to increase understanding of the work you do and, contributing to important conversations about the needs of nongovernment primary schools in Nairobi. **THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR YOUR TIME!**

***INSTRUCTIONS:** In responding to these questions, please put an X in the appropriate box and add your own comments as needed.*

1. What is your gender?

_____Female

_____Male

2. How old are you?

_____Under 25

_____25-29

_____30-39

_____40-49

_____50-59

_____60+

3. Do you currently live in Mathare Valley?

_____Yes

_____No

4. Did you attend primary school in Mathare Valley?

_____Yes

_____No

5. Do you have a secondary school diploma?

_____Yes

_____No

6. Do you have a teacher's certification?

_____Yes

_____No

6a. If you answered Yes to #6; What is the name of the school where you received your teacher training?

7. Do you have a Bachelor's degree?

7a. If you answered Yes to #7; What is the name of the college or university where you earned your degree?

8. How long have you been working as a teacher?

_____This is my first year

_____1-2 years

_____3-5 years

_____6-10 years

_____11-15 years

_____16-20 years

_____More than 20 years

9. How long have you been working as a teacher at your current school?

_____ This is my first year

_____ 1-2 years

_____ 3-5 years

_____ 6-10 years

_____ 11-15 years

_____ 16-20 years

_____ More than 20 years

10. What is your employment status as a teacher at this school?

_____ Permanent employment (an on-going contract with no fixed end-point)

_____ Fixed term contract for a period of more than 1 school-year

_____ Fixed-term contract for a period of 1 school-year or less

11. Which class do you primarily teach at this school this year?

11a. How many students are enrolled in this class? _____ students

12. How long do you plan to remain in teaching?

_____ As long as I am able

_____ Until a specific life event occurs (for example, parenthood, marriage)

_____ Until a more desirable job opportunity comes along

_____ Definitely plan to leave as soon

13. Have you ever taught at a government school?

_____ Yes

_____ No

13a. If you answered Yes to #16, please describe why you left.

14. In a typical school week, estimate the number of (60-minute) hours you spend on the following for this school. Please write a number in each row and round to the nearest hour in your responses. Write 0 (zero) if none.

_____ hours: **Teaching** of students in school (either whole class, in groups or individually)

_____ hours: **Planning** or preparation of lessons either in school or out of school (including marking of student work)

_____ hours: **Administrative** duties either in school or out of school (including school administrative duties, paperwork and other clerical duties you undertake in your job as a teacher)

_____ hours: **Maintenance** of the school building or grounds.

_____ hours: **Other** (please explain):

15. Which of the following issues would you say is a challenge of working in your current school? *Please write an X on the line next to AS MANY of the items listed with which you agree. Space is provided below if you wish to add items that were not listed.*

_____ student tardiness

_____ student absenteeism

_____ teacher absenteeism

_____ students dropping out

_____ student apathy

_____ lack of parental involvement

_____ students come to school unprepared to learn

_____ poor student health

_____ access to teaching materials (Books, chalk, paper)

_____ noise level during instructional times

_____ student misbehavior

_____ student tuition

_____ language issues

_____ large class sizes

Please use this space to list any additional issues you consider a challenge that were not listed above:

16. Thinking about your professional development as a teacher, in which areas of your job do you desire more education or support? *Please write an X on the line next to AS MANY of the items listed with which you agree. Space is provided below if you wish to add items that were not listed.*

_____ I desire more education or support regarding my knowledge and understanding of the subjects I teach.

_____ I desire more education or support regarding my knowledge and understanding of effective instructional practices.

_____ I desire more education or support regarding strategies for teaching students with special learning needs.

_____ I desire more education or support regarding strategies for teaching students with limited English skills.

_____ I desire more education or support regarding strategies for dealing with student discipline and behavior problems.

_____ I desire more education or support regarding strategies for counseling students with personal issues.

_____ I desire more education or support regarding skills for communicating with parents.

Please use this space to list any additional areas you desire education or support that were not listed above:

INSTRUCTIONS: *Please write a short statement in response to the questions below.*

17. What are the benefits of working at your current school?

18. How would you describe the central mission of the school in which you currently work?

19. As a teacher, what do you think would help your school be more successful in the future?

Please use this space if you wish to share any additional comments about your experience as a teacher in your current school:

APPENDIX C

INTERVIEW PROTOCOLS

Interview Protocol 1 (Semi-structured)

[Used with head teachers and directors at each school]

My name is Ashley Carr, and I am working on my dissertation in Social Foundations of Education at the University of Georgia. I am interested in learning more about the nongovernment schools that serve the community of Mathare Valley. I am meeting with you today because of your position of leadership at this school, to provide some insight into how the school operates. I have asked you to sign the consent form to document your agreement to participate in this interview. If at any time you would prefer not to answer any questions, feel free to stop. Please interrupt me if you have any questions, concerns or need clarification. I will be taking some notes on what we talk about today, and with your permission, I would like to audio record our conversation. Please be sure that all of your personal information will be kept confidential and I will not use your real name when I write.

Participant information:

- *Name (to be changed in analysis)*
- *Gender*
- *Job description*
- *Number of years working at this school*

| | |
|----------------------------|---|
| Logistics | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Did you grow up in Mathare Valley? (If not, where?) 2. How far away from the school do you live? (How do you get to work?) 3. Can you describe what a typical work day for you is like? 4. Can you tell me from where most of your students come? |
| Policy issues | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 5. To your knowledge, has the school ever successfully applied for government subsidies? (Are there plans to do so? Why or why not?) 6. How does the school implement the national curriculum? (What are the issues related to effectively implementing the national curriculum?) 7. What is your impression of Kenya's Free Primary Education policy? 8. How does Kenya's Free Primary Education policy impact this school? |
| Working conditions | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 9. What are the main issues you are dealing with in your job? 10. Can you tell me about how the school secures funding? 11. Can you please explain student tuition for this school? 12. How was this location chosen for the school? 13. What are the advantages of this school's location? Disadvantages? 14. How does class size impact operation of the school? 15. What are the school's goals for student graduation? 16. What are the most common concerns you hear from teachers? (Requests?) |
| Areas of need | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 17. How does the school procure resources? 18. Which resources are priorities for you? (Why?) 19. What do you see as the future needs for the success of the school? (Do you anticipate any impediments to future success?) |
| Staffing issues | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 20. What would be the particular challenges for staffing this school? 21. How do you find teachers to hire? 22. How does the school address teacher salaries? |
| Follow-up questions | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 23. [Ask any additional questions related to informant response] 24. Do you have any additional information about the operation of this school that you would like to share with me? |

Interview Protocol 2 (Semi-structured)

[Used with classroom teachers at each school]

My name is Ashley Carr, and I am working on my dissertation in Social Foundations of Education at the University of Georgia. I am interested in learning more about the nongovernment schools that serve the community of Mathare Valley. I am meeting with you today because of your position of as a classroom teacher at this school, to provide insight into the work of teachers. I have asked you to sign the consent form to document your agreement to participate in this interview. If at any time you would prefer not to answer any questions, feel free to stop. Please interrupt me if you have any questions, concerns or need clarification. I will be taking some notes on what we talk about today, and with your permission, I would like to audio record our conversation. Please be sure that all of your personal information will be kept confidential and I will not use your real name when I write.

Participant information:

- *Name (to be changed in analysis)*
- *Gender*
- *Job description*
- *Number of years working at this school*

| | |
|----------------------------|--|
| Logistics | 1. Did you grow up in Mathare Valley? (If not, where?) 2. How far away from the school do you live? (How do you get to work?) 3. Can you describe what a typical work day for you is like? |
| Policy issues | 4. How do you implement the national curriculum in your classroom? (What are the issues related to effectively implementing the national curriculum?) 5. What is your impression of Kenya's Free Primary Education policy? 6. How does Kenya's Free Primary Education policy impact this school? |
| Working conditions | 7. What are the main issues you deal with on a daily basis in your job at this school? 8. How does class size impact your teaching? (How many students are enrolled in your class now?) 9. What are some common concerns do you hear voiced by students? |
| Staffing issues | 10. Can you please describe any teacher training you have done? (Where did you do this?) 11. What would you say is the biggest challenge about being a teacher in general? (In this school? In this community?) 12. Is there something that you would like to learn more about to help you in the classroom? 13. Why did you become a primary school teacher? 14. What are your goals as an educator? 15. What do your friends and family say about you being a teacher? 16. Would you like to be a teacher in a government school? (Why or why not?) |
| Areas of need | 17. Which resources are priorities for you? (Why?) 18. Is there a particular resource that you feel you need to be able to teach more effectively? 19. What do you do when you need something for your classroom? 20. What do you see as the future needs for the success of the school? (Do you anticipate impediments to future success?) |
| Follow-up questions | 21. [Ask any additional questions related to informant response] 22. Do you have any additional information about the operation of this school that you would like to share with me? |

Interview Protocol 3 (Semi-structured)

[Used with administrators at Site 4]

My name is Ashley Carr, and I am working on my dissertation in Social Foundations of Education at the University of Georgia. I am interested in learning more about the nongovernment schools that serve the community of Mathare Valley. I am meeting with you today because of your position of as a classroom teacher at this school, to provide insight into the work of teachers. I have asked you to sign the consent form to document your agreement to participate in this interview. If at any time you would prefer not to answer any questions, feel free to stop. Please interrupt me if you have any questions, concerns or need clarification. I will be taking some notes on what we talk about today, and with your permission, I would like to audio record our conversation. Please be sure that all of your personal information will be kept confidential and I will not use your real name when I write.

Participant information:

- *Name (to be changed in analysis)*
- *Gender*
- *Job description*
- *Number of years working at this school*

| | |
|---|--|
| Education policy | 1. From your experience working in Mathare Valley, how do you see Kenya's Free Primary Education policy serving this community? 2. Can you explain your understanding of the role of nongovernment schools in this policy and its goal of universal primary education? |
| Issues regarding teacher education and staff development | 3. What would you identify as the particular challenges for staffing schools in this community? 4. Is there something in particular that you can identify as a priority in terms of increasing effectiveness amongst teachers in this context? 5. What do you see as the long term goal for teachers in regards to Site 4? 6. Do you work with teachers in government schools as well as non-government? (If so, is there an identifiable difference in their experiences that you can see?) 7. What challenges does Site 4 face when working with teachers from these schools? (Logistical? Linguistic? Social? Cultural?) |
| Working conditions for teachers | 8. What do you see as the areas of greatest need for teachers working in Mathare Valley? 9. What are the most common concerns you hear from teachers? (Requests?) 10. Is there something in particular that you can identify as a priority in terms of improving working conditions for teachers in Mathare Valley? (How does Site 4 hope to address these issues?) |
| Follow-up questions | 11. [Ask any additional questions related to informant response] 12. Do you have any additional information about your experience working with teachers that you would like to share with me? |

APPENDIX D

OBSERVATION PROTOCOL

To describe each school site*Physical plant*

1. Where is the school located?
2. How is the school space organized?
3. What is the permanency of the school structure? (i.e. building materials)
4. Does the school have toilet facilities?
5. How is water procured?
6. How many classrooms does the school have?
7. Describe the play areas.
8. Describe the details and sketch the setting:

Operations

1. Are the children provided any food? Staff?
2. From where is that food procured? Prepared?
3. Is there a daily schedule visible?
4. What is the teaching rotation?
5. Are there any parents present? If so, what is their interaction with the teachers/administrators?
6. Does every classroom have a teacher assigned/available?

To describe the classroom of the teachers observed*Classroom setup*

1. How many students are in the classroom?
2. What are the dimensions of the room?
3. How many desks are in the classroom? Seats?
4. Describe the details and sketch the setting:

Teaching materials

1. Is there evidence of the Kenya national curriculum being implemented?
2. How many textbooks are available/being used?
3. What materials does the teacher have in her room?
4. Are there supplementary materials visible?
5. Are there shared materials available to the teacher somewhere?
6. Is there an office space for teachers?

Operations

1. Is the teacher speaking English? Kiswahili? Other?
2. Are the students speaking English? Kiswahili? Other?
3. How does the class period run?
4. Describe the interactions and record the chain of events through the lesson.

APPENDIX E

IRB APPROVAL LETTER



Office of The Vice President for Research
DHHS Assurance ID No. : FWA00003901

Institutional Review Board
Human Subjects Office
612 Boyd GSRC
Athens, Georgia 30602-7411
(706) 542-3199
Fax: (706) 542-3360
www.ovpr.uga.edu/hso

APPROVAL FORM

Date Proposal Received: 2012-05-07

Project Number: 2012-10890-0

| Name | Title | Dept/Phone | Address | Email |
|---------------------------|-------|--|--|-----------------------------|
| Dr. Diane Brook Napier | PI | Workforce Education, Leadership, and Social Foundations 431 Aderhold Hall 706-542-7399 | 706-227-0166 | dnapi@uga.edu;welsf@uga.edu |
| Ms. Ashley Christine Carr | CO | WELSP 336-549-2375 | 150 Hillside St Athens, GA 30601 | accarr@uga.edu |

Title of Study: Case study of primary education in Mathare Valley, Nairobi, Kenya

45 CFR 46 Category: Administrative 2,4

Parameters:

Approved for Institutions with Authorization Letters on File;

Change(s) Required for Approval:

Receipt of recruitment materials;

Revised Application;

Revised Consent Document(s);

Approved : 2012-06-08 Begin date : 2012-06-08 Expiration date : 2017-06-07

NOTE: Any research conducted before the approval date or after the end date collection date shown above is not covered by IRB approval, and cannot be retroactively approved.

Number Assigned by Sponsored Programs:

Funding Agency:

Your human subjects study has been approved.

Please be aware that it is your responsibility to inform the IRB:

- ... of any adverse events or unanticipated risks to the subjects or others within 24 to 72 hours;
- ... of any significant changes or additions to your study and obtain approval of them before they are put into effect;
- ... that you need to extend the approval period beyond the expiration date shown above;
- ... that you have completed your data collection as approved, within the approval period shown above, so that your file may be closed.

For additional information regarding your responsibilities as an investigator refer to the IRB Guidelines.
Use the attached Researcher Request Form for requesting renewals, changes, or closure.
Keep this original approval form for your records.

Chairperson or Designee,
Institutional Review Board

APPENDIX F

RAW QUESTIONNAIRE DATA MATRIX

| Q1 GENDER | M | | F | | D/A | | | | |
|--------------------------------------|------------------|----------------------|--------------|--------------|------------|-----------|--|--|--|
| V.V. | IIII- III | 9 | III | 4 | | 13 | | | |
| M.M. | IIII- | 5 | IIII- III | 9 | | 14 | | | |
| G.J. | III | 4 | III | 4 | | 8 | | | |
| D.P. | III | 4 | III | 3 | | 7 | | | |
| Q1 GENDER TOTAL | | 22 | | 20 | | 42 | | | |
| | | | | | | | | | |
| Q2 AGE | UND 25 | 25-29 | 30-39 | 40-45 | D/A | | | | |
| V.V. | II | IIII- | IIII- I | | | 13 | | | |
| M.M. | II | IIII- III (9) | III | | | 14 | | | |
| G.J. | IIII- | I | II | | | 8 | | | |
| D.P. | I | III | I | I | I | 7 | | | |
| Q2 AGE TOTAL | 10 | 18 | 12 | 1 | 1 | 42 | | | |
| | | | | | | | | | |
| Q3 LIVE IN M.V. | YES | NO | D/A | | | | | | |
| V.V. | IIII- | IIII- III | | | | 13 | | | |
| M.M. | IIII- III (9) | III | I | | | 14 | | | |
| GJ | IIII- II | I | | | | 8 | | | |
| DP | III | III | | | | 7 | | | |
| Q3 LIVE IN M.V. TOTAL | 25 | 16 | 1 | | | 42 | | | |
| | | | | | | | | | |
| Q4 PRIM IN M.V. | YES | NO | D/A | | | | | | |
| V.V. | II | IIII- IIII- I | | | | 13 | | | |
| M.M. | II | IIII- IIII- II | | | | 14 | | | |

| | | | | | | | | | |
|--|-----------------------|---------------------|------------|---|--------------------------------|--------------|---------------|-----------------|--|
| G.J. | II | IIII-I | | | | 8 | | | |
| DP | | IIII-II | | | | 7 | | | |
| Q4 PRIM IN M.V. TOTAL | 6 | 36 | | | | 42 | | | |
| | | | | | | | | | |
| Q5 SECONDARY CERT. | YES | NO | | | | | | | |
| V.V. | IIII- IIII- III | | | | | 13 | | | |
| M.M. | IIII- IIII- III | | | | | 14 | | | |
| G.J. | IIII- III | | | | | 8 | | | |
| D.P. | IIII- I | I | | | | 7 | | | |
| Q5 SECONDARY CERT. TOTAL | 41 | 1 | | | | 42 | | | |
| | | | | | | | | | |
| Q6 PRIMARY CERT | YES | NO | D/A | 6A TYPE | | | | | |
| V.V. | IIII | IIII- III | I | D/A, PI, PI, PI | BUNGOMA TEACHERS COLLEGE | | | | |
| M.M. | IIII- II | IIII- II | | PI (IIII-) SI ECDE diploma (III) | | | | | |
| G.J. | IIII | IIII | | PI | | | | | |
| D.P. | IIII | IIII | | | | | | | |
| Q6 PRIMARY CERT TOTAL | 19 | 22 | 1 | | | 42 | | | |
| | | | | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | | | | |
| Q7 BACHELORS | YES | NO | D/A | 7A | 7B | | | | |
| V.V. | | IIII- IIII- I | II | | | 13 | | | |
| MM | | IIII- IIII- | IIII | | | 14 | | | |
| GJ | | IIII- II | I | | | 8 | | | |
| DP | I | IIII- I | | | | 7 | | | |
| Q7 BACHELORS TOTAL | 1 | 34 | 7 | | | 42 | | | |
| | | | | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | | | | |
| Q8 YEARS TEACHING | <1 | 1-2 | 3-5 | 6-10 | 11-15 | 16-20 | >20 | D/ A | |
| V.V. | II | I | IIII- | IIII- I | I | | | | |
| MM | | I | IIII- | IIII- | I | | | | |
| GJ | | IIII- | I | I | | | | I | |
| DP | | II | II | II | I | | | | |

| | | | | | | | | | |
|---|--------------------|---------------------|--|---------------------------------|--------------|-------------|--|----------|-----------|
| Q8 YEARS TEACHING TOTAL | 2 | 9 | 13 | 14 | 3 | | | 1 | 42 |
| Q8 CURRENT SCHOOL | <1 | 1-2 | 3-5 | 6-10 | 11-15 | 16-20 | >20 | D/ A | |
| V.V. | IIII | III | II | IIII- | | | | | |
| MM | III | III | IIII | II | | | | I | |
| GJ | IIII- | | I | I | | | | I | |
| DP | III | I | I | I | I | | | | |
| Q8 CURRENT SCHOOL TOTAL | 15 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 1 | | | 2 | 42 |
| Q12 STAY? | As long as able | Until life event | Until more desirabl e job | Leave as soon as possible | D/A | | | | |
| V.V. | IIII- II | | IIII- | I | | 13 | | | |
| M.M. | IIII- IIII- | | III | | I | 14 | | | |
| G.J. | III | | III | | I | 8 | | | |
| D.P. | IIII- I | | I | | | 7 | | | |
| Q12 STAY? TOTAL | 27 | | 12 | 1 | 2 | 42 | | | |
| Q13 EVER TAUGHT GOVT | YES | NO | 13A LEFT? | D/A/ | | | | | |
| V.V. | IIII- | IIII- II | -Poor pay: III -Had no training | I | 13 | | | | |
| M.M. | IIII- | IIII- III | -D/A -poor pay: II -marriage (move to Nairobi) | | 14 | | | | |
| G.J. | III | III | Poor pay: II -move to Nairobi | I | 8 | | | | |
| D.P. | III | III | -pursue education: II -D/A -was a temp position - | | 7 | | | | |
| Q13 EVER TAUGHT GOVT TOTAL | 17 | 23 | | 2 | 42 | | | | |
| Q15 CHALLENGES | V.V. | M.M. | G.J. | D.P. | TOTAL | rank | | | |
| STD LATE | IIII- | III | II | | | | | | |
| STD ABSENT | IIII- II | IIII- IIII- I | IIII- | IIII- | 28 | 1 | | | |
| SHORT DAY | I | | | | 1 | N/A | That person marke d all but one | | |

| | | | | | | | | | |
|------------------------------|---|---|---|---|--------|----------|--|--|--|
| TEACHER ABSENT | I | | | | 1 | N/A | | | |
| SCHOOL LEAVER | III | IIII- II | IIII- | IIII | 19 | 4 | | | |
| STD APATHY | II | I | I | | 4 | 9 | | | |
| PARENTAL INVOLVEMENT | IIII- III | IIII- IIII- | III | IIII- I | 28 | 1 | | | |
| STD UPREPARED | IIII- | III | IIII | I | 13 | 6 | | | |
| STD HEALTH | IIII- III | IIII- III | I | III | 21 | 2 | | | |
| MATERIALS | IIII | I | II | IIII | 11 | 7 | | | |
| NOISE | I | IIII- I | IIII- I | II | 15 | 5 | | | |
| STD BEHAVIOR | II | I | I | II | 6 | 8 | | | |
| STD FEES | III | IIII- III | IIII- | II | 19 | 4 | | | |
| LANGUAGE | IIII- | IIII- I | IIII- I | III | 20 | 3 | | | |
| LARGE CLASS | IIII- III | III | | III | 15 | 5 | | | |
| OTHER* | -Low salary/hi cost of living -nvironment -no science equipt -food | -diff. learning paces | Delay \$ Classrooms scattered (3); hygiene (2); low pay (4); Conditions of classrooms (3); Motivation ; food | Space (2); morale; delayed \$; poor leadership; fear of dismissal; Environment; Classroom conditions; food | | | | | |
| D/A | II | I | I | I | 5 | | | | |
| Q15 CHALLENGES TOTALS | 65 | 70 | 41 | 35 | | | | | |
| Q16 PROF DEV | V.V. | M.M. | G.J. | D.P. | | RANK | | | |
| SUBJECT KNOWLEDGE | IIII- I | IIII- I | IIII- I | IIII | 22 | 4 | | | |
| INSTRUCTIONAL PRACTICES | IIII- I | IIII | IIII | IIII | 18 | 6 | | | |
| SPECIAL NEEDS | IIII- II | IIII- IIII- | IIII | III | 24 | 2 | | | |
| LIMITED ENGLISH | IIII- II | IIII- I | I | III | 17 | 7 | | | |
| STD DISCIPLINE | IIII | IIII- IIII- II | IIII | III | 23 | 3 | | | |
| COUNSELING | IIII- III | IIII- IIII- I | IIII- | IIII- | 29 | 1 | | | |
| COMM PARENTS | IIII- II | IIII- I | II | IIII | 19 | 5 | | | |
| D/A | III | I | I | I | 6 | | | | |
| | 45 | 56 | 26 | 26 | | | | | |
| OTHER* | Financial support; govt recognition; pursue p1; advance studies; Admin training | Get certification (2); Leadership training; how to explain the value of ed to parents <i>and the process/teaching methods used</i> | | \$ to further ed; ability to create student projects that could pos. impact society; support for dealing with other teachers; special education | | | | | |
| | | EXPERIENCE | SOC RELA | IMP SOCIETY | SALARY | IMP SELF | | | |
| Q17 | DIDN'T | 14 | 17 | 10 | 15 | 12 | | | |

| BENEFITS | ANSWER | | | | | | | | |
|---------------------------------------|------------------------|---|-------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|----------------------------------|----------------------------|------|-------------------------------------|-------|
| V.V | III-I | -work in slum, can do anything after this -self help org for teachers -gain work experience in teaching -get a salary (II) -family-like atmosphere -help others; personal fulfillment; change society for the better -access to learning materials to increase personal knowledge -opportunity to meet diverse people Sat. tuitions \$ -Freedom of speech | | | | | | | |
| M.M. | II | -gain work experience in teaching (III) -get a salary (III) -positive relationships with colleagues (II); like staff and families -help others; personal fulfillment; change society for the better; help (poor) children; nurture lives; help community -access to learning materials to increase personal knowledge -opportunity to meet diverse people (III); interact with other tribes; don't work as tribes, but together; -close to home; save money on transport -opportunity to learn about slums; interact with slum children -autonomy -textbooks available | | | | | | | |
| G.J. | I | -gain work experience in teaching (III) -get a salary (II) -friendships -help others; personal fulfillment; change society for the better; help (poor) children; nurture lives; help community -access to learning materials to increase personal knowledge (II) -opportunity to meet diverse people; -close to home; save money on transport -opportunity to learn about slums (and how to live in); interact with slum children; increase social opportunities -textbooks available (II) | | | | | | | |
| D.P. | II | Get a salary (II "delayed, but get it") -meet and social with different backgrounds and diff tribes(II) -get exposure to slums and hardship -school is near the road -has electricity, toilets, water, and security -opportunities for training (II) -free tuition for children -close to the house -get teaching experience -increase knowledge | | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | | | | |
| Q18 CENTRAL MISSION | Knowledge/ literacy | Empowerment | Help the poor | Improve lives/future status | Improve society/ community | Provide access to ed | | | |
| | 6 | 4 | 5 | 5 | 7 | 2 | | | |
| Q19 FUTURE SUCCESS | Parent cooperation | Teacher salary | Books & learning materials | High goals & expectations | Hardwork & teamwork | Discipline | Food | Improved classroom facilities | admin |
| | 10 | 12 | 10 | 3 | 7 | 4 | 2 | 9 | 5 |
| Teacher training *rep at all sites | 9 | | | | | | | | |

APPENDIX G

CONSENT FORM

I, _____, agree to participate in a research study titled **“A case study of nongovernment primary schools in Mathare Valley, Nairobi, Kenya”** conducted by **Ashley Christine Carr** from the **Department of Workforce Education, Leadership, and Social Foundations at the University of Georgia** (706-825-5231) under the direction of Dr. Diane Brook Napier, Department of Workforce Education, Leadership, and Social Foundations, the University of Georgia (706-542-7399).

I understand that my participation is voluntary. I can refuse to participate or stop taking part at anytime without giving any reason, and without penalty or loss of benefits to which I am otherwise entitled. I can ask to have all of the information about me returned to me, removed from the research records, or destroyed.

The reason for this study is to gain insight into the realities of teaching primary school in nongovernment schools in a slum community. If I volunteer to take part in this study, I will be asked to do the following things:

- 1) Complete a questionnaire regarding my position at this school
- 2) Answer questions about my experiences as a teacher
- 3) Answer questions about my beliefs regarding education
- 4) After the questionnaire, I may be asked to take part in at least one interview lasting 30 minutes- 1 hour, with the possibility of a follow-up interview in the next few weeks if needed
- 5) Agree to be observed in the school setting and potentially in my classroom

The benefits for me are that the study will give me a chance to talk about issues that are of interest or importance to me and share my opinions with others. The researcher also hopes that the information learned in this study will help others in society better understand and advocate for primary school and teacher issues in slum communities.

No discomfort or stresses are expected, and no risk is expected. If at any time I feel uncomfortable participating, I may stop altogether or skip that portion of the interview. No individually-identifiable information about me, or provided by me during the research, will be shared with others without my written permission, except if it is necessary to protect my welfare (for example, if I were injured and need physician care) or if required by law. All identifying information will be kept completely confidential and pseudonyms will be used in the written dissertation.

The researcher will answer any further questions about the research, now or during the course of the project, and can be reached by telephone at (336) 549-2375, or accarr@uga.edu.

I give my permission for the researcher to record this interview. Circle one: YES / NO. Initial ____.

I give my permission for the researcher to take photographs. Circle one: YES / NO. Initial ____.

I understand the procedures described above. My questions have been answered to my satisfaction, and I agree to participate in this study. I have been given a copy of this form.

| | | |
|---------------------|-------------|------|
| Name of Researcher | Signature | Date |
| Telephone: _____ | Email:----- | |
| Name of Participant | Signature | Date |

Please sign both copies, keep one and return one to the researcher.

Additional questions or problems regarding your rights as a research participant should be addressed to The Chairperson, Institutional Review Board, University of Georgia, 612 Boyd Graduate Studies Research Center, Athens, Georgia 30602-7411; Telephone (706) 542-3199; E-Mail Address IRB@uga.edu.

APPENDIX H

SAMPLE TERM TEST PURCHASED FOR NONGOVERNMENT SCHOOL

NURSERY TERM 2 - 2012

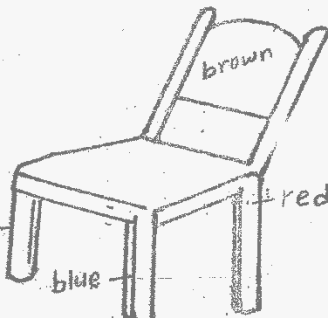
CREATIVE PATTERN

Name _____ School _____

Complete the pattern

(P) (P) (P)

Colour the pictures



Draw and colour a pencil

APPENDIX I

NOTICE FROM MOE ABOUT RELEASE OF FPE FUNDS (SIMBA) FOR
NONGOVERNMENT SCHOOL

MINISTRY OF EDUCATION, SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

Telegrams: EDUCATION NAIROBI
Telephone: Nairobi 31943
Fax: 21425

Jugan House "B"
Harambee Avenue
P.O. Box 8048
NAIROBI

Ref: PE 14423

Date: 14th Jan 2004

The PDE
Nairobi Province
P.O. Box 74529
NAIROBI


G

**RE: DISBURSEMENT OF FPE FUNDS TO 136 NFE CENTRES IN
NAIROBI - 2004/2005 FY**

The Ministry of Education Science and Technology has release Ksh.1020.00 per child to a total of 32,733 children in 136 Non-Formal Schools in Nairobi Province. The money is for Instructional Materials and is to be utilized as follows:

| | | |
|---------------------------------------|-------------|------|
| • Textbooks per pupil | Ksh.680.00 | 1760 |
| • Exercise Book per pupil | Ksh.160.00 | 250 |
| • Supplementary readers per pupil | Ksh.140.00 | 180 |
| • Pencils per pupil | Ksh. 15.00 | 30 |
| • Dusters, Chalk, Registers per pupil | Ksh. 15.00 | 30 |
| • Charts and wall maps per pupil | Ksh. 10.00 | 50 |
| Total | Ksh.1020.00 | 1300 |

This information must reach all the 136 NFE centres in your province soonest with instructions that the FPE funds must be utilized as above without diversion whatsoever. All procurement procedures for public primary schools also apply in NFE centres.


S.K. KARABA
Ag. DIRECTOR BASIC EDUCATION

Source: Site 1 school records

APPENDIX J

NOTICE OF APPROPRIATED SIMBA FUNDS TO SITE 1

copy

MINISTRY OF EDUCATION, SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

Telegrams: "EDUCATION", Nairobi
Telephone: Nairobi 318581
Fax No.: 254-2-214287
When replying please quote

JOGOO HOUSE "B"
HARAMBEE AVENUE
P.O. BOX 30040
NAIROBI

Ref No.: G17/23/TPY(46)

1st September, 2005

TO,
The Headteacher,

P.O. Box 43881-00100,
Nairobi.

Dear Sir,

RE: CONFIRMATION OF GRANTS KSh332,520

We confirm that the government has granted and disbursed the KSh 332,520 to your institution for the purposes of buying instructional materials only to your pupils.

Kindly acknowledge receipt of the funds at your bank account.

Yours Faithfully,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to be 'P. M. Makite'.

Mr. P. M. MAKITE**(SADE/NFE)****FOR THE PERMANENT SECRETARY**

APPENDIX K

COMMUNICATION BETWEEN SITE 1 AND MOES&T REGARDING

INADEQUATE SIMBA FUNDS

PROPRIETOR OF C SECONDARY, (LOWER /UPPER PRIMARY SCHOOLS AND GENESIS JOY
PROJECT PROFESSIONAL STUDIES
P.O. BOX 43881, CODE 00100, G.P.O.
NAIROBI, KENYA.
TEL: (020) 6760320, CELL PHONE:0720-768493/0722-916270/0724-950722
EMAIL ADDRESS: g @yahoo.com

2nd September 2005

The Permanent Secretary
Ministry of Education Science & Technology
Jogoo House
P.O. Box 30040
NAIROBI

Attn _____

RE: GOVERNMENT GRANT - KSHS 332,520/=

We acknowledge with thanks receipt of your letter ref. G17/23/TPY (46) dated 1st Sept. 2005 in which you confirmed disbursement of (Kshs Three hundred thirty two thousand five hundred twenty only) to our institution bank account.

We are also delighted to confirm receipt of Government Grant totaling to Kshs 332,520/= which was credited to our account last month of August 2005.

Whilst we assure you of our total commitment to utilize the funds in buying instructional materials to 326 pupils, we have also to state the predicament we are facing in distributing the said materials to 618 pupils that are by now registered in our school.

We are yet to source for the materials with the help of SIMSC and will soon revert to you when submitting our RETURNS.

Many thanks for the grant given to the Kenyan children through our institution.

Yours faithfully,



SECRETARY



CHAIRMAN



TREASURER

FOR AND ON BEHALF OF MANAGEMENT COMMITTEE

APPENDIX M

CLEAN SAMPLE OF INTERVIEW NOTES

| | |
|--|--|
| <p><i>Talks a lot about contingency plans and having money or a plan in place for when things go pear shaped (i.e. Mercy Care)</i> <i>* connection to education level of those running the schools?</i></p> <p>DONO</p> <p>GOVT</p> <p>KEEP</p> <p>SALA</p> <p>\$</p> <p><i>Me: If schools complain that parents don't pay on time but parents claim they do – is timely payment really a solution, or is it larger managerial issues?</i> <i>TC: Yes, when it's a tough situation and someone pushed you (like not paying) every little bit hurts, and when teachers don't get paid, it's easy to leave.</i></p> <p>SOC REL</p> <p>HOPE</p> | <p>DPTC</p> <p>June 11, 2012 DP office 10: 30 am</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Don't think FPE does much for MV Has opened doors for many students <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Public school classes so big community sees the PS as inferior - DP denied request by MOE to help collect data - MOE seeking donors focusing on these not formal schools and serving thousands and may want to get in on it - New constitution is free and compulsory 2. Leadership – managers and principals have little experience and few systems for recruitment <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - hiring is a “fire fighting” exercise - typically people have no other options - if could pay more, could retain Resourcing > pay Is leader able to develop staff? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Try to teach about the school environment. - Can you predict for shortfalls? B/c that is when trigger leavers DP acts as a “critical friend” to help schools know when may be pushing teachers away <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Most schools operated as a business - Direct link to profit: if they can create a “professional environment” even if bad conditions, when you have a strong leader, create a team dynamic, teachers are willing to make sacrifices to drive results 5. Teachers express goal of improving community <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - want professional certification <p>=> financial guarantee</p> |
|--|--|

