Implications of "Institutional Massification" for Academic Practices:

A Qualitative study on the Perspectives and Experiences of Academics at a Public University in Kenya Conducted in light of Social-Practice Theory

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Mariah Mosomi

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ABSTRACT

Comprised of Low- and Middle-Income Countries (LMICs), state funding for higher education (HE) in Sub-Saharan Africa (SSA) is a low priority. Despite the increased pressure on higher education institutions (HEIs) to meet national development needs and the demands of rapid youth population growth, existing public institutions and their academic communities face major challenges in addressing the low participation rates. This study sets out a social practice approach to conceptualise the perception of rapid enrolment expansion experienced by academic staff in public higher education institutions. It is situated within a multifaceted phase of public higher education in Kenya which is characterised by 'institutional massification', that is, where the increasing pressure for student access is applied to existing institutions with inadequate capacity for requisite resources. The study looks at how academics reshaped their understandings and academic practices to incorporate new practices in the context of enrolment expansion. Using a qualitative descriptive research design data was generated from semi-structured interviews with twenty (20) academic staff at a public university in Kenya conducted in 2018. The analysis indicates that academics linked material-cultural and social-political dimensions with teaching, research, assessment, and supervision practices during enrolment. Of particular importance to scholarship of higher education in Sub-Saharan Africa, were the participants' perceptions that important governance and policy changes in the sector were sometimes imposed in ways that were divorced from the context of practice and its social realities. However, the study found that amidst tight working conditions academic staff were able to adopt new innovate coping practices.

By applying the tenets of social practice theory to analyse the perceptions of academics, the findings of this research will contribute to massification discourse with the view of enhancing policies and practices in public institutions of higher learning while helping higher education stakeholders connect with the participants' perceptions and experiences in order to reflect on how being an academic in a public university has been impacted by massification at the institutional level. The study further contributes to the discourse on broadening of Trow's dominantly accepted definition of massification that is mostly applicable to the national level prevalent to countries with more resources but less so in LMIC contexts. It is anticipated that the findings of this research will contribute to and enrich the on-going debate on massification in higher education in SSA.

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DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to my dad, Stephen Onchiri, and my brother, Gilbert Nyakundi, both of whom rested during the course of my study. I miss them dearly and look forward to the resurrection morning.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AfDB	African Development Bank
CATs	Continuous Assessment Tests
CBAs	Common Bargaining Agreements
CUE	Commission for University Education in Kenya
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
HE	Higher Education
HEFCE	Higher Education Funding Council for England
HEs	Higher Education Institutions
ICT	Information and Communications Technology
ILRI	International Livestock Research Institute
IMF	International Monetary Fund
KEMRI	Kenya Medical Research Institute
LMICs	Low- and Medium-Income Countries
NACOSTI	National Commission for Science Technology and Innovation
NCHE	National Council for Higher Education
NDP	National Development Plans (of Kenya)
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
PA	Public Address
PCR	Polymerase Chain Reaction
PhD	Doctor of Philosophy
QAA	Quality Assurance Agency
SAPs	Structural Adjustment Programs
SSA	Sub-Saharan Africa
TVET	Technical Vocational Education and Training
UCAS	Universities and Colleges Admissions Service

UK	United Kingdom
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation
WB	World Bank

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY

This chapter presents the background to massification as an emerging phenomenon in higher education. It then highlights the specific challenges of massification on staff academic practices from the social practice theory perspective before sharing the context and aims of this research. The chapter further defines "institutional massification" to clarify the difference between massification as defined by Martin Trow and "institutional Massification" – the experience in Kenya where institutions are under pressure to enrol students beyond the capacity of financial and other requisite resources (Mohamedbhai, 2008).

1.1 Introduction

Upholding the quality of higher education has become a dominant global policy dialogue. Yet, the pressure of massification and its related problems mean that academics now have increasingly demanding roles to meet as they make efforts to safeguard academic practices. Responding to mass demand for higher education has propelled many of the key changes of the preceding years. This growth has been propelled by the move to post-industrial markets, the growth of service industries and the emerging knowledge economy. Globally, the percentage of the young people enrolled in higher education grew from 19 per cent in the year 2000 to 38 per cent in 2018, with the most remarkable increases in upper middle- and upper-income countries (UNESCO, 2020). However, tertiary enrolment in low-income countries only improved marginally, from 5 per cent in 2000 to 7 per cent in 2007 with SSA recording the lowest participation rate in the world at 5 per cent. Today, enrolment in tertiary institutions stands at 44 per cent in LMICs, 24 percent in SSA, and 33 per cent in Kenya (UNESCO, 2020). Notwithstanding the low enrolment rates in SSA, countries in this region have been experiencing a unique kind of massification where institutions are facing an upsurge of enrolment at the institutional level that seems to surpass the capacity of most universities (Mohamedbhai, 2014). This finding formed the basis for this study by seeking to explore the experiences, challenges, and coping strategies of academics in one of the largest public universities in Kenya during a period of graduate and undergraduate enrolment expansion in order to establish its implications on academic practices.

No doubt countries in SSA need to expand their respective Higher Education (HE) systems given their comparatively low enrolment ratios. For example, an exploratory analysis on the relationship among human capital, higher education enrolment and economic growth in twenty-two SSA countries revealed that enrolment rate of higher education in SSA has a very weak

relationship with economic growth (Akinola & Bokana, 2018). This signifies the weak correlation between economic growth and the total factor productivity and consequently negative consequential effects on our total factor productivity. The main policy implication is that for SSA countries to maintain sustainable economic growth, home based human capital must be given a priority in the form of increased higher education budget and financing. However, there is a need to interrogate the implications of expansion on academic practices to ensure that new needs associated with the expansion are adequately addressed. Moreover, the impact on academics, and from the perspectives of academics is important, as education and research are about academic practices. Using the lens of social practice theory (Schatzki, 2002), this study looked at the experience of expansion in Kenya with specific focus on its implications on academic practices particularly the challenges confronting academics. As discussed in chapter two, this focus was informed by a review of increasing evidence that massification is a major contributor to increases in workload across academia in an effort to redefine national policies and strategies (Akalu, 2016).

The study aimed to contribute to existing literature on massification, as most research on implications of massification of higher education on academics has focused on influencing the academic development and continuous professional development (Kemmis, et al., 2014). The limited focus on the implications of massification on academic practices has been addressed more broadly in the review of relevant literature in the second chapter. In addition, choosing the social practice theory in this study, moves away from individualist approaches to change towards paying more attention to the social context of practice or the "practice architectures" (Mahon, Kemmis, Francisco & Lloyd, 2017).

1.2 Positionality

This thesis is based on the analysis of the transcripts of interviews with twenty academic staff of a public University in Kenya in which they describe their experiences with massification in their institution and how it has potentially impacted on their academic practices. In this section I briefly outline my roles with respect to the study institution and with policy making in Kenya and how these may have influenced this study.

I joined a public university in Kenya in 1981 and university was an unfamiliar territory. However, I quickly blended in and enjoyed my undergraduate studies. Lectures were conducted in large halls, but these were later broken down into tutorial sessions with (15-20 students). In these sessions, I enjoyed close interaction with other students and staff to discuss the materials presented

in the lectures. Academic staff took time to explain and expound on new concepts to ensure that we understood and progressed in our studies.

At the time, admissions were based on academic excellence and the purpose of university education was different from what it is today. There was a deep sense of dedication and pride on the part of academic staff as they endeavoured to make the best out of us. We had sufficient assignments to allow us to learn and establish ourselves in the field of study. I can vividly recall how academic staff were held in high esteem in society and that evoked a positive sense of envy and desire, prompting my zeal to be an academician one day. There were industrial strikes by students but never by academic staff.

From university I joined public service in the social sector where I received further training, gaining qualifications that secured me a new identity as a professional and researcher. And, going back into higher education, this time as an employee, turned out to be a good move professionally, as it opened new doors for me to participate in policy decisions; experience the exposure to the international world; a rich professional experience in research; enhanced qualitative research skills, and more importantly the realization of the power of practices hence my attraction and understanding to conceptualisations of the practice theory. Later on, living outside of my country, I was motivated to work as a lecturer in a public university where I came face to face with the reality of massification. I encountered a completely different environment from what I perceived my lecturers experienced. With massification, many things have changed, and the role and zeal of academic staff had significantly shifted. Incidences of academic staff industrial strikes were commonplace and student/staff ratios were high. I felt that enrolment expansion had marred the glossy university environment that I knew, plus the calibre of students was totally different. The students were many, the rooms were small and crowded. There was no time or room for tutorials and room allocation was often clashing pushing some classes to the institution terraces. This aroused my curiosity to investigate how massification has impacted academic teaching practices. I chose to undertake the study in my country because this is a sensitive topic, and I was not sure how the staff in a foreign country would view and respond to my positionality when sharing their life experiences and chose to carry out the research in my country. Therefore, I came into this study both as an insider and outsider with ongoing reflexivity during the whole research process.

I considered myself as an insider because of my deep sense of belonging to public higher education in my country. I felt like one of them. However, I was also an outsider for two reasons. Understanding the experiences of being an academic in a neighbouring university, my experience

was different from what my participants were going through. Besides, having worked in policy-decision-making, I had to detach myself from the sentiments of academics in order to investigate and present the feelings and experiences of staff objectively and meaningfully and I hope that I have satisfactory achieved this objective.

1.3 Context of the Study

Massification of HE is a global phenomenon (Marginson, 2016). The period between the year 1960 and 2000 goes down in history as the era in which the world experienced the greatest and most rapid expansion in higher education. The sector grew from 9.9% in 1971 to 32.9% in 2013 (UNESCO, 2015). Today, world tertiary enrolment stands at 40% (UNESCO, 2021). Massification as dominantly conceptualized in much HE literature, is based on the definition drawn from Martin Trow (1973). In his essay, Trow presented his argument showing that there was a broad pattern of development of higher education manifest in three phases: elite higher education; mass higher education, where participation reached 15 percent or so of the age group; and universal systems, where participation exceeded 50 percent with distinct changing characteristics between the three phases. This linear progression has been gradually accepted and adopted by many countries as a reasonable framework for organizing higher education systems and their courses worldwide. However, the reality in SSA has raised fundamental questions on this progression. UNESCO (2021) indicates that tertiary education enrolment in SSA stood at 9.4 % with Kenya standing at 11% against an average global enrolment rate of 38%. While massification may be experienced at the national level for many countries with a level of funding to support the growth, sub-Saharan countries continue to undergo expansion at the institutional level with minimal expansion of resources due to inadequate funding (Kipchumba, 2019; Mwirichia, Jagero & Barchok, 2017; Atuahene, 2011). The resulting experience is what has been defined as institutional massification (Mohamedbhai, 2014).

1.3.1 Massification in SSA Africa

Higher education plays a pivotal role in the development agenda of countries within the SSA region and with a growing population of youth aspiring to advance their knowledge, institutions of higher learning are experiencing pressure from governments to expand enrolment beyond their capacities. Research shows that while enrolment in higher education in Africa doubled between 2000 and 2015, (Varghese, 2013), many institutions are struggling with high student/staff ratios, decreased per-student budgetary allocation, political interference, poor physical infrastructure, large class sizes and inadequate resources for research **(**Mohamedbhai,

2014; Akalu, 2014). This number of students has further expanded following the growing number of adults pursuing HE credentials to improve their career progression chances (Swain & Hammond, 2011). Moreover, the region has recorded the highest annual tertiary enrolment at 8.6 per cent, compared to a 4.8 per cent average growth for the rest of the world over the last 40 years. This situation has also been aggravated by the view of higher education purely in terms of number of universities with countries putting less emphasis on a diversified higher education system that incorporates, polytechnics, technical colleges, and professional institutes that could reduce the pressure currently witnessed in public universities (Chege, 2015).

1.3.2 Higher Education Growth in Kenya

Since independence in 1963, the growth of higher education in Kenya has received a position of top priority as evidenced through National Development Plans (NDP). Originally, HE was categorized as a free social service to all qualified Kenyans to be financed from public funds (Republic of Kenya, 1964; 1966; 1970; 1974; 1979; 1984; 1989; 1994; 1997; 2002; Vision 2030). Following these policies, higher education received generous financing through yearly grants which supported both capital development and recurrent expenditures besides tuition costs and other personal allowances to the students. However, in the wake of the World Economic Recession of the 1980s, higher education lost its position as a public investment priority as the era of cost-sharing was adopted (World Bank, 1994). In support of this era, the World Bank and IMF introduced a universal re-alignment of economic policies by moving away from Keynesian economics to neo-liberalism.

For Kenya, the result was the introduction of Structural Adjustment Programs (SAPs) that supported a radical reduction of state funding to the social sector including higher education (Kiamba, 2005). This became the beginning of direct payment of university fees and allowances by students in public universities as part of cost-sharing strategy in 1991. To further redirect the universities' growing funding needs, the government instructed all public universities to seek alternative sources of funding to bridge the financial gaps as the percentage of income allocated to Kenyan public universities, dropped significantly (Wangenge-Ouma, 2007).

Because of the shifts in funding, public higher education institutions in Kenya have experienced a growing gap between expansion and funding, contributing to challenges of staffing and infrastructure with implications for increasing academic workload, constrained time for both teaching and research, low staff morale and weakened academic identity (Republic of Kenya, 2013; Gudo et al., 2011). In response to the funding deficits, public institutions have aggressively

expanded by establishing new constituent colleges to raise additional revenue. However, the tuition has failed to raise sufficient funds to expand the pool of academic staff leading to a break with the tradition of tenure as institutions engaged more part-time academic staff (Kyule, Kangu, Wambua, Mutinda & Kamau, 2014).

Currently, the government push for enrolment expansion has been motivated by the desire to widen human resource base for development as well as absorb the growing number of people seeking, HE opportunities (Kenya Vision, 2030). However, this expansion is happening against a backdrop of dwindling funding resources where the implication on academic practices may continue to remain subtle and over-looked when policy and institutional focus tends to be founded on the immediate demand for enrolment. It is anticipated that focus on the implications of massification on academic practice at the institutional level will contribute to the gaps in knowledge in this area. By applying the practice theory and the lens of social architectures (specific conditions) that shape academic practices during enrolment in public universities in Kenya the study will contribute to the massification discourse through answering the following research questions,

1. How do academics perceive massification within their institution?
2. What are the implications of institutional massification for academic practices?

Therefore, the adoption of a social practice framework is intended to highlight the importance of recognizing that massification amidst a paucity of resources has created a new context of practice, which, if not factored into the expansion policies, may have negative ramifications on academic practices. The next section shares the aims and significance of this research for higher education stakeholders in Kenya and other countries experiencing rapid enrolment expansion at the institutional level.

1.4 Site of Research

The study is set in a public university in Kenya. A country that is going through a unique kind of massification. Unlike private universities that set their own programme agenda based on their resources, public universities in Kenya are semi-autonomous where administrative policies are either jointly formulated with the government or executively driven by the government based on available financial resources (Gudo, 2014; Republic of Kenya, 2012).

The institution was selected because it has a long experience with massification having undergone major transformations to accommodate the growing population of students and staff. Although the institution enjoyed favourable funding in the past, this has gradually dwindled even

as the number of students has continued to grow in the last three decades. Located within a large urban setting the institution receives many mature students enrolling for evening classes and this has tended to put additional pressure on admission. However, despite being a recipient of a large number of students, the number of academics and the infrastructural facilities have relatively remained stagnant for a long time. Hence, the institution qualifies as a fair representation of public institutions experiencing the implications of massification in the country.

At regional (Eastern Africa and SSA) and international level, this university holds a prestigious position as a research-intensive public institution. In line with the objectives of this study, it provided a good opportunity to comprehend how academic practices have evolved during enrolment expansion. This understanding is intended to remotely apply the findings to institutions going through the same experience not only in SSA, but other LMICs.

1.5 Aims and Objectives of the Study

The intention of this study was to comprehend the implications of institutional massification on academic practices. The study used social practice theory with the lens of practice architectures to analyse the inspired work of academics in constructing and reconstructing academic identities and academic practices in the context of institutional changes brought about by institutional massification. With the growing pressure for enrolment in both undergraduate and postgraduate programmes, the institutional mission has been shifted to address the growing demands from all stakeholders at the expense of academic needs. Therefore, in analysing the emerging academic practices, I sought to understand how academics re-invented their experiences in response to the shift to working with a growing number of students within a declining funding environment. A social practice approach was used to illustrate the contextual possibilities academics considered in redesigning their new practices. This was augmented by perceptions of agency that is centred on the work of academics evolving from their experiences within contradictory discourses of massification.

The study is intended to demonstrate the utility a practice theory namely, the theory of practice architectures (Kemmis et al., 2014). This theory draws attention to the different and unique ways people, objects, discourses, relationships, activities, and circumstances in social life are enmeshed in sites of practice. The study further demonstrates how the theory of practice architectures allows for better understanding of the implications of massification on academic practices and academic identity; how the socio-material and social-political arrangements "enable or constrain" the academic practices through what participants say, what they do and how they

relate to each other. The lived experiences of academics are important, in this case, as studies continue to reveal that massification especially in a poorly funded environment affects staffing levels leading to increased workload that evokes negative emotions and practices (Altbach, Reinsberg & Hans de wit, 2017; Adebiyi, 2013).

A social practice theory signifies the ways people pursue an experience of connected learning, in a range of settings (Ito et al., 2013). Research shows that institutional systems often neglect to link with the greater existing educational prospects beyond the work environment. This implies that the knowledge, and networks that academics have developed elsewhere are often ignored in institutions as the main drivers of participation remain predetermined structured systems that tend to disregard the different backgrounds, interests, and expertise intended to solve problems collaboratively. As Ito et al., (2013) argue, higher institutions of learning need to move away from activities that disconnect content from context, and knowledge from experience, toward adaptive environments that connect academics' work ecologies with their social practices, and tools. Consequently, to achieve the aims of this study and contribute to the literature on institutional massification in SSA, the study addressed the following two objectives:

1. Identify academics' perceptions of HE massification.
2. Explore the implications of institutional massification for academic practices.

1.6 Methodology

This study sought to meet its objectives through a qualitative descriptive methodology with a constructivist worldview. The approach pays particular interest to the attributes of experience, precise meanings, feelings, and practices that develop through the relations between people (Aspers & Corte, 2019). Through a review and synthesis of participants' narratives and behaviours, this approach enabled me to understand what led to the practice choices participants made during massification and how those preferences finally took the form that they eventually did.

Prior appointments with purposely selected participants were done to ensure their availability during the interviews. The data was examined based on the interaction between social practice theory, experience in qualitative research approaches, and thematic analysis techniques.

In-depth interviews were conducted with 20 academics at one public university. An interpretive approach to data analysis was adopted (Darby, Fugate & Murray, 2019) using thematic analysis that focused on the subjective human experience as well as participant perceptions and feelings (Braun & Clarke 2019). The inductive nature of thematic analysis enhanced the data driven

assumptions of the study by providing a useful link between emerging themes and qualitative data from the participants.

1.7 Thesis Structure

This thesis is divided into five chapters. Chapter one introduces the study by defining and conceptualising the phenomenon of massification and its relationship to higher education followed by the background to Massification in Higher Education and how it is experienced by academics. The chapter then set the context of the study before presenting the aims and objectives of the research. In the second chapter, the literature review outlines an evaluation of studies on the connections between massification and the realities, opportunities, and challenges for academics in order to identify gaps in massification literature.

Chapter three discusses the theoretical concepts which inform the construct of this research through an in-depth discussion of social practice theory with specific emphasis on application of the practice architecture lens. Chapter four sets out the methodological approach taken in order to answer the research questions. The data collection through individual in-depth interviews and a thematic analysis that provided the data which form the basis of this study.

In chapter five, the findings of the study have been analysed and interpreted using social practice theory and the ideas of practice architectures. Whereas the conclusions and recommendations of this study may be assumed to be limited to the institution under consideration, their framing in broadly agreed theoretical concepts may permit them to be employed in other settings and so be of significance to other scholars. Thus, chapter six provides the conclusion, contribution to knowledge, implications for policy and practice, key recommendations on how enrolment expansion policies may be designed and operationalised to strengthen academic practices and proposed future research considerations

1.8 Massification: The Operational Definitions

Origin of the term massification in the higher education sector refers to a typology conceived by the American sociologist, Martin Trow. In his view, systems with enrolment of up to 15 per cent of high school leavers should be described as elite systems. Those systems enrolling between 15 per cent and 50 per cent, he defined as mass systems, while the systems enrolling over 50 per cent, he characterized as universal systems (Trow, 1970). Fifty years later, the model is very different although the term is still used albeit to denote a new global phenomenon with an upsurge in the number of students. To some degree, this trend has called into question the legitimacy of Trow's typology. The ubiquity of this term may now tend to conceal rather than illuminate the

crucial variations between systems of higher education worldwide. For that reason, this study has adopted the term institutional massification to denote the experience of LMICs, including Kenya.

Institutional Massification: Institutional massification, in this study, refers to the bulging of existing public Higher Education Institutions (HEIs) to meet the growing demand from the population without sufficient resource expansion. While strains and added demands have been experienced in most contexts, high income countries have seen a growth in the capacity of the sector. There is evidence of proliferation of HEIs, academic development units, quality assurance mechanisms and increased funding sources in addition to larger investments by the State comparatively. On the contrary, LMICs have endeavoured to meet the pressure from admissions without sufficient sectorial expansion.

Academic Practices: Academic practice in this study is defined as professional work which directly contributes to the generation and dissemination of knowledge. These include all aspects of teaching and learning, research and supervision, student assessments, and managing academic departments.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

The preceding chapter set the background of this study by introducing the phenomenon of massification and its relationship to the higher education sector followed by the context of massification and how it is experienced by academics. This chapter recapitulates the existing knowledge on massification and academic work with the intention of identifying relevant concepts and major themes. The chapter evaluates studies on the connections between massification and the realities, opportunities, and challenges for academics. Understanding these dynamics of enrolment expansion on academic practices and academic identity and their application to this thesis, sets the base for identification of the gaps in massification literature.

The chapter is divided into two sections. The first section presents a framework of alternative models of dealing with the challenges of massification of higher education. While enrolment expansion may seem beneficial to the students and the country's development agenda, without increased commensurate funding, the enrolment may affect the practitioners' teaching, research, supervision, and assessment practices (Hornsby & Osman, 2014). The second part is an overview of literature on the implications of massification of higher education on academic practices. The chapter concludes with research questions and the gaps in existing knowledge.

2.1 Introduction

Globally, Higher education organizations are facing pressure from increasing demands for enrolment expansion amidst scarcity of funding (Schendel & McCowan, 2016). On one hand, there are unrelenting demands for enrolment expansion, driven by both supply and demand factors. Conversely, institutions are struggling with the challenges of inadequate funding to recruit additional academics and expand learning facilities and requisite equipment to cope with this growing demand. Amidst this experience, academic practices remain an unclear notion and one's that may be over-looked when institutional policies tend to be grounded on prototypes which assume the importance of the individual as the determinant of academic decisions while ignoring the power of structure. Therefore, this thesis applied social practice theory to tie the relationship between academic practices and social practice architectures and analyse the major challenges confronting academics. In the same way, academic practices may be understood as situated and co-constructed, so a response to the implications of massification is an outcome of both agency and context.

2.2 Concept of Higher Education Massification

The term mass higher education was first used in the United States of America in the 1970s, referring to the growth of student enrolment in the post-war American higher education (Scott, Gallacher, & Parry, 2016).Traced to the work of Martin Trow (1973), massification was mostly informed and intended for describing the experience of higher education in the "minority" world of industrialized nations as opposed to 'majority' world of the Global South and LMICs. In essence, this was a sociological definition intended to depict changes in the social function of higher education in society. Trow, focusing on the growth of higher education argued that there was a broad pattern of development of higher education manifest in three phases: elite higher education; mass higher education, where participation reached 15 percent or so of the age group; and universal systems, where participation exceeded 50 percent with distinct changing characteristics between the three phases. He posited that access to higher education shifted from being a privilege in the elite phase to a right in the mass phase and then to an obligation in the universal phase, where higher qualifications became mandatory for full and effective social engagement. Along the continuum, Trow envisioned the main purpose of higher education shifting from shaping the mind and character of the ruling class in the elite phase to preparing a larger group in professional and technical skills in the mass phase, to creating a whole population capable of adapting to social and technological change in the universal phase.

Trow used the categories elite, mass, and universal in two distinct forms. On the one side, he envisioned them as separate historical stages in the evolution of higher education. Conversely, he saw them as differing patterns of practice that occurred alongside each other in the present. Using the three sequential phases, Trow develops insightful narratives about change in the sector. Student selection proceeds from use of the criterion of academic merit in the elite phase to programs designed to create social equality of opportunity in the mass phase and then to open access in the universal phase. Additionally, the emphasis on lifelong learning is compatible with a softening of the boundaries between formal education and other forms of life experience where the curriculum moves from a highly structured program based on mandatory intellectual requirements in the elite phase to a more flexible modular structure that facilitates choice in the mass phase, to the collapse of sequencing, structure, and assessment requirements in the universal phase. Indeed, in many countries the forecast made more than forty years ago has not really dated. Having framed higher education in this linear narrative, Trow argues that each phase survives in some institutions and parts of others, even as the system broadens its enrolment and functions.

Martin Trow's account of elite, mass, and universal, backed by its nuance of historical inevitability, presents a reasonable framework for sorting higher education systems and their trajectories.

Nonetheless, the larger intellectual achievement of Trow's 1973 essay lies in his explanation of the social dynamics of the growth of participation in higher education. Perhaps, Trow's sociological imagination better explains long-term patterns of educational participation and the social character of higher education than the alternate explanations of growth. In Trow's time, the main explanation of the relationship between higher education and the economy was that provided by human capital theory (Becker, 1962). Trow did not adopt the orthodoxy theory but instead notes that the service sector of the economy is expanding, triggering greater demand for graduates. For Trow the driving force behind the rising demand for participation is not economic rates of return but family aspirations as people seek to maintain and improve social position as human capital theory suggests. People conclude that whatever the state of the labour market at the point of graduation, it is better to be a graduate than not. This leads Trow to three insights.

First, he argues that there is no intrinsic limit to positional aspirations, there can be no limit to desires for social betterment through higher education and hence no ultimate limit to participation growth. It is not subject to economic scarcity as there will always exist continued pressure for an increase in the number of places in higher education. Growth and the movement from elite to mass higher education itself creates a set of social and psychological forces that tend to sustain it. As more people go to college, and as an even larger number become aware of it as a possible and reasonable aspiration, higher education remains a symbol of rising social status.

Trow further argued that labour markets respond to changes in higher education, as graduates tend to displace those without college credentials often using their capabilities to enrich their chances in the job market. This explains why participation has kept increasing despite the fact that graduates are no longer guaranteed professional employment and some face unemployment in the medium term in nearly all countries.

Trow's second insight is that in the long run government policy must follow the growth of social demand for higher education. Governments will be under pressure, especially from middle-class families, to facilitate growth until saturation is reached, using expanded supply and if necessary financial aid to support participation. The prediction that participation would expand without limit around the world was bolder, and in the long run Trow has been proven right. It seems that almost all governments now support expanding aspirations for higher education, although funding has often partly shifted to the families.

The third insight Trow highlights is that high and growing participation in higher education does not necessarily trigger upward social mobility on a broad scale when social stratification is aligned to the vertical institutional segmentation of higher education. But the creation of various segments of higher education, reflecting the status hierarchies in the larger society, is a more effective way of using higher education to sustain rather than undermine the class structure. However, he highlights a tension within it, for the promise of educational and social opportunity was always basic to popular consent to the strategy. As Trow put the matter in his later essay comparing Europe and America, in most countries, higher education trained and educated the ruling strata, selected, and recruited to government service and the learned professions. It conferred status on those who earned degrees and qualified them in various ways for the society's most challenging (and prestigious) jobs and occupations. In recent decades it has expanded those functions to provide education and training in a wide range of new and semi-professions.

Notwithstanding the widespread use of the concept of massification in the literature, critiques in view of a shift of the definition from the social attitudes and linear progression of higher education systems to reflect other concerns of time and place have been raised. Scott (2016) maintains that the idea of mass higher education, as expressed by Trow, certainly mirrored not only the time but the place in which it was first expressed. Scott further argues that massification entailed several assumptions including the close associations between increasing educational rights and democratic enablement, an innate acceptance that excellence and access could securely cohabit, an acceptance of the supervisory role of the state, and the presence of fairly unrestricted student movements between different levels of post-secondary education (Scott, 2016).

Therefore, Scott uses the term massification to denote the following:

- the relationship between mass higher education systems and society and the economy - in a sense that the growing number of students and in the number of institutions in the sector have transformed the social role of these institutions by being all-encompassing in their choice of learners. In this dimension, massification is closely associated with that of the labour market. Whereas the elite institutions used to create the social elite, the new mass higher education institutions tend to prepare experts for a variety of positions on the labour market.
- a unique form and composition of mass higher education structures the existing main institutions and new kinds of emerging institutions including vocational institutions now referred to as TVET institutions in Kenya.

- a change in the objectives of the institutions where universities have multiple missions. Alongside a need to restructure and enhance their domestic management and administration, universities must develop both reactive and proactive strategic plans to survive.
- wrestling with a more diverse student body and its consequences for curricula, the relationship between learners and academics, and quality systems in higher education institutions.

Thus, in the social context, the term massification has been used to describe changes in the social role of higher education. In this frame of analysis, higher education is viewed as part of society, identified in terms of societal reproduction. When focusing on the changes within higher education itself with growing and organisational complexity, the concept illustrates the widening of institutions as well as the structure of the student population.

Notions of mass higher education have further been reviewed on account of neoliberal processes, which defunded higher education especially in Sub-Saharan Africa (SSA). These processes degraded higher education from the service status to something of a free market open to private institutions. Subsequently, there has been perceived tensions between equity and quality (Mc Cowan, 2018). Embracing the notion of a positive relationship between enrolment expansion on one hand, and the quality of the population and enhanced national competitiveness in the globalising world economies on the other, many countries in Asia, the Pacific and Africa have chronicled a dramatic growth in higher education enrolments. This has been coupled with more and more privatised and marketization approaches to meet the demanding needs for the sector (Mok, 2016).

Whereas the era between the First and Second World Wars was considered to be the period when many industrialized countries advanced in mass higher education (Geiger, 2014), massification in Africa as a present-day reality (Mohamedbhai, 2014). In a study of seven public universities in Africa, Mohamedbhai found that even with Gross Tertiary Enrolment Ratio (GTER) values of between 1-6%, all the seven institutions recorded an annual increase in enrolments of 15-25 per cent. He argues that mounting pressure from governments for institutions to enrol more students in a significantly defunded higher education sector has implied that institutions have surpassed their capacity.

In this context, the term massification has been used mainly to depict problems related to the increase in student numbers at the institutional level or "Institutional Massification" without increase in funding to improve requisite resources as has been the experience in many countries in the SSA region.

Studies have further shown that enrolment expansion observed in African higher education institutions is characterized by low resource capacity to absorb the on-going level of enrolment and GTER below 15 percent (Tlali, Mukurunge, & Bhila, 2019; Mohamedbhai, 2014). The concept of mass higher education is thus more likely to be associated with resource adequacy in in these countries. The meaning of massification in Sub-Saharan Africa does not just consist of an exclusive relationship between the GTER and Massification but the institutional capacity to absorb all enrolled students. This does not corroborate the two-dimensional meaning given to massification of higher education by Trow (1973) and highlighted by Scott (2017). It is not conceivable to apply the precise sense given to the concept of massification by Trow's three-level typology of higher education to a SSA country like Kenya because its GTER is far below 15 percent.

In another study, Mve (2021) looking at the experience of massification in Cameroon argues for a contextualization of the phenomenon to achieve a shared meaning in the Sub-Saharan region. Mve claims that a contextual sense can be added to Trow's typology to optimize the conceptualization of higher education massification worldwide. The contextual sense would postulate the concept of higher education massification as depending on the circumstances that form its setting as a phenomenon that may include a mismatch between the implementation of enrolment policies and the quality and quantity of resources available in a particular setting.

Following the discussions from these studies, this research has adopted the concept of "Institutional Massification" in order to address the contextual nature of massification in SSA countries as elaborated in the next section.

2.2.1 Institutional Massification

In most countries in Sub-Saharan Africa, many universities are going through a phase that has been loosely defined as "institutional massification". These institutions are characterized by inadequate funding and poor physical infrastructure; inadequate staffing and congestion or an absence of appropriate student accommodation (Mohamedbhai, 2014). It is with this in mind that the definition of massification in this study deserves to reflect the challenge of accommodating the

surging number of students into few and scarcely funded institutions while capturing both the very low higher education enrolment ratio and the very rapid growth in real student numbers in many higher institutions of learning in the region (Kipchumba, 2019). As Peter Scott (2017) argues, massification should not be translated simply as a depiction of expansion in the numbers of students, and the number of institutions of higher learning but also as a succession of multiple developments.

Compared to higher education systems globally, enrolment in much of SSA universities is below 10%, with Kenya standing at 11% (UIS, 2020). While this may not be considered as massified from the global perspective, nonetheless, on-going discourses in SSA often use the term massification to denote the problems encountered by higher education institutions as opposed to national expansion challenges. Mohamedbhai (2014), commenting on the situation in SSA, concludes that countries in Africa are indeed going through massification at the institutional levels but not national levels.

In an article describing how universities in Africa are recruiting too many students whereas they have too little funds, The Economist, 2017, runs an article entitled "More can be less" to denote the plight of these institutions. This same conclusion was true ten years earlier in a study of seven African universities where results showed that student enrolment had increased by four to eightfold in these universities with an annual increase of 15-25% over the period 1986-2006. The term Institutional Massification is considered appropriate in differentiating the situation from the national or regional massification that expresses the high rate of enrolment (usually 50 percent as presented by Martin Trow.

Today, most African countries suffer from negative effects of institutional massification. These include very low staff/student ratios, overcrowded lecture theatres, insufficient laboratory equipment, abandonment of tutorial and practical sessions that have a direct impact on overall quality of teaching and learning. Of particular interest in this study is the social nuances within the institutions providing higher education especially academic practices. Therefore, the following section will review the drivers of massification to illuminate the practical implications that this transformation has for academic practices before discussing the challenges of massification for the academy.

2.3 Drivers of Massification

Acknowledging the unique place of universities and their role in making sustained contribution to national and global development through production and dissemination of

pertinent knowledge (Bailey et al., 2013), this section looks at the drivers of massification with an assertion that these drivers are country specific. Understanding the drivers of massification enhances the appreciation of the difference between massification and institutional massification along with the path that countries in SSA have followed to get to where they are today.

Arguably, the concept of massification in North America and Europe has been closely associated with rising need for graduates with specialist skills and growing social drive for higher education (Altbach, Liz Reisberg, & Hans de Wit 2017). Many European universities, for example, are anchored in a wider civic and social role. Traditionally, a lot of the literature on the relationship of higher education with society focused on its ties with industry and the economy and this aided to mark them out, in sharp distinction to some of the institutions like Oxford and Cambridge which were associated to somewhat different elites.

However, this was to change after 1945 when the role of higher education as a social tool and agency became broadly recognized with equality of chances on the vision of advancing towards a just and fair society. The shape of universities as instruments of social change was lower in the 1970s and 1980s, with prominence on their infrastructural responsibility in strengthening the economy. This was merged with New Labour's additional specific social plan, with the pledge of widening participation and the decrease of social marginalization through the launching of higher education to wider segments of society as the decade evolved (Brennan et al., 2010).

Gradually, universities were called upon to carry out a more active role, linked to the delivery of broader social objectives and to the development of the society. Their contribution to these developments has been cultivated mainly for the perceived beneficial reasons for economic development, social cohesion or national identity as opposed to any belief in the fundamental good of education. Today, the discussion in Europe has moved from massification to universal access where the focus has broadened beyond issues of access to include values, quality, and competitiveness. This experience is clearly different in other world regions as indicated in the discussions that follow.

For instance, the distinct nature of the countries in Asia implies that each one of them has gone through different experiences. Taking the high-income context of Japan, the drivers for massification may closely mirror what happened in Europe and North America, but the experience in Japan does not fit within Trow's tripartite massification typology. Japan's growth exhibits three distinct phases instead. In the first phase (1963-1970s), expansion was driven by the rapidly growing demand for manpower to drive industry needs (Huang, 2012). The second phase (1970s

and 1980s) saw the reduction of HE expansion following government determination to preserve quality of HE that was under threat from dramatic increase in enrolment and the undesirable and tenacious effects from the 1973 oil price shocks and subsequent 1973-1974 stock market crash on the country's economic growth (Huang, 2012). While the third phase, that took place from the late 1980s, was characterized with a massive expansion driven by increasing social demands resulting from private economic growth that enhanced family resources and demographic growth following the second baby boom after the Second World War. During this period, growth was driven by increased expansion in private institutions occasioned by government policy that moved to regulate public financial support to the HE institutions.

On the other hand, the experience in India has been influenced by its demographics, government policy, and HE feeder systems. Rao (2017), in a study on the Transition from Elite to Mass System of Higher Education in India argues that transition into mass system in the country is largely attributed to three main factors: an increase in youth population (Kapur & Mehta, 2017); government policy that expanded the HE feeder systems by enhancing retention and completion of elementary and secondary education systems; and the growing middle class population seeking to take advantage of the perceived new global economy and employment market opportunities (Rao, 2017). As a result, HE expansion in India has also gone through distinct phases. First, a rapid growth of public and state-supported elitist public institutions. Second, the phase of a growing demand coupled with decline in the public HE expansion that provided an opportunity for the private sector higher education provision (Tilak, 2014).

However, these experiences of Japan and India are different from what has been observed in China. Seeking to establish the drivers of massification in China, research shows that enrolment expansion was closely associated with government quest for world class; social growing demand; market forces including incorporation of the private sector by government; and institutional push for alternative sources of funding following shrinking government financial support to the sector (De Melo & Zha, 2015; Kinglun, 2008). Their findings further show that these initiatives that reflect government financial power facilitated a top-down model of governance that tended to suppress academics' voice. Kinglun (2008) further argues that opportunities to reach the managerial and leadership power was further curtailed by the tiers in university administration bureaucracy. He therefore associated the experience of massification with a number of negative experiences including overproduction of graduates; declining quality of education as students with

inferior academic grades got absorbed; inadequate hardware and software; increased workload for staff; and heavy financial burdens for stakeholders.

The experience in China closely mirrors what is happening in many SSA countries where the encounter with massification is more current when compared with other world regions. Countries in the region have been characterized with a very rapid increase in actual number of students enrolled in higher education institutions as opposed to a general national growth in enrolment as witnessed in other world regions (UNESCO, 2010). For instance, by 2015, the population of young people enrolled in higher education in SSA was a only 6 percent compared to a 26 per cent global average (State of Education in Africa Report, 2015). In spite of this difference that locates Sub-Saharan Africa at the lowest end, actual numerical enrolment has dramatically increased over the past few decades. Standing at less than 0.2 million in 1970, higher education enrolment in the region increased to over 4.5 million as of the year 2008. Rapid population growth coupled with policies to improve access to primary education in the 1980s led to a dramatic increase in output from primary education. In due course, the outcome has included increased secondary education enrolment and a steadily expanding proportion of secondary education graduates with genuine expectations for higher education enrolment (Calderon, 2018). This has tended to put the region under immense social and political pressure to increase their enrolments beyond what they can provide for (Mgaiwa, 2018; Teferra, 2013).

Many SSA governments have genuine concerns to expand their higher education systems. Unfortunately, dwindling public funding alongside significant reduction from private support over the years, implies that higher education has suffered from inadequate infrastructure; inadequate staffing; increasing workload for academic staff; and inadequate learning and accommodation space (Sanyal & Johnstone, 2012). All these challenges have continued to alter the site of practice with adverse implications for academic practice in most countries of the region including Kenya (Schatzki, 2002; Hornsby & Osman, 2014). For example, government emphasis on university education as an instrument of socio-economic growth and development has earned a top slot in the agenda pursued by many governments in SSA (Nyangau, 2014). Pushed by this persuasion, the Kenya government designed programmes to enhance education at all levels, and that was to become the genesis of growth in the education sector. The country has since experienced consistent expansion in university education to achieve the status of the largest university education system in East Africa (Bailey et al., 2013). While at independence in 1963 university enrolment was at about 1,000 students, the number stood at 537,000 in 2018 (Economic Survey,

2018) with serious implications for academic practices in all academic disciplines (Mukhanji, Ndiku & Obaki, 2016).

Although less than 20% of eligible applicants for admission to higher education institutions currently obtain admittance every year (CUE, 2012), many universities continue to battle with bulging student numbers. It is perceived that this demand is driven by both the growing number of young people as well as the increasing perception of university education as a guarantee for a lifelong career security (Okioga et al., 2012). From the supply side, the move from an elitist admission strategy that targeted academically "talented" individuals to a more flexible admission criteria driven by the desire to expand the university financial threshold through tuition paying students as well as the privatization strategy, have contributed to massification in Kenya (World Bank, 2019).

This section reveals that while the growth of higher education is propelled by different motives and needs, it is apparent that the experience of massification is a social, political, and developmental reality. The literature shows that Europe, North America and partially Asia have moved from the phase of massification to enter the universal phase. The literature further shows that the typology proposed by Martin Trow needs to be reviewed to accommodate the reality of enrolment expansion in SSA. However, it is apparent that the opportunity for SSA countries to tap the existing learning experiences regardless of the varied levels of development does exist and therefore, in the section, I explore how these diverse and unique encounters can contribute to addressing challenges of massification on academic practices.

2.4 Challenges of Massification of Higher Education on the Academy

Global data demonstrate that rapid enrolment expansion of higher education continues to challenge countries worldwide (UNESCO, 2015). With pressure on funding and a growing student population, there is a shift in higher education priority. Governments are slowly moving away from viewing higher education as a social good that deserves financing by arguing that the profits accrued from the training go to benefit individuals and not society (Heller & Callender, 2013). This has resulted in a spike in availability of requisite resources that has borne a generally unfavourable work environment for academics compromising instructional effectiveness and quality of education (Mukhanji, Ndiku & Obaki, 2016).

Other studies have shown that massification is behind the struggle with large classes. Davids (2014) states that some of the adverse consequences of large class sizes are reported to reduce students' levels of active involvement alongside students' depth of thinking in the

classroom. Harding & Engelbrecht (2017) further claim that students may feel alienated, and envy in large groups and compensate in negative ways that may affect a stimulating educational experience. Yet, one of the most salient facets of effective teaching lies in the teacher's ability to address students' demands and perceptions efficiently and individually (Wentling, Park & Peiper, 2007). There is an inseparable connection between class size and academic achievement. In a study conducted by Blatchford, Bassett, Brown, Martin and Russell (2004), they observed that students in large classes played a more passive role while in smaller classes they were more likely to interact actively with the teacher. A lack of motivation results from the low value individuals attach to their individual contributions, a factor that is prevalent in a large class setting (Leufer (2007)). This implies that Increasing class sizes might make it more difficult for lecturers to maintain the level of two-way communication with their students that is required to maximise student learning.

In another qualitative study on massification and the challenges to the professoriate, Akalu (2016) explored the experiences of academics in a large public university in Ethiopia going through a period of massification and an exponential increase in the number of students in their classrooms. He sought to understand academics' conceptions on the implications of massification on the quality of teaching and learning using interpretive assumptions. Twelve academics drawn from six faculties in the university participated in the study. Using a thematic analysis approach, the findings mirrored previous studies across SSA showing that there is a perceived decline in the quality of teaching and learning following the onset of enrolment expansion programmes (Teferra, 2015; Altbach, 2013b; Odhiambo, 2011). Akalu reported that the participants blamed the decline on quality on admission of less academically prepared students into the university; increases in academics' workload often linked to teaching large classes; a mismatch between the growth in student numbers and resource availability; and reduced autonomy for academic departments due to government interference in the selection of students based on qualifications. In this study, Akalu suggested that policies intended to enhance the quality of higher education should also include the concerns of academics. This study focused on the effects of enrolment expansion on the quality of training at undergraduate level. Little was said on the implication on academic practices more broadly.

Although these studies indicate that massification compromises quality of learning, Pitman, Koshy, and Phillimore (2014), in a quantitative study in Australia, seeking to back this concern with informed data looked at the effect of accelerated access to higher education on the quality of education using student prior academic achievements, attrition rates and progression

rates. The study revealed that whereas expanding access increased the number of students with lower levels of academic attainment registering in higher education, that did not essentially transform to a decreasing quality of education. Moreover, although on average student progression rates fell marginally, retention rates rose in most universities, implying high levels of learner resilience. Furthermore, previous wide differences in attrition and progression rates between universities, and the changes observed between 2009 and 2011 did not lead to significant changes. It may be argued that this unexpected outcome of enrolment expansion may have to do with availability of funds to support the expansion in Australia as argued by Malechwanzi, Shen and Mbeke (2016).

Using a documentary data collection method to assess policies of access and quality during massification in higher education, Malechwanzi, Shen and Mbeke (2016) found that countries with successful experiences in addressing enrolment expansion can provide useful learning lessons to other countries going through similar experiences. The comparative study between China and Kenya revealed that despite evidence to show that China put less investment in higher education as a percentage of its GDP than Kenya, its higher education participation rate is still much higher. China's external policies, increase in demand, access and funding have been credited to her success story. This finding underscores the power of policies governing the enrolment expansion process. Nevertheless, while this makes a good case for learning, one of the shortcomings of the study is that China and Kenya have huge differences in histories of HE, size and level of economy, cultural inclinations, and political models.

All these studies draw attention to the need for more studies investigating key factors that affect quality of teaching and learning during enrolment expansion, so that the arguments are anchored in empirical evidence that can enhance higher education decision-making process. For instance, Yego (2016), looking at the challenges facing higher education in Kenya found that massification is a major contributor to the number and quality of academics, training facilities and equipment. Besides, other studies have indicated that institutions going through increasing student numbers without adequate staff face challenges of work overload (Tettey, 2010). Unfortunately, some of the results of work overload include high staff attrition and reduced research activities (Hemer, 2014). It is further argued that in addition to pressures from enrolment expansion, university academics, traditionally concerned with core academic and disciplinary interests, are also having to contend with increased accountability and inadequate requisite financial and human resources (Adele, 2015; Gregory & Lodge, 2015). These studies point to the new reality for higher

education but also brings out a sense of hope that quality in higher education and quality of learning during enrolment expansion can be enhanced through a clear understanding of how academics experience and respond to massification.

In SSA, studies point to some of the implications of institutional massification for higher education institutions with findings indicating both positive as well as negative approaches to challenges of massification (Tlali, 2019; McCowan, 2018; Foley & Masingila, 2014). For instance, Tlali (2019) in a study in Lesotho, found that increase in student numbers compromised quality of education. The study argued that academics lost their voice to management on enrolment expansion decisions in spite of their central role in the management of large number of students and the increasing workload. The study also indicated that inadequate human resources affected the amount of time available for student consultation. The academics who participated in this study viewed massification not only from the perspective of increasing workload but also on the capacity of academics to handle large classrooms, provide timely feedback to students and effectively engage students in essential competencies.

Similarly, McCowan (2018), seeking to understand the challenges of enrolment expansion on the quality of education in Kenya found that national and institutional drivers for quality had inadequate impact because of challenges with inadequate physical and human resources, poor governance, and pedagogical culture. He suggested the need for changes in policy and practice to tackle the material requirements of universities, the forms of institutional design, and the cultural relationships of teaching and learning.

While acknowledging the reality of large class sizes and its pressure on teaching staff and institutions following enrolment expansion in higher education institutions in SSA, Foley and Masingila (2014) argue that countries can harness positive results to these challenges. In a study seeking to provide solutions for HE institutions going through the experiences of working with large class sizes, Foley and Masingila established that although large classes are frequently assumed as one of the main hindrances to the realization of quality education, these challenges can be addressed through expanded funding opportunities to enhance the application of contemporary and evolving technologies and improved faculty development.

2.5 Implications of Massification on Academic Practices

One would conclude that the insight of Trow (2000) and others have been useful in enabling researchers in higher education to conceptualise expansion as a predominantly social scheme and to comprehend the obvious disconnect between the demand for access to higher

education and the supply of graduate-level jobs. Prospects for greater social standing and prestige in communities or the argument of the "Diploma Disease" (Dore, 1997) are also pushing individuals to seek higher education credentials. The belief is that higher education enhances employment prospects for individuals, by broadening employment choices and increasing the chances of promotion at work leading to a longer life span, healthier children, greater economic stability and security, and better access to healthcare.

In her argument, Dore (1997) used the term "Diploma Disease" as part of a critique of the excessive reliance on the selection process in formal educational institutions as evidence of ability, training, and merit for entry to particular occupations or careers. While this may be considered sensible and rational, it makes schooling a positional good something whose value is not intrinsic, but which depends on how many other people have it (Bol, (2015). And this has several consequences. The first is referred to as 'qualification escalation' - a steady rise in the qualifications required for any particular job, or 'qualification inflation' - a steady fall in the job-getting value of any particular level of qualification. These warrants talk of a 'disease' because it means that people are now staying on in school primarily in order to get a job that they qualified for 10 years earlier without the extra schooling. If, as a result of that extra schooling, they do the job better, then there is no problem. But if not—if they get the job not because they are better but because their completing the extra years shows that they are brighter, or more or simply because educational record is used as a convenient sorting device—then, from a simple economic efficiency point of view, those extra years of education represent a wasteful use of resources (Dore, 1997).

Secondly, Dore looks at the crucial motives of learning by offering a simple typology of learning motives as learning for its own sake, learning to do a job, and learning to get a job. While he considers the first motive as mankind's noblest activities, his concern is on the second and third motives. He sees the former as good and necessary vocational education undertaken by people who have a reasonably clear notion of how they are going to earn their living, and want to learn how to do what they are going to do well, while the later motive is learning simply to 'fulfil requirements' without an intrinsic interest in what is learned, or even helpful knowledge for any subsequent job, but learning undertaken solely with the intention of learning enough to pass the examination and get the qualification necessary for a job. He argues that apart from the waste of social resources, the second consequence of the bureaucratisation of employment and qualification inflation is that learning to get a job tends to be the driving force animating the school system leading to degradation of teaching and learning processes.

Although not branded as the diploma disease in Kenya, there is a lot of debate on the implications of bureaucratisation of employment and qualification inflation and its contribution to institutional massification. In comparing the experiences of four countries including Kenya, Dore illustrates in her argument that the later in world history a country starts its deliberate modernisation process, the stronger the hold of bureaucratic recruitment practices on the economy, the faster the pace of qualification inflation, and the worse the Diploma Disease. Unfortunately, countries adopt "examination-oriented schooling at the expense of genuine education (Dore, 1976, p. 72).

The end result from this strategy has seen a significant reduction in social-economic materials and a deterioration of the higher education social-political environment both of which have serious ramifications on academic practices. The next section discusses five crucial resources that have been broadly identified across world regions for their adverse effects on higher education during massification namely: funding, staffing, physical space, workload, and time pressure.

2.5.1 Funding

Funding is a key driver for development, but the cost of higher education has been rising globally making it difficult for countries to sustain the level of necessary financial support for higher education (OECD, 2019). After colonial liberation, countries in SSA faced pressure to expand their higher education systems. The surging enrolments contributed immensely to the increasing revenue needs for higher education further creating a gap between financial resources and the needs of the growing student population.

It is further argued that the launch of neo-liberalism as the de facto economic mode in SSA has had the greatest impact on funding sources to the education sector (Sifuna, 2014). Sifuna asserts that the move from Keynesian economics to neo-liberalism; the rolling back of the welfare state; and the shrinking public sector provision in favour of a market-driven private sector is behind higher education significant shift. Sifuna demonstrates that the neo-liberal ideology which required He argues that the fundamental reduction in social expenditure, which includes education, contributed to a drastic drop in public expenditure in higher education. This reduction in funding has had a far-reaching influence on the quantity and quality of higher education performance including research in most African universities. The virtual lack of research has serious implications on public universities in Africa as they increasingly lose out on their role as leaders in production and dissemination of knowledge for the development of their countries.

Favouring free market economics and privileging privatisation and marketization, neo-liberalism can be partly held responsible for the substantial withdrawal of the state in social support through radical cutbacks in social spending (Mintz, 2021). In most LMICs, international financial institutions remain the main proponents of neo-liberal globalisation economic mode as the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) aggressively coerced policymakers in Africa and Latin America to adopt national policies and reforms that fit within the globalisation discourse (Schreiber, 2015; Wangenge- Ouma, 2006; Maasen & Cloete, 2002). Maasen and Cloete further expound on the tension that globalisation poses, particularly in LMICs, arguing that within this policy position, countries face a dual challenge when expected to create an enabling economic and social environment that guarantees highly skilled graduates for the global economy while meeting the globalisation pressure to lessen the role and input of central governments funding to the higher education sector. While countries in the SSA region continue to put blame on these financial institutions, majority of these countries are of age politically to make critical policy decisions aimed at addressing challenges bedevilling their higher education systems. Following the experiences of other countries on addressing issues relating to massification, SSA countries could borrow from these economies in order to design homegrown policies and strategies that may incorporate stakeholder experiences and perceptions.

For instance, studies in Finland have demonstrated that inadequate funding can seriously hamper academic work during massification. Aittola (2001), in a study in Finland, examined the nature of changes in the attitudes of academics towards universities and found that the rising numbers of students and inadequate financial resources affect everyday lives of academics. Aittola argues that pressures for increased productivity during enrolment expansion contribute to heavy workload for the academics. Moreover, academics are pushed to modify beneficial academic practices in order to accommodate the growing pressure on work and space leading to feelings of academic inadequacy that undermines academic identity.

Funding challenges were not only acknowledged in Finland during periods of massification, but similar experiences have been noted in other countries including the UK. Following a review of higher education in the UK, research shows that massification is closely linked to challenges of funding and consequent loss of power and autonomy for academics. Neave and Van Vught (1994) argued that challenges of massification in the UK brought into play changes in governance by shifting from a state control to a state supervision style of governance that amounted to funding control. As a result of the financial pressure, institutions were required to

adopt entrepreneurial strategies to augment financial gaps. This evidence points to the universality of massification experiences as demonstrated in SSA countries (Marginson, 2018; Lebeau et al., 2012).

While high income countries have addressed massification with a relatively appreciable expansion of funding, countries in SSA have experienced massification amidst a paucity of financing. That experience is pushing governments to adopt new modes of financing that foster cost-sharing in higher education and subsequent shift to a more consumer-driven and managerial environment. The strategy is consistently accused of placing more emphasis on profitability and competitive survival that is not only changing the organisational decision-making process but one that shapes the funding processes in the sector (Dlamini, 2019; Oketch, 2016). In a meta-synthesis of empirical academic literature on the systemic deficits in corporatization of higher education and the corporate identity, Dlamini claims that corporatization of universities impairs the academic quality and freedom of the university by portraying education as private good for self-actualization. The study concludes that corporate culture inspires fear for universities as government funding deteriorates based on the views of neoliberalism. The study argues that the relationship between universities and the industry should be characterized by sharing of knowledge and contribution from all relevant stakeholders to enhance academic quality and freedom of the university.

Arguably, these studies imply that strategies to address the expansion have not succeeded to bridge the growing funding demands for the large student population. Drawing on the experience in LMICs, overdependence on donor funding by the higher education sector has rendered most governments vulnerable to foreign financial policies and demands. Lewin (2020) analysing the current aid and financing education situation in Sub Saharan Africa argues that Grant aid is now unlikely to grow with related recession supresses on donor spending. Hence, concessional lending to countries with sub-prime credit ratings and high debt service ratios looks imprudent. The design and goals of external assistance need to change to focus on making better use of the resources that are available efficiently and effectively, and on ensuring domestic revenue is increased and guarded against corruption as a key pathway to sustainable development (Mukurunge & Bhila, 2019; Teferra, 2013). The challenge with funding is reflected in the shortage of critical resources discussed this section.

2.5.2 Inadequate number of Academic Staff

One of the key outcomes of inadequate funding in higher education, especially in many LMICs, is reduced capacity to hire additional staff (Tettey, 2010). This has been a subject of

discussion in many HE studies. In a longitudinal comparative study, employing a mixed approach, Tettey sought to analyse the staffing needs of various universities in SSA to determine the scope of the problem and assess the capacity to grow the next cohort of academics. The study revealed that growth in number of academics has not kept pace with enrolment expansion thereby posing a threat to the quality of teaching and research. The findings of the study showed that the number of master's and doctoral enrolments remained relatively small, with declining trends in some countries leading to heavy staff workload and poor mentoring of young academics (Tettey, 2010).

In support of this finding, Abugre (2018) found that the large population of students accompanied by limited infrastructure and insufficient financial resources, had serious implications on the quality of research. The study examining the development and challenges of higher education in LMICs using a qualitative interview of deans, directors, and heads of departments at the University of Ghana, identified weaknesses in policy and infrastructural deficiency in higher education as key factors challenging institutions in Africa. Findings also reported congestion of students in academic learning facilities, teaching overloads and lack of research facilities as key factors hampering academic development in African institutions.

2.5.3 Inadequate Space

Space is a key artefact for conducive teaching and learning as overcrowding in classes affects every aspect of learning including the curriculum development, instruction, guidance, staff morale, workload and student supervision, administration and funding. Inadequate space hence offers a tremendous challenge for academic practice calling for a consolidated approach to address the challenge. As countries expand the student population, inadequate funding during massification puts pressure on infrastructure (Shove, Pantzar & Watson, 2012). The facilities in most institutions have remained the same but the population of students has grown. Statistics show that in comparison to the global average, African Universities have at least 50 per cent more students per lecturer (State of Education in Africa Report, 2015). With a large population seeking for opportunities in higher education, the current social and political pressures to admit large numbers of students must be addressed with the interests and concerns of all stakeholders. Evidently, pressure to organise higher education training in ways demanding students to learn in crowded classes diminishes the scope for individualised attention. Although studies have tended to focus on the effects of overcrowded classes on student learning and student behaviour, there is a need to investigate the implications of working in a crowded classroom on academic practices.

For instance, Khan and Iqbal (2012) in a study looking at the challenges of overcrowded classrooms in Pakistan found that majority of teachers faced challenges of delivering effective instructional, discipline, physical and evaluation attributes. These findings are further reinforced by (Olaleye, Ajayi, Oyebola & Ajayi, 2017) in another study examining the impact of crowded classrooms on academic performance in public secondary schools in Nigeria. The study established that participants blamed the shortage of infrastructural facilities on enrolment expansion without additional funding. The findings further indicated that an overcrowded classroom significantly influenced students learning attitudes and affected teaching and learning including student academic performance. One could conclude that the implications of inadequate learning space would have repercussions on student learning as well as academic practices including those associated with the growing workload as discussed in the next section.

2.5.4 Increased Academic Workload

Massification of higher education has been closely linked to increased academic workload. This issue is considered in this review following studies associating continuous heavy workload with negative employee response and loss of institutional performance. A qualitative study exploring lecturers' experiences of massification at a Technical and Vocational Education and Training (TVET) college in South Africa revealed that large class sizes and overcrowded classrooms resulting from massification contributed to increased academic workload and altered the nature of academic work including exposure to poor management and leadership experiences. The academics also cited a lack of support to confront these challenges resulting in high levels of tension, dissatisfaction and low self-esteem (Singh, 2020). The study drew on the concepts and notions of social identity theory as a theoretical frame and data were collected using semi-structured interviews and were analysed using thematic analysis. This study points to the critical need to engage and bring together HE stakeholders while addressing issues arising from massification.

The challenges with work overload have also been reported in another study by Bryson (2004). Bryson assessed the perceptions of academics on the impact of the changes in the higher education sector in the UK and reported that the morale and satisfaction of many academics had been eroded by heavy workload. The study further revealed that higher education in the UK had shifted its emphasis from the teacher as the guardian and disseminator of knowledge to a student-centred learning that not only gave the students power to demand more from academics but put additional pressure on staff. The relevance of academic workload is heightened with the current

technology enhanced learning that is riddled with less understanding and training on how to apply/benefit from this new mode of teaching and learning (Gregory & Lodge, 2015). In their critique on the impact of technology enhanced learning, academic workload, quality learning experiences and university priorities, Gregory and Lodge acknowledge the importance of embracing technology especially for the benefits to students. Basing their argument on evidence suggesting that the use of technology has the capacity to enhance the overall student experience, promote collaborative behaviours and produce good learning outcomes, they acknowledge the importance of embracing the benefits of technology (Clark, 2011; Diaz & Brown, 2010). However, the impact of the hidden and thus unaccounted for academic workload associated with technology needs to be reviewed to avoid putting university educational programs at risk of poor student experience outcomes (Gregory & Lodge, 2015). This is a very pertinent finding as many countries continue to undergo massification experiences and poor communication between academics and administration.

There appears to exist gaps on the experience and perceptions of academics from the social practice theory framework and its implications on academic practices. There are strong indications that the academics are facing mounting pressure from the outcomes of massification. Policy responses to the challenges of massification will benefit from the honest views of academics as key implementation stakeholders. Furthermore, a study investigating the relationship between the work conditions in higher education work settings, the academic staff's strategies for handling excessive workload and impact on well-being and work-life balance indicates that there is a risk that staff in academic workplaces will start using compensatory coping strategies to deal with excessive demands and that this might seriously impair their health (Melin, Astvik, & Bernhard-Oettel, 2014).

Apart from pressure from work overload resulting from student numbers, other studies have further indicated that massification leads to the admission of non-traditional/ill-equipped university students (Reed, 2016). Looking at the massification of university and its effect on diversity, Reed argues that many nations have improved access to institutions of HE to larger sections of the population leading to a doubling of student populations in the sector (Hornsby and Osman, 2014). Ostensibly, this increased accessibility has been to permit individuals from a cross section of society, including marginalised groups, (Prudence & Litien, 2013). While more persons from non-traditional backgrounds are participating in higher education, there remains a gap in accessibility for many due to social and economic status (Rossi, 2010). The result is that more

students from non-traditional backgrounds arrive on university campuses, including older students, students with disabilities and first-generation students. Given the lack of traditional preparation of many students, academics have had to consider learning outcomes that promote attributes of resilience, working across teams and design thinking. This is becoming increasingly difficult in the era of massification. Thus, contemporary comprehension of wellbeing at work would suggest that university staffs are potentially vulnerable to burnout not just from time pressures and diminished collegiality, but also from student variables like teaching large volumes of students and ill-equipped students (Maringe & Sing, 2014).

Amidst the challenges of massification, academics have indicated that they sometimes feel unappreciated for the efforts put in place as they work in rather difficult conditions. In a study on academic workloads, Houston, Meyer and Paewai (2006) reported that despite legislation of the interdependence of teaching and research in the New Zealand University, there was ongoing tensions between the two particularly in terms of demands on time and variable recognition and rewards. This study utilized three sources of data collected over a period of three years to analyse staff workloads and both institutional and individual staff responses to workload expectations and realities. Results suggest that academics were extending their working hours to cover the requirements of their work, with up to 94% of the respondents indicating that they had worked overtime in the week prior to the study. This finding is replicated in other studies confirming that academics are overloaded with teaching especially undergraduates while leaving little time to mentor students, undergo professional development and conduct research (Mushemeza, 2016).

Further, in their argument on the challenges of university expansion, Misaro et al (2013) conclude that the expansion of university education without adequate planning has led to limited research work. Academics feel that a large part of their work is unaccounted for by leaving out crucial duties like preparation, meetings with students, feedback to students, as well as peripheral duties like induction and admissions (Fanghanel & Trowler, 2008). Academic workloads are therefore becoming increasingly demanding and multifaceted (Poalses & Bezuidenhout, 2018). Poalses and Bezuidenhout further argue that where occupational demands outweigh occupational resources, work becomes stressful, followed by an exhausted, disengaged workforce. They contend that understanding this reality may provide some insights into academics' coping strategies with the growing workload on a day-to-day basis. These findings indicate that massification is a major contributor to academic workload but there is a gap in explaining how the academics are coping with the situation. As indicated in the next section, these challenges are interrelated. With growing

workload among staff, the ability to fit their work schedule within the available time is becoming more and more burdensome.

As the workload of academics continues to grow, time pressure as a by-product of massification presents a major concern for academics worldwide. Studies have shown that teachers sometimes experience high work pressure, inadequate time and exhaustion (Sandmeier et al, 2017) and this may affect their teaching quality, lower student achievement and impair job satisfaction (Klusmann et al. 2016). In a study looking at the relationship between time pressure and emotional exhaustion and the role of social support Maas et al., (2021) found that receipt of social support from the administration is a beneficial and central resource to the experience of time pressure and emotional exhaustion. The study alludes to the demands of time pressure on teachers' emotion and that support from administration is very critical in ameliorating teachers perceived time pressure and emotional exhaustion.

With enrolment expansion and massification in higher education, allocation of work often focuses on the teaching segment as the workload expands to meet the growing numbers of students with a reducing number of academics (Tlali, 2019). This may be justified by the reality that if students are in session, they must be taught, supervised, given assignments and examinations and therefore research can only take any residual time (Kenny & Fluck, 2014). However, as teaching continues to occupy the bulk of academic's time, concerns on the place of research as the backbone of higher education and one that remains the sole activity that separates higher education from other levels of training is becoming evident. This calls for time and therefore when academics are under pressure from heavy teaching workload, limited time becomes a major barrier for research work that goes beyond the academic staff to include students who ordinarily leverage on academics' research projects to undertake masters and PhD research work. Academics are unable to engage in research either because of lack of funding, or lack of time to engage in meaningful research and competitive grant proposal writing necessary for expanding funding avenues.

This review exposes the reality of massification as a worldwide experience where countries have gone through unique paths adopting varied coping strategies in accordance with individual social, cultural, political, and financial status. The review demonstrates how massification has posed challenges to higher education institutions especially where countries have been unable to expand funding resources commensurate with the expanded student population. There is evidence to show that many countries have had to contend with a poor teaching and learning environment. The key challenges borne out of these experiences include inadequate facilities, inadequate staffing

levels, and growing workload for staff that impinges on available time for input into governance issues in research and scholarship. This research recommends a review of the relationship between academics and university management as major stakeholders in the sector with a view to enhancing policy formulation and implementation during change. The next section looks at the level of academics' input into institutional governance and how that may affect academic practices.

2.6 Academic Input into Governance

Academic freedom and institutional autonomy remain at the heart of the Humboldtian model of a university that is cherished by many academic staff Worldwide. Following the literature discussed above, it is apparent that challenges of massification may have a bearing on academic freedom. As studies continue to show a reduction in academics' participation in institutional decision-making alongside the policy changes with neoliberalism and issues related to enrolment expansion in higher education, this section will address advantages of academic input into institutional governance mainly as one way of neutralising the growing tension between academic staff and institutional management.

There is a history of longstanding discourses between academics and policy makers surrounding the purpose of higher education and whether employability should form part of this purpose. Towards the end of the 20th century, several events were beginning to shape higher education landscape, such as massification, competition and growing diversity of higher education institutions (Karseth & Solbrekke**,** 2016). These changes and the shift towards the knowledge economy stirred political curiosity regarding the significance of higher education for the economy and the society in Europe as purposes of higher education related to individual growth and achievement became obscured by the new financial obligations (Barnett, 2004). Today, policies in Europe like the Bologna process, have endorsed employability as a rationale for higher education in order to guarantee graduates' readiness for the labour market (Sin & Neave, 2016). This has also seen individual institutions seeking to understand employability and their teaching practices engage in research activities. For instance, a study exploring acceptance of employability as a purpose for higher education in Portugal suggested that all academics engage in teaching practices associated to the development of employability (Sin, Tavares & Amaral, 2019*).*

Similar debates are already rife in LMICs including Kenya as the impact of massification in higher education is generating discussions from industry players who continue to decry the challenges of skill gaps from college graduates asking universities to prepare graduates for the job market. Findings from a survey in Kenya looking at the needs of employers showed that nearly

half of Kenyan employers are dissatisfied with the skills of university graduates joining the job market. The findings by market research firm CPS International indicated that most employers (60%) prefer graduates from business and economic studies-related courses and social and behavioural sciences-related courses. Employers who took part in the study identified basic skills (numeracy, writing, reading and ICT skills), team working skills, attitude, communication, and adaptation skills as the most crucial requirements when hiring employees (Nganga, 2020). These findings point to the importance of collaboration and accommodative attitude between stakeholders to safeguard the needs of students even as they endeavour to promote the Humboldtian model of a university. This is in cognizance of tenets of the social practice theory that has criticised individualist approaches to academic practices, maintaining that consideration must be given to the context of practice, which in the academic setting incorporates an emphasis on how academics articulate agency in their practices in relation to prevailing contextual opportunities and limitations or practice architectures. This has implications for approaches to assessing the implications of massification on academic practices, which should acknowledge the effort of academics in evolving new accounts for coping with the challenges of massification in a situation of exceptional arrangements of the connection between academic practices and challenges of massification. In this study, the social practice theory offers a lens for reflecting on the contextual conditions affecting academic approaches to massification to create coping emergent practices. Hence, the next section looks at how the relations between academics and management shape academic identity in higher education and the relevance of the theory of practice architectures in enabling or constraining academic practices.

2.7 Academic Identity

Definitions of academic identity in higher education are limited with a relative paucity of research in this area (Clarke et al. 2014). Those definitions that do exist tend to explore concepts related to professional identity in general rather than exploring academic identity in higher education. Looking at academic identity in the twenty-first century indicates that there is not just one identity but many which intersect and constantly change. Whitchurch and Gordon (2010) argue that the idea of fixed identities related to either research or teaching, overlooks the diversity and complexity of contemporary identities in higher education. There is a move away from fixed identities to the development of a "fluid identity" as academics cope with the continuous levels of complexity occurring in the higher education sector (Billot 2010). Universities have a unique role in society and within these unique institutions academic identity is continuously evolving under both institutional and societal pressures. These pressures are multifaceted and are leading to a

reframing of academic identity from the traditional dichotomous view of an academic as a researcher or educator to an identity which is fluid and evolving as new roles, disciplines, and ways of working emerge. There are a number of reasons why these reformed identities are emerging including the impact of new managerialism on ways of working; the impact of globalization; the move to student universality; the blurring of roles within the university sector and the impact of massification. These new identities are being derived through the broad scope of scholarship and the development of connections and partnerships. It is emerging that although reframing of identity can lead to tensions, contested spaces resulting in identity conflict, the now fluid nature of academic identity reflects the reality of academic lives and the extent to which academic work is reflective of the constant change in society. Therefore, academic identity in this thesis refers to the extent to which individuals define themselves primarily as members of a profession.

In looking at the impact of massification on academic identity, this review found that massification does indeed increase the number of students in most if not all courses at a university. The proportion of students enrolled in a tertiary course in Kenya is very high and student/staff ratios are high across public institutions with an average of one academic staff for 70 students (Chege, 2015). While these high ratios affect teaching time and learning environments, the varied background of these students and their diverse learning needs pose further challenges and demands on academic staff. In the long run, the demands of academics, together with the impacts of macro-structural changes to higher education including massification, have transformed the traditional academic role and entrenched notions of academic identity in many ways. Skelton (2012) focusing on the nature of academic identity through the lens of "teacher identity" at a research-led university created the phrase "identity struggles" to define a new paradigm, as academics manipulate the competing demands of research and teaching innovation that may be suitable for current higher education systems in SSA.

Other researchers assert that the nature of academic identity is experiencing a significant transformation due to shifts in policy change in higher education (Flecknoe et al., 2017) and structural changes including the introduction of new divisions of academic labour (Fanghanel, 2012). Collectively, these issues call for research into the nature of academic identity during times of major policy changes like enrolment expansion. While academics initially saw their primary role as one of improving students' learning experiences, studies continue to confirm a declining quality of education as tertiary education expands and this could influence the nature of academic identity (Teferra, 2015). Writing in the African context, Teferra argues that exponential enrolment

expansion in the continent has negatively impacted the quality of teaching, learning, and research. Institutions are faced with bigger class sizes, expanded workload for academics, declining resources, trimmed instructional activities, and deteriorating facilities all of which create a quality crisis. Evidently, this situation tends to impact on the quality of learning and is a major concern of academics that is least acknowledged by top-level Ministry of Education administrators (Akalu, 2017). In spite of these developments regarding an encroachment on academic identity through the on-going changes in higher education, there is a gap on the effects of this developments on academic practices. This study intends to enhance an understanding on the interaction between massification, academic identity and academic practices.

2.8 Chapter Summary

The literature review in this chapter shows that massification of higher education is a global challenge. Studies addressing the implications of rapid enrolment expansion have shown that massification has contributed to challenges of funding, availability of financial, human and physical resources. As a result, academic staff are subjected to difficult working conditions that may have a negative impact on teaching, research, assessment and evaluation practices. the decision-making process is tilted in favour of management rendering the participation and contribution of academic of minimal importance. However, studies in higher education have tended to concentrate on the implications of massification on student learning. This is a pertinent focus given the central purpose of higher education as the channel through which young people are trained and enabled to obtain skills that drive the development and scholarship agenda of nations. However, the role of academics in ensuring that this agenda is successfully achieved lies in the efficient participation and involvement of academic staff in the decision-making process. It is possible that by focusing on the needs of students as the primary entities in higher education, little focus has unintentionally continued to be directed away from the needs of academics as key implanting stakeholders.

Responding to the challenges of massification, academic practices may be significantly influenced by the extent to which they interact with and contribute to their environment. In this review, I conclude that the studies seeking to explain the challenges of massification will benefit from a focus on the implications of enrolment strategies on academic by emphasizing the power of academic practices on addressing change in higher education.

The review further indicates that there is limited application of social practice theory to support academics working with limited resources during expansion in spite of the potential benefits of such an approach to make evident the relationship between massification and academic practices.

By applying the tenets of social practice theory to analyse the perceptions of academics, the findings of this research will contribute to massification discourse with the view of enhancing policies and practices in public institutions of higher learning. At the same time, it will enable higher education stakeholders connect with the participants' perceptions and experiences in order to reflect on how being an academic in a public university has been impacted by massification. This is in view of the understanding that the theory of social architectures (specific conditions) that shape academic practices during enrolment expansion will enhance Schatzki's site ontology perspective (Schatzki, 2010) by answering the following research questions,

1. How do academics perceive massification within their institution?
2. What are the implications of institutional massification for academic practices?

The next chapter provides the theoretical framework of this study and the relevance of Social Practice Theory to understanding the implications of institutional massification on academic practices using the lens of Practice Architectures (Anfara & Mertz, 2015).

CHAPTER THREE: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This chapter introduces the social practice theory before outlining its application to the study using the lens of practice architectures. The theory of practice architectures provides a critical lens to view the field of higher education (Kemmis et al, 2014) and a lot of work on enrolment expansion and academic practices can be informed by the social practice theories. The study positions academic practices as social practices rather than a more commonly held view of academic practices as methods. It is a view of practice that is basically interested in the sociality, situatedness and happening of practices that requires a theory that treats it as socially, dialogically, ontologically, and temporarily constituted (Edwards-Groves, (2018). Capitalizing on the practice turn in education (Reid, 2011), this thesis utilizes the theory of practice architectures to consider the implications of massifications on academic practices. The study argues that academic practices can be understood by theories that take into consideration the cultural discursive, material economic and social-political arrangements that influence the conduct of academic practices as they happen (Mahon, Kemmis, Francisco & Lloyd, 2017).

Schatzki (2010) argues that practices consist of doings and sayings and material arrangements that hang together, organized by practical understanding, general understanding, rules, and teleo-affective structures. This understanding entails moving analysis beyond ontological individualism (the thesis that facts about individuals exhaustively determine social life) without losing sight of agency and subjectivities and the significance of those conditioned by structures to appreciate the power of practices in defining the social world.

3.1 Social Practice Theory

There is on-going discourse on the move to emphasize practices in considering social reality in order to apply it when interpreting social research. Although there is no single definition for what social practice theory is, but as Schatzki claims, a 'practice turn' has been felt in many areas of society (Schatzki, 2002). This turn represents a prioritization of practices in efforts to comprehend and evaluate social reality. Therefore, practice theory will offer new ways of examining academic practices through helpful accounts of how practices occur, how they are mediated, and their role in the formation of social life in higher education. Whilst the theories included in the term practice theory are numerous and disparate (Nicolini, 2013), practice theorists agree in their consideration of social practices as the beginning point for theorizing social life making it an appropriate choice for this study (Green & Hopwood, 2015).

Some of the common features and assumptions in practice theory include the basic principle that practices are situated, social, and relational and a view of practices as patterns of activity and understandings that shape human life (Schatzki, 2012). Practice theorists largely acknowledge the significance of material things and materiality as well as communication and symbols in the constitution of practices. These theorists further acknowledge non-propositional knowledge as embodied and enacted within and through practice as the principal subject of analysis for assessing social interactions (Nicolini, 2013). Even with these universal shared aims, no cohesive practice approach exists somewhat because practice theory has been informed by several traditions. So, practice theories continue to differ on what is most prominent in accounts of practice (Kemmis, 2010b). There are differences in relation to ontological and epistemological stand to practices by various theorists as briefly discussed in the next section.

Ontology describes our beliefs about the reality of the world. In relation to social ontology three different analyses of sociality can be distinguished, individualism, socialist and site. Individualism posits that social reality is "constructed out of interrelated individuals" (Schatzki, 2000, p. 22); the emphasis here is on the individual and individualist self-sufficiency. Socialist ontology highlights the reductivist approach of individualism, offering instead the idea that while some interactions may be treated as features or constructions not all social phenomena can be treated this way. Finally, site ontologies analyse social life as constituted through a site, which is understood as a type of social field or a place where coexistence happens through an ongoing network of tangled practices and arrangements (Schatzki, 2003).

Schatzki here grasped context as being constituted by the spatial, temporal and teleological facets of social life. He suggests that to analyse sociality through a site is to hold, inter alia, that the nature and change of social life are intrinsically as well as decisively, tied to the context in which it takes place. Site ontology favours a focus on organised collective human activity as the central feature of social life, in opposition to the individual and their mental states (Schatzki, 2003). Social life is constituted by arrangements of people, joined by commonalities in purpose, emotion and materiality and through the network of action and teleological structures that characterise a given practice (Schatzki, 2000). An important feature of site ontology is the idea of the body as central to practice and as the representation of practice. As Schatzki suggests "the body is an entity that in its doings, sayings and sensation manifests and signifies psychological states" (Schatzki, 1996, p. 55). Site ontologies are particularly relevant to the social and cultural view of academic practices adopted for this thesis. In turn, this suggests that if practices are to make a difference, then they

must be situated and made intelligible through the contextual lens of social life. The idea that academic practices need to be contextualised for them to become meaningful alludes to the notion that practices are not arbitrary and therefore outside the social field, but they are situated and rotated inside the social site.

Similarly, when practices are viewed epistemologically, the focus moves towards practice knowledge and knowing processes - what and how people come to know in practice (Lave & Wenger, 1991). However, some practice theorists address both the epistemological and the ontological questions by viewing practices as both the site of learning and knowing, and constitutive of social life (Sjølie, 2014; Fenwick, 2012). Yet still, another notable point of separation is the position assigned to material artefacts in shaping and constituting practices. Some perspectives reflect a socio-material aspect that locates material artefacts and activity as entangled (Hodder, 2012) as opposed to discrete elements that are co-constituted. This differs with viewpoints that emphasize the role of non-human entities in practices without assigning them status as agents (Schatzki, 2002).

Essentially, different scholarly traditions with strong influences from a range of theorists and philosophers like Aristotle, Marx, Hegel, Wittgenstein and Heidegger have largely contributed to the current social practice approaches (Nicolini, 2013; Shove, 2012). This array of approaches has enhanced the application of practice theories as lenses for examining social life and social phenomena in a range of fields including higher education (Kemmis et al., 2014b). A discussion on how social practice theory has been applied in education research and its relevance to this study is examined in the next section.

3.1.1 Using Social Practice Theory in Education

Social practice theories on academic experiences argue that attention needs to be paid to the context of practice as opposed to the focus on individual academics that is supported by methodological individualism approaches (Fanghanel & Trowler, 2008). These theories focus on how academics develop daily practices in the context of specific sets of relations and contextual opportunities and constraints. In this frame of thought, the daily practices of academics have been accepted as a key foundation of identity for academics despite the pressure on practice from rising managerialism and performativity in universities (Kalfa & Taska, 2017).

Over time, epistemological narratives have been questioned for recommending an over-structuralist account of disciplines that neglect the scope for agency in answer to locally

contextualised sensitivities (Wheatley, 2019; Dowding, 2008). Moreover, it is claimed that the influence of the 'academic tribes and territories' of the disciplines has been enfeebled by both the state and the market (Becher & Trowler, 2001) and that the kind of knowledge itself is shifting from the power of knowledge to define the world, to a more performative technique concentrating on the worth of knowledge usage. This shift from perceiving knowledge as independent of context to an appreciation of knowing as situated, mediated, emergent and contested has inspired deeper accounts of institutional change as processes of learning (Olohan, 2017).

While accounts of social practice have become more and more complex, their attention is primarily on practices, rather than individual agency (Reich & Hager, 2014). Studies on coping with challenges in the higher education sector have continued to portray academics as the victims of change endeavouring to exercise their skills in an increasingly challenging environment. In the contrary, the current study is seeking for academic themes of negotiation and endurance in academics working to recreate rational themes about how they cope with expanded workload from massification of education in a rather under-funded and constrained environment. These themes are recognized as a resourceful space where new voices can emerge across divergent dialogues as deeply advanced by the theory of practice architectures and why it has been selected in this study as elaborated in the next section.

3.1.2 **The Theory of Practice Architectures**

The theory of practice architectures has been employed to grasp how academics negotiate new practices during enrolment expansion. From the onset, the study acknowledges that practices are constituted not just in the scope of activity, but in three interdependent, interconnected and simultaneously occurring realms of ***sayings***, ***doings*** and ***relatings*** that are influenced by the specific conditions that shape the doing of an activity referred to as "practice architectures" (Kemmis & Grootenboer, 2008). These realms are characterized by "forms of understanding or language and discourses made present in the ***saying*** of things; modes of action or activities made present in the ***doing*** of things, and ways in which people relate to one another and the world or relationships made present in the ***relatings*** between people" (Kemmis et al., 2014a, p.3)

Kemmis et al., (2014) argue that these three dimensions 'of sayings, doings and relatings hang together' in a distinctive project when distributed among academics and organized, so that each individual involved in the practice participates around a common purpose. They further argue that these practices do not evolve in a vacuum, but they are enabled and constrained or shaped by the existing conditions hereby called practice architectures. Hence, practice architectures are the

preconditions that prefigure practices by making these practices possible and holding them in place. These preconditions have been specifically defined as:

> ***"Cultural–discursive arrangements****, in the medium of language, that make the* ***sayings*** *of the practice possible; together with,* ***Material–economic arrangements,*** *in the medium of physical-space and time, that make the* ***doings*** *of the practice possible; together with,* ***Social–political arrangements,*** *in the medium of power, solidarity and agency that enable the* ***relatings*** *of the practice to happen"* (Kemmis et al., 2014).

Therefore, the theory of practice architectures has been applied in this study because of its ability to use the site ontology (Schatzki, 2010) to examine local conditions that influence what happens when stakeholders in higher education come together to work with one another, and how what they say, do and they relate with each other influences these happenings. As Schatzki (2003) argues, a Site Ontology presents a general theoretical method for assessing the relationship between human activity and the social. It is based on the principle that there is just one level of social reality – (there is no difference between micro and macro levels) and that all human activity and all social phenomena are located within tangled practices. Hence, the next section looks at how the conditions in the current site of practice influence academic practices.

3.2 The Practice Architectures of Teaching and Research

In this section, I consider the ways in which practices and practice architectures 'bundle' together in universities as sites of teaching and research. This study has focused on the two main areas of 'academic practice' of teaching and research while acknowledging that other aspects of academic practice such as public engagement and academic citizenry have not been addressed.

Therefore, this section illuminates how teaching and research practices become entangled with people and other objects in the university environment as they happen. This is a crucial path because the link between practices and material entities is so close that the idea of a bundle of practices and material arrangements is vital to examining human life (Schatzki, 2011). This view of practice widens viewpoints on academic practices in fresh directions towards being grasped not only as socially, dialogically, ontologically and temporally constituted, but enabled and constrained by practice architectures as well (Italo, 2019).

Teaching and research are intertwined practices in institutions of higher learning that constitute and are constituted by the sayings, doings and relationships existing between the academics as they listen to one another and comply with the institutional expectations (Mahon,

Kemmis, Francisco & Lloyd, 2017). These practices are also influenced by other conditions that may predict but not necessarily predetermine what takes place in the discursively produced flow of interactions (Ronnerman, Grootenboer & Edwards-Groves, 2017). This means that academic practices are influenced, but not predetermined by practice architectures. The academic practices experienced and generated at work are accordingly encountered as and made apparent through the social interactions between the practitioners that created the sayings, doings and relatings reflecting different roles and relationships (Mahon, Kemmis, Francisco & Lloyd, 2017).

Underpinning this viewpoint is the understanding that all higher education institutions are unique social sites where academic activities take place while at the same time creating the roles and relations between different stakeholders. These activities exist and develop as entangled conditions which enable and constrain the sort of practices that can occur at any given time (Edwards-Groves, 2018).

A site-based view of practice also views academics and other stakeholders as being equally significant in realising academic practices yet agrees too that the ways academics are positioned with greater or lesser degree of power, solidarity, and agency (socio-political arrangements) also has a bearing on the performance of practice in the end (Watson, 2016). In these three aspects, therefore, the degree to which the practice architectures occur in a site and influence the performance of the practice at the time, appear as practices are made and remade. These form part of the mediated nature of practices and practice architectures that also affect the likelihood of other practices in the future (Edwards-Groves, 2018).

Thus, academic practices respond to the particular persons and the conditions present as they happen; and at the moment of happening, they are shaped by the specific practice architectures encountered at the time as well as what has been encountered earlier. In the conduct of practice, academics must respond skilfully to the prevailing reality and diversity of the moment considering that responding to diversity entails understanding a moment as it is enacted in actual sites, under actual conditions as site based (Mahon, Kemmis, Francisco & Lloyd, 2017). Focusing on how academic staff working in a public university going through a period of massification understand the prevailing moments at site, will provide useful information for future use of the lens of practice architectures to analyse the implications of massification on academic practices not simply in public institutions but the higher education sector as a whole.

3.3 Chapter Summary

This chapter has looked at the theoretical framework for the study with special emphasis on the merits of applying the lens of practice in this study. Focusing on the on-going prioritization of practices to evaluate social reality, the chapter underscores the application of the theory to analyse academic practices within a massified HE system. The theory of social architectures has been singled out in this study to help grasp how academics perceive and engage in practice and how the specific conditions brought about by massification are negotiated to evolve new practices.

CHAPTER FOUR: METHODOLOGY

4.1 Introduction and Overview

Chapter three examined the theoretical framework of the study with special focus on the theory of practice architectures and how it can be applied as a lens to view the field of higher education and how enrolment expansion and academic practices can be informed by the social practice theories.

In this chapter, the methodology of this study will be discussed in line with the social practice theory. The chapter discusses the approach considered most suitable to address the objectives of this study in order to answer the research questions. Additionally, the chapter covers the data collection and data analysis procedure in line with the aims of the study. Ethical principles taken to ensure scientific integrity, human rights and dignity and collaboration between science and society have been broadly discussed. These principles were undertaken to ascertain that the participation in the study was voluntary, informed and safe.

Following the aims and objectives of the study, a qualitative research methodology was adopted. Semi-structured interviews of academics were carried out within a single public university purposively selected, followed by thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2014) to enhance knowledge on the implications of massification on academic practices. The chosen university has a wide range of institutional characteristics relevant to the study's purposes and questions. The data collection exercise was carried out in 2018 when I visited the six colleges of the university and conducted qualitative in-depth interviews with 20 academic staff members. The detailed transcripts drawn from audio-taped interviews have been applied to respond to the research questions. Whilst the research undertakes to contribute to knowledge that may be beneficial to other scholars and practitioners generally, the conclusions do need to be seen as emerging from a single site and context at a particular time of transition.

4.2 Aims of the study

The aim of this study was to comprehend the implications of rapid enrolment expansion (institutional massification) on academic practices. This study sought to examine how the social architectures brought about by enrolment expansion in a public university influence academic practice by answering the following research questions,

1. How do academics perceive massification within their institution?
2. What are the implications of institutional massification for academic practices?

4.2.1 Research Paradigm

The study adopted a qualitative interpretive approach to research where researchers argue that reality is socially constructed by people and it can be changed and understood subjectively (Kroeze, 2012; Hammersley & Traianou, 2012). In the choice of this approach, philosophical assumptions were made as outlined below (Guba & Lincoln, 1988; Creswell, 2003).

Ontologically, the study embraced the idea of multiple realities in research. Different researchers embrace different realities, as do also the individuals being studied and the readers of a qualitative study. The intent of this research was to report these multiple realities. Evidence of multiple realities in this study includes the use of multiple quotes based on the actual words of different individuals as well as presenting different perspectives from individual participants. Therefore, when compiling this thesis, I discuss how participants in the study view their experiences differently (Moustakas, 1994).

With the epistemological assumption, conducting a qualitative study means that researchers try to get as close as possible to the participants being studied. In practice, qualitative researchers conduct their studies in the field, where the participants live and work as important contexts for understanding what the participants are saying in order to get to know the participants and know what they know from first-hand information (Wolcott, 1999). This in essence helped me to minimize the "distance" or "objective separateness" (Guba & Lincoln, 1988, p. 94) with the participants. For this reason, the study took place in the university and in almost all cases in peoples individual offices. This allowed the participants to feel in control of the interview and gave them an opportunity to share their experiences more freely. It also gave me an opportunity to be a part of their environment and see some of the experiences with massification.

4.2.2 Methodology

The study adopted an inductive and emerging approach that is shaped by the experience in collecting and analysing the data. This means that the logic followed was from the ground up, rather than handed down entirely from a theory or from my perspectives. As a result, some of the research questions changed in the middle of the study to reflect the types of questions needed to understand the research problem. In response, the data collection strategy, planned before the study was modified to accompany the new questions. During the data analysis, I followed a path

of analysing the data to develop an increasingly detailed knowledge of massification. As a result, thematic analysis was selected because of its inductive nature (Braun & Clarke, 2014).

Table 1: Philosophical Assumptions with Implications for Practice

Assumption	Question	Characteristics	Implications for Practice (Examples)
Ontological	What is the nature of reality?	Reality is multiple and subjective as seen by participants in the study	Researcher uses quotes and themes in words of participants and provides evidence of different perspectives
Epistemological	What is the relationship between the researcher and that being researched?	Researcher attempts to lessen distance between himself and participants	Researcher collaborates, spends time in field with participants, and becomes an "insider"
Methodology	What is the process of research?	Researcher uses inductive logic, studies the topic within its context, and uses an emerging design	Researcher works with particulars before generalizations, describes in detail the context of the study and continually revises the questions from experiences in the field

(Adapted from Creswell 2003, p.17)

4.3 Study Design

Appreciating that descriptive research traverses both quantitative and qualitative methodologies, a qualitative research methodology was considered as one of the most suitable for this study considering the distinctive human aspects of educational research. The design offers the opportunity to describe educational phenomena like enrolment expansion in greater depth (Borg & Gall, 1989). This design offers explanations to the questions of who, what, where, when, and how massification may affect academic practices.

A qualitative approach was selected in this study following the perceived advantages it could offer over quantitative approaches in relation to my research questions. Seeking to comprehend the perceptions and experiences of academics, a comprehensive narrative of participants' emotions, views, and experiences; and interpretation of the implications of their actions could enrich the findings of this study. The approach rendered itself useful in providing attention to the lives of academics through subtle details of their talk and action, to human bodies in material surroundings and opened an understanding to unnoticed aspects of participants' life

and learning (Parker, 1994). The approach further revealed the relationship between the participants and the world they inhabit giving this study an opportunity to reach deeper understandings into concerns relating to their practices.

By designing interpretive research questions, the study sought to comprehend how academic staff make sense of shared experiences as they attribute meaning to massification as a phenomenon of concern. This approach was further employed to describe, decode, and translate the implications on academic practices as opposed to capturing the frequency of massification in higher education (Hennink et al., 2010). Subsequently, the use of in-depth interviews presented several advantages. The method gave academics a chance to express their feelings more freely while offering the researcher an opportunity to gather the experiences and perceptions of participants more deeply (Goertz & Mahoney, 2012). In order to give the participants leeway to construct the meaning of massification through their voices and feelings, the interview questions were broad and general while audio-taping the responses preserved the original discussion and enhanced cross referencing of the transcripts during data analysis.

Epistemologically, qualitative research covers a wide array of perspectives and interpretive approaches to comprehending human activities (Denzin & Lincoln, 2002). Therefore, the methodology is in congruence with thematic analysis of practice-related variables since the foundation of knowledge in this approach is the meaning of diverse voices of academics, as they attempt to illuminate their voices, meanings, and events (Richardson, 2012).

Another important consideration was the exposure to the participants' inner experience in their natural settings that aided the process to describe in detail what is happening in their context through a comparison of multiple voices of participants. Thus, research participants were not selected randomly but purposively to carefully represent those many voices. Although the sample was small (20), their content has been described in detail, to derive deep insights regarding the participants and the research context. Finally, the flexible structure of this approach provided an opportunity to construct and reconstruct the design especially during the interview and analysis and to especially permit participants enough liberty to determine what is consistent for them (Maxwell, 2012).

In spite of the advantages discussed above, it is important to acknowledge that no one design is exhaustive. The key limitations of a descriptive design using qualitative methodologies when compared to quantitative design include the high amount of time and resources required; need for more ethical sensitivity; more open to bias and judgement; and inability to replicate the

findings (Rahman, 2017). More details on how the limitations of the study were addressed have been discussed in below.

Hence, although this design may not conclusively ascertain why massification is influencing academic practices in the given setting, it is plausible that the outcome of this study has not only generated rich data for policy considerations but serve as a precursor to more studies intended to enhance knowledge on the use of practice theory to respond to change initiatives in higher education using other research designs.

4.4 Methods

4.4.1 Sampling Procedure

A purposeful sampling procedure (Silverman, 2013) with a clear rationale in relation to the research questions and goal of the study was used in this research. In part, the sampling was dependent on the academic practices of the possible sample which was impacted by the employment guidelines of the university. The University currently offers employment for qualified staff to be recruited in tenured, contract and adjunct positions. For this study, it was decided that adjunct staff be excluded because their engagement bars them from research and project supervision practices. In order to capture the most informative and knowledgeable participants who are able and prepared to participate in the research, the following criteria was employed:

- Tenured or contract academic staff member.
- Those with at least two years academic experience in the study institution.
- Availability and willingness to participate in the study.
- Involved in both teaching and research practices.
- Representative of one of the faculties

4.4.2 The Sample Size

Sandelowski (1995) argues that no computations can be done in qualitative research to define a priori the minimum number of sampling units needed. A generally stated principle for deciding sample size in a qualitative study is that the number should be appropriately large and diverse to validate the aims of the research (Patton, 2015). However, as discussions continue to deepen on this subject, some researchers have suggested numbers ranging from 6 to 400 depending on the nature of data to be collected and scope of the project (Fugard & Potts, 2015). Research further shows that most studies do not make decisions on the sample size at the outset leaving it to evolve as the research proceeds (Hammersley, 2015). The challenge with this principle is a lack

of guidance for planning, although skilled researchers follow their own guidelines about approximate numbers of participants in past similar studies to arrive at a reliable analysis (Mason, 2010).

Nevertheless, qualitative researchers need tools to evaluate sample size first while planning a study, then during the research process to appraise sample size continuously, and finally to ascertain that the sample size is sufficiently wide and deep to explain the aims of the study (Patton, 2015). Therefore, with a preconception that an approximation of sample size is necessary for planning, I proposed to interview 20 participants. Cognizant of the importance of conducting a responsible analysis fitting within the available budget, the depth and width of the data was strengthened using Malterud's concept of information power *(*Malterud, 2016). Malterud identifies five items that can have an impact on depth of information collected in interviews to enhance sample adequacy. Out of the five items, this study focused on three that were deemed most relevant to my study namely: the study aim; quality of dialogue; and the analysis strategy.

Malterud (2012) argues that a broad study aim requires a larger sample than a narrow aim to offer sufficient information power, because the phenomenon under study is more comprehensive. In my case, I chose to extend the number of participants by recruiting a larger, purposive sample, to maintain sufficient information power to achieve my aim. Through the data collection phase, the selection of participants was using a set criterion, to capture academics who could provide in-depth and detailed information on the experiences with massification. Every new interview was compared with the previous interviews to identify missing information relating to the research questions. The selection process also ensured that participants were drawn from different departments of the six colleges of the university. This was deliberately done to capture the varied experiences from a variety of disciplines (see Appendix E).

Malterud further argues that information power is also related to the quality of the interview dialogue. A study with strong and clear communication between researcher and participants requires sufficient information power. In a qualitative study, empirical data are co-constructed by an intricate interaction between interviewer and interviewee, and many of the issues determine the quality of the interaction established. Analytic value of the information collected is dependent on the skills of the interviewer, the articulateness of the interviewee, and the interaction between them (Malterud, 2012). My knowledge of the issues of massification as a practitioner and additional background as a researcher meant that I had ample experience with the interview process, and it was not difficult to approach the participants to collect in-depth information to

enhance information power for analysis. On the part of the participants, there was no problem with responding to the interview questions as effort was made to create a conducive environment to allow a free-flowing discussion.

Finally, following on the analysis strategy of this study, thematic analysis requires sufficient information power to reveal pragmatic descriptions of academic practices and their foundations as a contribution to institutional policies in higher education (Malterud, 2016). A purposive sample of 20 academic staff with diverse experiences provided adequate information power for descriptions of different academic practices to enhance understanding of challenges of institutional massification. During the analysis, using a computer-assisted programme enhanced condensation of large amounts of data to be coded very fast before evolving the themes. Additionally, audiotaping of the interviews facilitated cross-referencing of the codes and themes during analysis allowing the study to extensively draw from voices of the participants. The focus was not just the number of participants but their diverse characteristics and the depth of information from each question multiplied by the number of cases interviewed. The list of participants and their characteristics (Annex E) reveals that the participants were between 21-30 years and 51-60 years age bracket. This included11 males and 9 females. Majority (13) of the participants were employed on a permanent basis while the remaining 7 were on contract with 14 of them having attained their PhD while the rest had a Masters' degree but enrolled in PhD programs. Notably, despite the high number of staff with PhD qualifications, only three of these staff members were holding the position of a professor with some of the PhD holders still working at the lowest training grade.

4.5 Data Collection

4.5.1 Access to Participants

The data collection exercise was solely undertaken by the researcher. Before the data collection process, modalities for access to the case institution were made. This was an elaborate bureaucratic procedure that included seeking clearance from the University authorities and the National Commission for Science, Technology, and Innovation (NACOSTI). This was followed by ethical approvals from both the University of Liverpool and the Commission for University Education in Kenya (CUE). Once the necessary authorizations had been obtained, data collection commenced with strict adherence to the laid down policies and guidelines from both institutions. Participant selection involved a visit to various departments where permission to interview staff was further sought upon presentation of the relevant approvals. This was followed by a visit to the

faculty offices where the appropriate individuals were approached and those who met the set criteria were requested to take part in the study.

Recruitment and interviews were guided by availability and willingness of the academics to participate in the research. Ethical conduct was practiced, with informed consent for opt-in by the participants. Those who consented to participate went on to sign a consent form before the interview date was agreed upon. Out of 21 participants approached to participate, only one of them declined to take part and the decision was upheld and respected. The interviews were scheduled and conducted on campus mainly in the participants office or another convenient place like the laboratory where there was no interruption.

The participants in this study comprised of academic staff of all grades, (tutorial fellows, lecturers, senior lecturers, associate professors, and professors) with varied teaching experiences and from as many disciplines as possible to enhance the depth and width of views. The interview questions broadly sought participants' views on the implications of enrolment expansion on their academic practice, how they are coping with any challenges resulting from this experience as well as their views on policy support. At the end of the interview, each participant was given an opportunity to share recommendations on how to enhance academic practices during the massification phase. Each interview ended with a word of appreciation to the participants for their time and views.

4.5.2 Data Generation Method

This research employed individual semi-structured interviews as the technique of collecting the data. This is one of the most efficient methods for collecting primary data. Drever (1997) described the term semi-structured interview as a general structure where the researcher decides on the ground to be covered as well as the main questions to be addressed in advance, while leaving the detailed outline to be worked out during the interview. This feature is very important because it leaves a lot of room for creativity during data collection with ample room for understanding the feelings, perceptions, and practices of academics.

The method also supports the social practice theory lens and the constructivist approach as the experience of the interview reflects a co-construction of knowledge between the interviewer and the interviewee. As Patton (2020) posits, an interview entails open-ended questions and probes that are capable of generating in-depth answers about people's experiences, perceptions, opinions, feelings, and knowledge. Besides, semi-structured interviews provided considerable liberty to

adjust questions to the precise course of reactions while allowing for more insightful and natural discussions with the participants. While semi-structured interviews may not produce results that can be generalized beyond the sample population, nevertheless they offer a deeper knowledge of participants' opinions, inspirations, and sentiments in line with the aims of this study.

When compared with other methods like observations and focus group discussions, a semi-structured interviews suited the study timeframe and budget without compromising data richness. The interviews provided an opportunity to interact closely with the participants and at the same time collect supplementary information on personal characteristics such as attitude to work and the work environment aspects like space and ambience that proved valuable in interpreting results of this thesis.

4.5.3 The Interview Schedule

The Interview schedule comprised of six open ended questions which were deliberately designed to elicit responses appropriate for generating rich data framed by the research questions. The questions acted only as guides to the discussion while more questions emerged from the dialogue between the interviewer and the interviewee. The following broad topics constituted the protocol for this study:

- The relationship between teaching and research in the university setting.
- Experience with enrolment expansion while working in the current university.
- Implications of enrolment expansion for academic practices.
- Opinion on the quality and amount of research currently undertaken in the university.
- Experiences with university policies and its implications on academic practices.
- Recommendations for enhancing academic practices during enrolment expansion.

4.6 Data analysis

Miles and Huberman, (1994) maintain that successful research employing qualitative data depend on the rigour and thoroughness of the data analysis methods. They view the ability to diminish all doubt around the reliability and validity of qualitatively produced findings and formulating a serious method of data analysis as key to the qualitative analysis process. Using thematic analysis, the interview transcripts were analysed inductively to allow themes to develop from the data, during which information from the participants was continually compared within and across the participants' data files to solidify the codes (Glaser & Strauss, 2017). NVivo software

enhanced the rigor and thoroughness of the analysis process after the transcription of the interviews and creation of participant files in word documents (O'Neill, 2013).

Anchored on the principles of social practice theory, in line with this theoretical framework, this thematic analysis entails working from the participant experiences to run the analysis in its entirety. It involves undertaking meticulous listening and readings of data to achieve a complete understanding of participant sayings (Gale et al., 2013), as well as ensuring that all important aspects of the data are captured (Charmaz, 2014). From this type of analysis, key ideas and themes were iteratively uncovered by applying the lenses of the research questions. The process involved moving back and forth between data analysis and the literature before creating meaning out of emerging themes (Neeley & Dumas, 2016).

Whereas other approaches could have been used to analyse the data in this study, thematic analysis was selected to allow for emerging patterns that may explain the phenomenon of massification by systematically moving towards discovering a binding principle from the data (Gray, 2013). This approach takes the theme as the unit of analysis and its flexibility rendered the approach more suitable in providing a rich and comprehensive account of the data (Braun & Clarke, 2012).

The method not only assisted in examining the perspectives of different research participants to generate unanticipated insights, but further provided useful features for synthesizing key attributes of the data set, helping to yield a clear and organized thesis. However, like all data analysis approaches, thematic analysis does indeed face a few challenges that deserve a mention in this section. The method has been viewed as flexible to an extent that it can result in inconsistency and a lack of consistency when developing themes stemming from the research data (Roberts, Dowell, & Nie, 2019). This study countered this challenge through promoting consistency and cohesion by applying and making explicit an epistemological stance that can comprehensibly reinforce the empirical claims of the study. There was coherence and consistency between the purpose of the study, the research questions, data collection method (interviews), method of analysis (thematic analysis), presentation of the findings (use of quotes) and mode of knowledge claims. Thus, the focus was more a consideration of the empirical claims I made in this study as well as the appropriateness or fit with the approach and methods used.

The analysis and interpretation of the findings in this study is based on what the researcher saw and heard from the participants or learnt from the natural environment of this study as

opposed to the researcher's views. This was actualized through the interview transcripts and the opportunity to carry out the interview on campus. The data analysis was designed in two phases that involved during the data collection process and after the collection of data was completed. Overlapping data analysis with data collection during the first phase of analysis provided me an edge in analysis, but more significantly, allowed me to exploit the use of flexible data collection (Huberman & Miles, 2002). The initial analysis conducted during data collection involved organising audio-recorded data into transcripts cleaned of identifiers and checking data consistencies and relevancies.

The second phase involved reading re-reading the files to understand and familiarise myself with the data before beginning the coding process. This offered some ideas of the important codes and concepts emerging from the research. During this phase, I gained an impression of the data before embarking on the process of abstraction and conceptualisation. Moreover, the transcripts from the field were recorded verbatim before checking for accuracy against the audio-recorded material. At this point, personal identifiable information on participants was removed from the transcripts to guard for anonymity before creating individual files in a word programme in readiness for transfer to NVivo programme for analysis.

Coding in thematic analysis is the procedure of identifying and organizing qualitative data to uncover themes and concepts and the connections between them (Braun & Clarke, 2013). Using a computer assisted program, significantly reduced the coding time. The Nvivo software also provided better data management, reducing time consuming repetitions and offering higher accuracy and transparency. Additionally, the software offered wide-ranging methods of examining into the data, as well as more flexible and effective techniques of collecting, storing, and reporting the data (Beddall-Hill, Jabbar, & Shehri, 2011). The codes have been summarised to generate the themes presented and discussed in the next chapter.

Using the social constructivist stance, and the theory of practice architecture, data analysis patterns, themes, and categories were allowed to evolve out of the data and the best available evidence has been used in the analysis to answer the research questions. In view of the staff time constraints and challenges with availability of the interviewed academics to undertake member checking, the emerging themes were repeatedly checked to enhance their validity and reliability (Braun & Clarke 2013). Quotations from the transcripts were carefully selected to illuminate and validate the participants' stories and ultimately crystallize a holistic interpretation. The unit of analysis in this study was a coherent discursive act which has been conceptualized as a distinct

theme (Aittola, 2001) with specific response to academics' experiences of massification. However, in line with the social practice framework and the constructivist paradigm, these findings constitute a non-generalizable construction comprised of the subjective experiences of the participants and the researcher's inter-subjective interpretations of that experience.

4.7 Ethical Issues

This study has considered key ethical issues in research. Conscious of my responsibility to the academic community and society at large, my aim was to maximise the benefits of the research and minimise the potential harm to participants. Therefore, independence of research was maintained and there was no explicit conflict of interest or partiality on my part as the researcher or that of the institution (Carpenter, 2017). All the necessary ethical approvals and protocols were obtained through the appropriate channels at the University studied, NACOSTI, and University of Liverpool before fieldwork commenced. Subsequently, this research was undertaken in a manner that attempted to situate the safety, security, and needs of participants at the forefront by attempting to reduce risk of unanticipated harm and protecting participant information; sharing the study information; reducing participant exploitation; and safeguarding participant anonymity and confidentiality by observing the following ethical guidelines.

4.7.1 Research positionality

No research is free of bias and therefore it is important to acknowledge how my positionality may have influenced the process of the investigation, particularly my interaction with the study participants as well as the data collection and analysis processes. This study took a constructivist view and used in-depth interviews to collect the data. I realised that when participants are comfortable, the discussion becomes natural and free flowing, and this environment facilitated the emergency of latent themes.

My educational and professional background undoubtedly influenced my positionality. As an expert in participatory research and an academic practitioner, it was important to keep in mind the implications of my worldview on the research (Clegg, 2012) because there were instances when I felt a strong sense of empathy with the participants' situation .This was conceivably evolving from the numerous roles I have epitomised as a former academic staff in a similar institution; and as a Kenyan citizen who has studied abroad and acknowledged the power of social architectures in influencing academic practices. Therefore, reflexivity was essential at every phase of the investigation process for me to confront biases from previous experiences into the research (Dodgson, 2019). This involved taking a deliberate and conscious decision to completely separate

my opinions from the participant conversations and permit the participants and the data to speak for themselves. This neutral position heightened my awareness of the assumptions, values, and preconceptions I innocently embodied that may have compromised my deep understandings of the social reality under focus (Costa, Burke & Murphy, 2018).

During the research period, I first worked as an adjunct staff in a public university in a neighbouring country before relocating back to my birth country. However, I was not a stranger to some of the participants although I met most of them for the first time. While I had not shared any working experience with any of the participants, I had met some of them during my undergraduate training and some in social gatherings. Perhaps this positively enhanced the willingness of academics to participate in the study because they saw me as an "insider/outsider" thereby making the data collection exercise easier and enjoyable. I, however, attempted as much as possible to probe the participant responses in order to curb potential assumptions of similarity that may have interfered with participants' discussions as I sometimes caught myself acknowledging the participant views based on what I knew (Dwyer & Buckle, 2009). It was then necessary to separate myself from the participant views to ensure such situations did not affect their discussions by being cognizant of ways in which my response to their views could interfere with their flow of information. I further acknowledge biases of sometimes utilizing my own words in a few sections of the findings though minimal, bringing in my professional values, as well as my cultural background and this might have influenced the research process (Chenail, 2011). In order to minimise my influence over the findings, data were presented using participant verbatim quotes while a purposive sampling method was used to select participants. I believe that this was reasonably achieved to safeguard and uphold the integrity of this research.

I also endeavoured to protect the participants in various ways. In order protect the interviewee information, participants were assured that all the data obtained from them was to be kept anonymous as stipulated in the participant information sheet and consent form (Appendix C & D). This was achieved when participants were assigned identification numbers during analysis. In addition, using thematic analysis enhanced confidentiality as the unit of analysis is not the individual but the theme and therefore it is difficult to relate information in the findings to any specific participant. In addition, participation in this study was purely voluntary (Creswell, 2013). Participants were assured that even after signing the consent form, they were at liberty to relinquish or terminate participation without any consequences. In addition, constant assurance of their rights and obligations at all stages of the interview including absolute anonymity was reiterated and the

informed consent signed by all participants reiterated how the data was to be used, analysed, reported and disseminated (Webster et al., 2014).

Finally, confidentiality and anonymity in collecting, analysing, and reporting data (Allen, 2017) was strictly observed. For this research, it was participant's behaviour and experience that were of significance. The researcher relied on the honest disclosure of the participants' feelings as the units of analysis. Participants often shared sensitive and personal information, not only about themselves, but also about the study institution. The institution they were talking about was going through a challenging period and the participants revealed confidential details about their conditions and experiences. They were assured that their identities would remain obscured as far as possible. The participants have been identified within the analysis and discussion chapter by number codes, and the quotes used have not been attributed to any recognizable participant.

Largely, I truly enjoyed the whole research process and my interaction with the participants was amazing.

4.7.2 Trustworthiness

To enhance the trustworthiness of qualitative research requires attentiveness to issues of credibility, transferability, dependability, confirmability, authenticity, and reciprocity (Farrelly, 2013). This section shares the measures and principles taken to address issues of trustworthiness of this research. The credibility of the study was ensured through reflection on my influence on the research and substantial description of the interpretation process. To preserve participant voices, I have extensively used verbatim quotations from the data to illustrate and support their interpretations when presenting the findings of this study (Lingard 2019). Employing the social practice theory and social constructivist lenses to determine the suitability of the interpretations of the findings and their evaluations, rigor in the collection, analysis, and interpretation of information through in-depth interviews and thematic analysis was enlisted (Nowell, Norris, White & Moules, 2017). Using semi-structured interviews and recording of participants' voices also made notes for consistency and richness of data.

In order to minimise personal bias and enhance the trustworthiness/rigour of the analyses, at specific points in the process I requested that a fellow researcher, who worked with a public university before but now works for a private university in the country, check the coding and pose critical questions about the processes of data analysis (Lauckner et al. 2012). Findings of this research may be transferable within a public university context in Kenya and possibly in institutions

going through a similar experience. However, recognising the importance of situated knowledge in social practice theory, I acknowledge that there would be some aspects in this research that are context specific and hence the researchers and practitioners will be at liberty to select relevant and applicable aspects alone.

The study was conducted cognisant of research procedures defined in the research proposal and approved by Liverpool Online Research Ethics Committee and also permission granted by the university where the research was conducted. In view of the social constructivist stance, the research method used allowed me to develop a sense of trust and mutuality with the participants as we constructed the knowledge together (Newton & Parfitt, 2011). Interactions happened through preliminary meetings and participation during the interview phase. In addition, attempts were made before the interview to engage in general salutations to enhance trust and confidence between the researcher and the participant.

4.7.3 Limitations of the study

This section shares the methodological and implementation limitations of the study and how they were mitigated to achieve a feasible and credible study. Three identified areas with limitations in this study include the study approach, institution representation, and participant selection briefly described below.

Study approach: A lot has been said about the limitations of applying qualitative approaches in research. Some studies argue that qualitative research methodologies occasionally leave out background sensitivities, and concentrate more on meanings and experiences (Wilson, 2014;). Further, some policymakers have tended to offer minimal credibility to findings from qualitative methodologies by allotting the findings less confidence (Sallee & Flood, 2012). Similarly, the smaller sample size linked to qualitative research do raise issues of generalizability to the whole population of the research while the analyses of cases in qualitative approaches take substantial amount of time to complete (Flick, 2011).

Nevertheless, qualitative research is an important methodology in the study of academic practices as it is a consistent addition to quantitative data analysis to which reports of basic setting are usually confined (Manias & McNamara, 2015). Furthermore, generalizability ceases to be a problem because the unit of attention is the phenomenon under investigation, rather than the number of individuals often making the sample larger than it appears. Thus, in this research, the number of interactions or contacts investigated were infinitely larger than the individual persons

involved. Therefore, qualitative researchers can assist policy makers to make informed decisions that determine and resolve a range of higher education concerns by providing a description of the views and feelings of stakeholders.

Institution representation: The study sought insights into the problem of massification, generating data about the academic practices of staff from one public university. Most universities in Kenya are facing complex challenges with enrolment expansion. However, inadequate finance could not allow this study to cover more than one institution. In this way, a choice was made to deepen rather than broaden the insights by choosing one institution and conducting a qualitative study. Arguably, the insights of the study participants resonate with the experiences of other institutions in the country. It may be possible that those from institutions located in the rural settings or at institutions not so well established, would have different experiences and this will form part of the proposals for further research from this study.

Participant selection: This study excluded adjunct staff from participation. With a growing population of adjunct staff following enrolment expansion, it can be assumed that this group is exposed to a different set of experiences. This is in view of the understanding that majority of them work in more than one university, often of different institutional types, and sometimes spread across rural and urban locations, with limitations to what aspects of academic practice are supported by those institutions. But because massification is a major contributor to academic workload (Hornsby & Osman, 2014), and adjunct staff are only assigned teaching responsibilities, the study focused on participants handling the full academic load of teaching, research and student supervision. Therefore, it may be a worthwhile consideration to undertake similar studies covering more universities in Kenya and expanding the participant profile to include adjunct staff with this study providing a useful framework (Leppink, 2017).

Notably, in view of the agency-structure discourse in the higher education sector, no deliberate interviews were conducted with university management staff. Although there was a small fraction of staff who are currently handling multiple roles as academics and directors or heads of departments, this was not sufficiently explored because the focus of the interviews was their role as academics. Inherently, the agency of the management is perhaps understated as the tasks they engage in are sifted through the voices of the academics. It may be worthwhile to enhance findings of similar studies if the interviews are extended to cover the opinions of management staff.

4.8 Chapter summary

This chapter has demonstrated the methodological approach that was adopted in this thesis, justifying it by reference to the study design and outlining how data was collected and analysed. In addition, main ethical concerns arising from the study and how they were mitigated have been discussed including my own positionality. Therefore, the following chapter will present the analysis and discussion of findings of the study based on the data from the interviewees of this research.

Addressing this challenge may require a review of existing enrolment expansion policies as well as institution wide discourse on the impact of massification on academic practices and some of the coping possibilities from the experience of staff.

CHAPTER FIVE: FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

5.1 Introduction

Massification, a phenomenon driven by both the collective aspirations of citizens and governmental pressure to accommodate the growing population of young people is revolutionising the field of higher education. The student body has expanded in number and diversity increasing the demands on HE institutions and their academic staff. This chapter is a reflection on the study findings, and the practical and theoretical implications thereof. The chapter synthesizes and discusses the results in light of the following research questions:

1. How do academics perceive their academic practices when massification is occurring within an institution?
2. What are the implications of institutional massification for academic practices?

The analysis is based on twenty in-depth interviews with academic staff from a cross spectrum of departments at a public university in Kenya utilising thematic (Braun & Clarke 2006). Taking a multi-layered approach to analysis, the chapter has been divided into two sections.

Section one presents the emergent patterns and themes using data as evidence to support the findings identified and relating it to the theoretical framework. Section two is a discussion on the meaning, importance, and relevance of the results in relation to the higher education sector before providing an overall conclusion and recommendations in chapter six.

5.2 Section One: Findings of the study

This section will share main themes and subthemes that evolved following a thematic analysis of the findings using the theory of practice architectures. The findings have been categorized into two overarching themes identified as material-economic dimensions and socio-political arrangements. Under the theme of material-economic dimensions, the three major subthemes identified were the cultural, environmental, and financial dimensions. The second theme identified resistance, feelings of loss and feelings of hope as the main participants' response to the social-political environment.

5.2.1 Theme one: Material-Economic dimensions impacting on academic practices

There is growing evidence to show that while most academics have a profound aspiration to be efficient professional workers, they tend to encounter multiple barriers to academic practice including cultural, environmental, and financial factors (Darosa et al., 2011). But literature indicates that this area of research has been overlooked in most workplace learning environments (Carlile

et al., 2013). The social practice theory presents a new theoretical perspective to change that offers fresh insights focusing on change interventions where practices become the unit of analysis rather than the individual or other analytical classifications (Welch, 2016). This view moves away from changing individual behaviour to altering social practices by understanding the components that make up practices. This theory illuminates how individual autonomous action in university is constrained or enabled by the practice architectures in place including attitude of staff, institutional policies, and access to critical resources (Welch, 2016). This section looks at how materiality shapes academic practices through existing dynamics by providing new insights from the work settings of academic staff.

5.2.1.1 Cultural dimensions

Stern (1996) argues that the attitudes, traditions, and values of institutions and institutional stakeholders constitute the cultural barriers to effective academic practice. The findings show that academic attitudes and perceptions shape practice.

Table 2 Academics' attitudes to massification

Participant 18	*"There is no way you cannot take into account the amount of time a lecturer takes in class if you are calling yourself a university in fact. How do you imagine a whole professor who has been working for the university for the last 25 years and cannot receive treatment in hospital?"*
Participant 13	*"Issues of staff-welfare are critical. You are a human being with needs to be addressed. These are basic issues. The salary is laughable; Medical services are non-existent…"*
Participant 14	*"Do not pluck me from my teaching duties to make me an administrator of a unit. We train managers in school of business who understand the institution. They will do management, source for grants…".*

The participants in this table expressed their concerns with regard to massification and how the phenomenon has affected their attitude to their work. The participants cite concerns with poor delivery of staff welfare services, lower salaries, and assignment of management duties that are considered outside of their mandate. Participant 18 points to perceptions about the government which he views as undervaluing the worth of academic staff. He argues that the poor

medical cover for academic staff is not commensurate with the social standing of professors. Participant 14 on the other hand has a negative connotation on the assignment of duties. She strongly feels that administrative work is not part of what she wants to do. The language used is rather strong *"do not pluck me…"* implying that she has been unwillingly removed from her core duties and assigned some role that she is not interested in. The participant voice further implies that she did not have power to negotiate the decision. Watson (2016) argues that Practice Theory can make an explanatory input to comprehending the existence and operation of power in the social by focusing on how practices relate to and associate with each other to enable the ability to act and shape conduct. He argues that practice theory has a fundamentally unspoken account of power that is ubiquitous. Therefore, human action is often influenced from elsewhere as power relations continually shape action and the capacity to act in the performance of practices. This is further suggested in the sarcastic attitude of participant 13 when he expresses negative feelings and lack of confidence in the management's ability and willingness to comprehend and support academic staff needs.

Institutional support to academic work can be a crucial ingredient to progressive academic practices but lack of support could lead to negative implications on practices as alluded to by these participants and supported by the existing literature. For instance, Maimuna, Muhammad, Nda, Yazdanifard & Rashad (2013) show that absence support from the administration can lead to frustration of genuine academics trying to enhance institutional performance and productivity. Similarly, other participants argued that policy consultation was dismal, and the administration made decisions on expansion they considered not founded on academic ethos.

> *"Stop commercialization of education. We must move away from the utilitarian approach to education. I am being judged on how many students I attract and not how many ideas I propound" (Participant 2).*

This participant is looking for socially constructed policies that will capture the views of critical stakeholders, the prevailing social conditions to fulfil the mandate and core values of the institution. One would then argue that using the social practice theory, the institutions would focus on the practices of academic staff as opposed to their attitudes in addressing challenges of massification following on the assumption that theories of practice may offer a resolution to challenging dualisms such as structure and agency. This dualism has particular significance for policy makers concerned with enabling behavioural and social change in higher education by seeing

behaviour as the observable performance of social practices and turning their focus on changing practices and their performances and not individuals (Welch, 2016; Spurling et al., 2013).

5.2.1.2 Environmental Dimensions

Environmental dimensions are linked to the physical sites where academic activities take place, and in the findings of this study, time and space emerged as major environmental determinants to academic practices. The theory of practice architecture contends that structures of practice present both constraints and opportunities for action to practitioners (Kemmis, e al. 2014). As Jefferson and Huniche (2009) argue, identifying and understanding the specific conditions relevant to people in their use of resources, what the resources mean to them, the practices they adopt in the use of those resources, and the reasons behind those practices will enhance positive practices.

Time resources: Time, in social practice theory can either enable or constrain practices. Studies on practice theory and the concept of time underscore the importance of experiences for defining the temporal design of the day. Research on experiences with scarcity of time illustrates how subjective experiences of being hassled matter for the temporal organisation of what people do (Southerton & Tomlinson, 2005). A pragmatic illustration of such an approach includes how experiences of academic assignments are relevant for approaches to coping with academic life (Spurling, 2015). Higher education academic staff commonly identify lack of safeguarded time to take part in the existing programs as barriers to effective practice (Ludmerer, 2000). Participants in this study expressed their views on how massification has contributed to scarcity of time affecting their practices.

> *"There is no long vacation anymore because we have another group of students coming in. It is like there are classes the whole year around. So clearly that forces you to be running up and down so that the time you could spend in research or developing yourself is taken up by other classes" (Participant 3).*

This participant argues that the decision by the university to admit more students has created seamless teaching that has interfered with vacation, research, and development practices. There is a degree of discontent in his voice. His sentiments are supported Participant 11,

> *"… we have to teach extra hours especially in a department like ours where we also have laboratory sessions. After the lecture of 1 hour, we still must spend another 3 hours with the students in the lab" (Participant 11).*

The sentiments expressed in this excerpt had many similarities with the views of participants from colleges of Architecture and Engineering; Health Sciences; and Biological and Physical Sciences that have laboratory and clinical programmes. These participants argued that besides giving lectures, they need extra time for laboratory, clinical or studio work. It is noted that the sentiments of this participant resonate with the issues relating to power and social practices earlier alluded to in this discussion. Participant 11 clearly indicates that he had no control over the expansion and the decision makers are not aware of the implications of the expansion on academic workload.

However, the study found that participants responded to the encounter with increasing workload in different ways. While Participant 11 clearly indicated that he was overwhelmed by the amount of work associated with massified classes, Participant 8 demonstrates some innovate coping strategies to evaluating students to match the numbers and time available to him.

> *"Sometimes what I would do is give them several assignments, then I would choose some and go through them then give them results or go through the assignments in class with them" (Participant 8).*

This strategy can be considered positive. By giving many assignments, he allows the students to learn and not necessarily focus on grading them. In addition, he uses the group to do the assessment which cuts down on the amount of time spent on marking the scripts while improving the participation of students enhancing the relational strategy in social practice theory. This finding resonates with another study focusing using student engagement as a strategy to combat the challenges posed by large class learning environments (Hornsby 2013). Based on preliminary results from two surveys at the University of the Witwatersrand in South Africa, Hornsby found that academics facing large classes can create a lively learning environment by focusing on interactive teaching and assessment strategies that encourage critical thinking and instil profound approaches to learning.

Besides actively involving students, participant 16 split bigger classes to improve the teaching and learning environment. Although it amounted to extra workload, he was focusing on improving the learning of his students as expressed in the following excerpt.

> *"We have 4 labs, so the students don't do the same lab at the same time. We spread them in the different labs so all the time they are in some lab. But the academics sometimes get fatigue" (Participant 16).*

In this excerpt the participant has taken initiative to cope with the prevailing situation. Rather than give up, he has become innovative. With the available space, he has labs running simultaneously by organising the students to move from one lab to the next. However, the impact of this innovation has negative connotation in the sense that academics are busy throughout and as he says, fatigue does set in. For this participant, enrolment expansion has enabled him to innovate but at a very high cost. As we celebrate the participant creativity, it is important to be weary of the implications on academic workload that may cause burnout. Golub et al. (2008), identify discontent with the balance between personal and professional life, insufficient research time, and unsatisfactory administration time as major predictors of burnout. Additionally, heavy workload was associated with a time-squeeze for student assessment as further reinforced by Participant 3 below.

> *"In the last two years, I have seen that if you look at the performance of students and how they have answered questions, I note that if these students had been given continuous assessment exams and feedback on the way they were answering the questions in the test, it could have helped them improve. But there is a challenge to give them an assignment and give feedback within a week or two. Sometimes what I would do is give several assignments but choose some, go through them then give results or go through the assignments in class with them" (Participant 3).*

This participant argues that as the number of students grow, he cannot cope with marking scripts, and this has affected his assessment and feedback practices as he reluctantly reduces the number of assignments per class to cope with the workload. In the flipside, the participant felt that reduction in timely and personalized feedback to students compromised learner's ability to grasp how to improve in their work and that eventually gets manifested at the final examination. He felt frustrated and argued that some of these students would have improved had there been more personalized attention.

His feelings were echoed by participant 11 who said,

> *"If you are giving them continuous assessment tests, marking is a challenge ... The moment you have classes of 800 – 1000 students for one academic staff, you cannot meet those obligations in honesty" (Participant 11).*

The language used communicates a very strong message. The participant is not in a position to meet his obligations in "honesty". This response indicates that although academics desire to give students the best, heavy workload and time pressure as a condition in the site of

practice is pushing them to adopt new and sometimes dishonest coping practices that may hurt student academic achievements. A study to establish the impact of teacher workload on student's academic performance in Kenya found that for every unit increase in teacher workload, there was a decrease in pupils' academic achievement (Rose & Sika, 2019).

Innovative strategies were not only associated with space arrangement to cope with the number of students but teaching practices as well. Participant twelve shares how he changed his teaching style.

> *"I am now using flipped learning and it works. I assign students all the content they need to learn in advance, and I separate them into groups and ask them to do their own research and improve the content. Students don't miss class because they are the leaders in the learning process" (Participant 12).*

This participant proactively used flipped learning to cope with the growing workload and in the end his new practices benefitted him together with the students. This excerpt is an example of how academics and their institutions of higher learning can embrace a positive perspective towards massification and innovate especially for SSA where the projections show that the population of students is expected to continue growing for the next four decades (Lebeau & Oanda, 2020). Flipped learning as an innovation has been used to mitigate the challenges of massification in other countries as well. In Morocco. academic staff working in overcrowded classrooms achieved a reduction in academic failure among students in addition to saving time by using flipped learning (Idrissi, Berrada, Bendaoud, Machwate, & Miraoui, 2018).

Studies from other countries outside the SSA region support the reality of innovative response to massification as a source of new practices. In the UK for example, enrolment expansion in the country encouraged some institutions to adopt innovative strategies including introduction and expansion of online training practices (Ashcroft, 2004). Arguably, this approach is enabled by comparative availability of more resources and enhanced digital accessibility. Nevertheless, as the theory of practice architectures acknowledges, innovation creates new possibilities for practice by interrogating unsustainable practices in education and embracing unexpected ones (Mahon, Kemmis, Francisco & Lloyd, 2017).

Apart from the effects of massification on student experiences, participants shared their sentiments on the implications of massification on diminishing research practices. Participant 8 below considers research as an important marker between higher education and other levels of education.

"Research is what separates higher education from other levels of education" (Participant 8).

For this participant, if universities are unable to do sufficient research, then the concept of university is blurred. She feels that pressure on time has reduced the role of university to a level of high school. This sentiment is supported by other participants who argued that inadequate time has squeezed opportunities to engage in research.

> *"I have struggled to find time to do research… In the process many aspects of my life have suffered … Something has to give. But there is a lot of research going on. The world is writing. I don't get any funding to participate in research or conferences. You register, travel and accommodate using your own funds" (Participant 20).*

This participant is concerned that heavy workload due to massification has affected time available for research. But this has not deterred him from participating in research activities. Although this has interfered with personal time and changed his social practices, he is still determined to use personal resources (time and money) to engage in research. This finding is very positive and one that indicates the willingness of academics to enhance practices during massification. Can the government and administration through relational acts tap on this goodwill to enhance academic practices during massification?

The issue of inadequate time for research is further reflected through the type of research undertaken at the institution currently. Participants argued that they lack sufficient time to develop research proposals that address the gaps in knowledge in their respective fields. They argue that they are leveraging on student research work that they supervise to meet their research obligations as indicated by participant 7 below.

> *"Masters' students do research and I supervise them in the field, but you see this is not my research work" (Participant 7).*

This participant is basically relying on research undertaken by postgraduate students as opposed to providing research leadership - a rather unfortunate revelation. Africa needs state-of-the-art research to drive her development agenda within a globalized competitive environment. some of these consequences are manifested in the low research data in SSA needed by policymakers to make data driven investments.

In a nutshell, the participants in this study felt that work overload has interfered with time for academic work, private time for social engagements, time for research and professional

development. The next section shares findings on how physical space has impacted academic practices.

Space: Educational and learning settings can have implication on teaching and learning practices. However, aspects of space have been exposed as a neglected area in conversations about agency experiences. The findings of this study show that the physical spaces and settings necessary for learning have not been integrated into facilities' planning processes during enrolment expansion. The participants argued that current working spaces such as classrooms, labs, clinical areas, offices and toilets were in most cases either lacking or insufficient as implied in the excerpts below.

Table 3 Challenges with space

"You spend a minimum of 8 hours at work in a day … if you are uncomfortable … it must affect you somehow" (Participant 4).

"Some staff members don't even have an office and that means they cannot be reached by their students for consultation". (Participant 15)

"…some rooms are so small that some students attend lessons through the window" (Participant 6).

"The classes have no sockets … I have to get my own cable to connect power from a distant room if I need to use a projector" (Participant 2).

"Lecture rooms are inadequate and often there are clashes between classes" (Participant 9).

Table 3 brings out very fundamental concerns with learning space in this institution. The participants are demoralized with the work environment that includes poorly furnished, poorly ventilated, and congested classrooms. As a result, academic staff attitudes reflect aloofness and disinterest in what they are doing. It is difficult to explain why the institution does not facilitate the learning process with the basic provisions like a socket to enhance use of technology. But the spirit of academics going out of their way to enhance teaching practices is very encouraging when they use personal equipment to facilitate their work. However, the revelation of participant 6 is daunting. It is unconceivable that congestion has resulted in a situation where some students have to learn through the window. What is motivating students to participate in higher education

regardless of the state of learning environment and what are the implications for student outcome? These are some of the areas beyond this study that may require further research. The argument may point to the government policy to convert TVET institutions to universities creating a "diploma disease" in the country.

Participant 6 further expounded on this challenge and its impact on professional practice.

"A lecturer has 100 students in a class that used to accommodate a maximum of 50. The students are congested, the lecturer has to more or less shout because there is no PA system. With the mobile technology, you are dealing with young people, so they may be chatting and not actually concentrating on the …" (Participant 6).

This experience has affected the professional practices of this participant. He goes on with the lecture knowing that some of the students are not participating in the learning process although they are within the vicinity. One could argue that participant 6 is driven by bureaucratic rather than moral accountability in his work when he focuses on continuing with the lecture regardless of awareness of non-participation by some of the students.

From these excerpts, physical space is portrayed as a critical artefact enhancing teaching and professional practices that may disadvantage students as well.

5.2.1.3 Financial resources

In social practice theory, financial resources like other material-economic resources shape the doings of practice by affecting what can be done, when it can be done, how it can be done and who can do it (Mahon, Kemmis, Francisco & Lloyd, 2017). The power of funding featured very prominently as a major determinant of academic practices as participants associated level of revenue allocation to the implementation of many institutional activities. The findings mirror other studies that have closely linked massification of higher education with inadequate funding (Jacob, 2020). Sharing the Haitian experience with massification and funding, Jacob found that massification contributed to a drop in per student expenditure. Although participants in this research alluded to the effects of financial resources in their work, its implications on research, staffing and infrastructure stood out more prominently.

Availability of Research Funds: The place of research has been alluded to earlier in this chapter in relation to time constrains. Table … further elaborates how availability of funds for research forms an integral part of academic practices.

Table 4: Experiences with research funding

"Research funds from the university are not adequate and when they are allocated, they take a very long time to be availed" (Participant5).

If staff and students are going to finance their research out of necessity, then the quality of research is compromised because they will only do the bare minimum" (participant 13).

"When research funding is entirely left in the hands of donors or industry players, then the research undertaken will most likely be advancing the agenda of the funder first …" (participant 2).

These participants' concerns included challenges with getting funds from the university on time, relying on either research done by self-sponsored postgraduate students or research funding by donors or the industry players. Regrettably, this may have implications on research practices in various ways including a compromise on the quality of research especially when students and staff finance the research with minimal funding. Additionally, donor funding for academic research has been associated with weakening of government policy decision-making and a compromise on academic integrity and identity (Goss, 2016).

Furthermore, the findings acknowledges that the historical nature of practices in higher education in Kenya has not facilitated research work during this funding deficit era. Participant 12 below argues that the Kenyan education system is based on a competitive as opposed to a collaborative spirit.

"Collaboration among staff is minimal because academics have been trained to be competitive and not collaborative and yet people are talented differently. So those who may be good in writing may not necessarily be good in practical work …" (Participant 12).

This participant argued that working collaboratively enhances grant proposals but the competitive spirit of academics in the institution has tended to promote individually developed grant proposal that attract low funding opportunities. He strongly advocated for academics to work together and complement one another in order to secure funding through a multidisciplinary approach to research resource mobilization as elaborated by the next participants.

"The aggressive heads of department have managed to secure funds to support postgraduate students through various collaborative means" (Participant 3).

"We do benefit a lot from various networks … of bringing in more research funds. This includes collaboration with other universities, and research institutes" (Participant 4).

These two participants show that academic staff are not powerless. They can use their resourceful experiences to lighten government funding burden through strategic deployment of staff talents and skills. These participants shared experiences on how networks and deployment of local talents in the right place have benefited the research fund kitty. This finding goes beyond the recurring mindset of most participants over getting resources from "out there". It is possible that overdependence on donor funding for many development initiatives in Kenya (and indeed in many LMICs) has crippled many people's mindset on the power of self-reliance including university academic staff and yet there is evidence to show that possibilities to expand funding sources have been embraced with a lot of success in other environments (AAU, 2015; Ward, Pisacreta, Weintraut, & Kurzweil, 2020). For instance, the participants showed very little faith in raising resources locally from different sources including philanthropies. On the other hand, the theory of practice architectures is not just about constraints but how to leverage on the available opportunities to harness positive results like seeking for ways to seal the prevailing funding gap (Velarde, 2018).

5.2.1.4 Staffing and infrastructure as critical resources

Social Practice Theory offers an alternative approach to promoting a reduction in resources consumed. Scholars supporting this theory argue that resource consumption depends largely on the practice used to carry out activities (Shove & Walker, 2014). As a routinised action that is composed of a number of interconnected elements, practice involves meaning, skill, and technology (Eon, Breadsell, Morrison, & Byrne, 2018). Change can be made to practice through the alteration of one or more of the elements. The innovation of a product or procedure can, therefore, act as an enabler of sustainability, especially when designed in conjunction with the users. This is referred to as non-persuasive sustainability or enabling sustainability (Brynjarsdottir et al; 2012).

This view points to the importance of adequate staffing infrastructure identified as key resources that shaped academic practices. The participants saw themselves as a resource to be harnessed by the University for the overall growth and development of the university and the

country at large. But pressure from work overload resulting from inadequate staffing was a barrier to their performance.

> *"On staffing, we have a shortage, there is the danger that most students might end up graduating without the hands-on skills. We have bigger groups of students now and the weak ones may not really get much" (Participant 16).*

> *"The load is heavy because of inadequate staffing. You cannot continue teaching and handling administration duties at the same time. We need role differentiation between academics and administration" (Participant 14).*

Kemmis et al. (2014), posit that practice architectures constitute the preconditions that prefigure practice, making the doings of practices possible and holding them in place. In this case, doubling up roles is a practice architecture that is constraining the "legitimate" practices of participant 14. This participant seems to imply that some of her roles are imposed on her. In the following excerpts, participants describe how doubling of roles with administration work and postgraduate training impacts on their practices.

> *"The university has a school of administration. Recruit these persons to do administrative work" (academic/administrator).*

> *"Eliminate teaching for academics doing postgraduate studies or at the most have few hours of teaching load" (academic/student).*

The academic administrator is against doubling up administrative duties with academic responsibilities. These are departmental or faculty principals. Their work involves participation in a lot of policy-related meetings that demand a lot of participation time. This participant exhibits stress in her discussion as she emphatically demands for separation of administrative assignments from academic work assignments. These sentiments show participant expectations which can be construed to mean that what matters for academics is not well understood by administration. The participant is desirous of co-management of decision-making where the degree to which power is shared between academics and administration is institutionalized in a partnership of equals (Berkes, George, & Preston, 1991). This confirmed that her role as academic/administrator does not accord her sufficient power to influence policy decisions that can initiate meaningful change for the better.

Closely linked to the argument of this participant on the importance of role differentiation during massification is the issue of preparing funding proposals and seeking funding for research as alluded in the following excerpt.

"The role of the academic staff should be to do the proposals but grants' seeking to become the responsibility of the university" (Participant 14).

This participant argues that with inadequate staff and growing workload, academic staff face challenges with time to raise resources for research. She acknowledges that generating research grants is a very specialized task and one that may not be a strength of everyone. Due to the competitive environment for funding, both nationally and internationally, very few grant proposals can be funded. Therefore, these proposals need sufficient time and people with the right skills and talents. This is further support by another participant who said,

"I think we need a grants office …, and that is a huge responsibility off the shoulders of the academics" (Participant 17).

This participant recommends one of the strategies that she considers key in addressing the problem of academic workload. According to this participant, the university can leverage on individual interests and talents and set-up a grant unit purely dedicated to raising funds for research activities.

The academic graduate on the other hand is distressed with the workload that tends to consume time meant for his studies. While he acknowledges the importance of assisting with teaching responsibilities, he is against the current role assignment that goes beyond what he can carry alongside his core mission. The sentiments off these participants could imply that academics have little say on how much work they can meaningfully handle during enrolment expansion. This can have implications for practice as literature shows that increasing time pressure and role ambiguity would reduce employee performance in all aspects (Ogohi, 2019; Sharmilee & Basit, 2017).

Infrastructure: The significance assigned to artefacts was not limited to undertaking practices, but artefacts also enabled academics to create awareness of perceived challenges associated with lack of the same. Confronting issues from perceived inadequacy and lack of structure in artefacts, led some academics to take charge, stimulate organizational change and enable future academic practices. One of the greatest concerns that participants talked about was the challenge with availability and suitability infrastructure.

"Over the years we have not had facilities to match the students. If you are doing programming you have to do it, you cannot learn by watching someone else doing it" (Participant 17).

This participant was basically sharing her concerns with the state of equipment in her department. She has said many things in this excerpt. First, facilities have remained the same in spite of enrolment expansion and this has affected both the teaching space as well as laboratory space for practical sessions - meaning classes are overcrowded; then the required equipment to match the population of students has not been expanded and what is in place has challenges with maintenance. As a result, students are forced to share even some of the critical equipment reducing the learning experience. It may be plausible to conclude that either the university management is totally removed from the needs of academic staff that guarantee effective training or they just don't care. The feeling of disconnect is also reflected by another participant who said,

> *"… patient load has remained the same because the facility has not expanded. Beds have not increased since 1990. During examinations, patients get tired of being used repeatedly and refuse to be examined" (Participant 6).*

While the challenges of massification in the country cannot be underestimated, it is expected that a concerned and informed administration, will have clear strategies for enrolment expansion that are backed with minimum basic resources to guard against a compromised learning environment.

This does not seem to be the case as participants continued to decry the lack of effective software and hardware to enhance their teaching and research practices as shared in the following excerpts.

> *"Internet is very unreliable, yet it is a basic ingredient for academic performance" (Participant 6).*
>
> *"We lack some of the key equipment and so we have to outsource from other laboratories" (Participant 10).*
>
> *"How can you do research? I research with my own laptop. They do not provide computers" (Participant 5).*

In these responses, the participants are voicing issues of inadequate technology related resources One major concern relates to internet connectivity and reliability. Here again academics share some of the positive innovations. They indicate that in the absence of artefacts like sophisticated equipment to enable practices, academics are creative and leverage on their networks

with other partners to outsource some equipment in addition to the use of personal equipment. These are clear examples where participants demonstrated their ability to be part of the solution to massification. In these examples, we realise that in addition to being aware of the shortage of artefacts, the participants were proactive and sought solutions for their challenges to substitute the materials and experiment with materials to enhance the practices. Academics do not simply 'stand and watch' from the edge and learn through gradual participation, but instead can turn out to be engaged participants contributing to the community of practice (Etienne & Wenger-Trayner, 2015).

5.2.2 Theme 2: Response to social-political environment

This theme demonstrates that practices do not evolve in a vacuum, but instead they are socially enabled and/or constrained by practice architectures that involves ways of understanding, of acting and of relating to one another at the site of practice (Kemmis et al., 2014). Following on this understanding, this theme examines participants' responses to the institutional socio-political environment. The theme suggests that practices cannot only create emotions, but that emotions can also be regarded as a practical engagement with the world (Scheer, 2012). The following discussion explores how participants expressed themselves through emotions of hope, resistance and loss while responding to the social-political environment during massification.

5.2.2.1 Expressions of hope

As discussed in the previous theme, this study has demonstrated that in spite of the negative conditions associated with massification, the participant presented a lot of positive experiences. I went in this study expecting negative feelings and responses from the academics but left the site with a lot of hope. It became apparent that participants used the current situation to be more creative and innovative in their practices. Participants passionately shared how massification gave them an opportunity to seek for positive coping mechanisms. As alluded to earlier, some participants used their positions and talents to initiate and expand research and funding horizons by putting in place some ground-breaking teaching and research practices. The participants embraced different approaches including harnessing change in the way they conducted business as revealed in the following excerpt.

> *"Projects are hampered by fear of change, yet the need for partnerships between the university and industry is needed" (Participant 12).*

This participant displayed a very high level of enthusiasm during the interview. While he acknowledged the challenges of massification on availability of research funds, he argued that the greatest challenge is getting academic staff to move away from traditional academic practices to embrace multidisciplinary approaches to research that improved research funding. This was demonstrated by other participants who used other strategies Table 5 below presents some of the positive responses to massification by other participants.to enhance academic practices as indicated in the following excerpts.

Table 5 Positive Response to Massification

"We team up based on our skill areas and look for opportunities to carry out research together as well as raise funds for postgraduate training" (Participant 4).

"The quality of research is going up because now we have more graduate assistants and tutorial fellows who assist the lecturers to do the research" (Participant 16).

"Through networking I was able to get a grant for my PhD based on the multidisciplinary grant proposal" (Participant 12).

These participants represent a wide range of existing possibilities for enhancing academic practices during massification. For instance, participant 4 realized that academics embrace collaborative proposal development strategies through linkages with other institutions and interdepartmental networks. He maintained that his school continues to benefit from collaborative activities amongst staff and between the school and other institutions to raise research funds for postgraduate students and for academic staff. As reported by participant 16, having more graduate assistants and tutorial fellows through these grants has eased pressure from inadequate staff while improving the departmental research portfolio.

Similar views regarding networking were shared by Participant 12. He reported that through a multidisciplinary approach to grant proposal development, he received grants to pursue his PhD training. This particular participant represents academic staff with passionate feelings in research work. In an institution that is cash trapped, the university will benefit by leveraging on the talents, skills, and passion of its staff as mentioned earlier in this discussion especially through setting up of a grant's unit.

This theme extrapolates the importance of thinking outside the box. It is possible to assume that social architectures in practice theory refer to favourable conditions that enhance

practice. However, the findings of this study show that even what may be considered constraining conditions for practice, can be innovatively flipped over to produce possibilities for academics.

In spite of these positive feelings, participants were sometimes unhappy with the outcomes of massification and tended to respond through outright resistance to institutional policies as elaborated in the next section.

5.2.2.2 Resistance to Institutional Policies

Academics have been more and more called on to function as bedrocks of social and economic growth of national and regional states (Abolarin & Ola, 2019). In the process, they are expected to produce high quality viable research. These demands have exerted tremendous pressure for academic staff working in massified higher education systems where governments have struggled to guarantee a funding system that is commensurate with the level of enrolment needs. Undeniably, some government systems have overlooked the critical link between funding and enrolment expansion and continued to implement neoliberal funding strategies that have seriously defunded the sector. Gradually, this experience is undermining academic identity to the detriment of academic practices as the demands on academic staff to deliver their mandate is under threat.

The findings of this study show that participants considered massification as a major contributor to the poor working environment at the university and the frequent industrial strikes experienced in many universities in Kenya. They argued that resistance to institutional policies through frequent industrial strikes and lack of commitment to university work by staff was a demeaning practice that bore a poor relationship between academic staff and the administration.

As far back as 1995, public servants in Kenya manifested emotional feelings through industrial strikes to protest government attempts to silence them from what university academic staff considered legitimate demands (Mazrui & Mutunga, 1995). Academic staff feel that the government has continued to suppress them through a coalition with university administration. This has continued to anger the academics who often respond with long industrial strikes that have affected the university training programmes as well as the organizational productivity and competitiveness (Omolo, 2012). Most participants perceived themselves as powerless in the decision-making processes even as majority of the participants strongly resisted the changes that accompanied massification that they associated with the managerialist ideology. They cited dismal

implementation of remuneration policies; admission policies; communication policies; and consultancy policies as major outcomes in the excerpt below.

> *"This salary reform and the never respected Common Bargaining Agreements (CBAs) irritate me quite immensely. Not that the salary is worth demonstrating over in the first place" (Participant 17).*

> *"If you are financially comfortable, then you put your all to teaching" (Participant 10).*

The participants in these excerpts expressed concern over the institutional policies and how they have impacted on their practices differently. With regard to remuneration, Participant 17 argues that the institution has failed to respect the policy agreements on improving their salaries. This participant is particularly unhappy with her participation in an industrial strike. As an afterthought, she regrets the action of taking part because it dented her social image. Following these sentiments, one may want to ask how this experience has impacted on her commitment to the work although this was not pursued during the interview.

Participant 10 partially answered this question when she said that commitment to work has been affected by poor remuneration. Despite their varied opinions regarding poor remuneration, the participants chose other strategies to augment their salaries like engaging in private consultancies using university work time. The participants justified their actions on the premise that the salary they receive has failed to meet their basic needs.

> *"In my school people were mainly doing consultancies, we teach and look for work outside to augment our salaries because you want to make ends meet" (Participant 15).*

Basically, what this participant is saying is that as the university management continues to ignore the concerns of academic staff, in the long run, their practices negatively affect organizational performance. This finding is supported by other studies that have looked at the relationship between job satisfaction and organizational performance. Latif (2013) in his study on the impact of job satisfaction on organizational performance established a positive correlation between job satisfaction and organizational performance. The social architecture in this sense has a strong influence on the doings of academic staff. Poor remuneration to staff has encouraged academics to resist institutional policies. While some of the participants justified their use of university time to do private consultancies, others felt that the outcome of expansion on academic practices is not acceptable for both moral and ethical reasons. Some participants concluded that lack of dialogue contributed to weak decision-making as alluded below.

> *"You see there was no elaborate plan to involve staff before the expansion" (Participant 20).*

"And we are told, if you feel you are being cheated as a human being, you reduce your effort for that is the only way the thing can be sustainable" (Participant 18).

It is apparent that these participants were unhappy with the policies and how they are formulated. Participant 20 regrets that the decision to expand was driven by executive viewpoints while participant 18 clearly acknowledges that the working environment where academics perceive themselves as cheated results in reduced effort. In fact, the tone of participant 20 does not portray any concerns for the financial crunch at the university. He feels that the university is reaping what she planted. The sentiments confirm why the participants in this study considered bold opposition and rebellion to institutional policies as justifiable and proper reactions to the changes going on in the institution and at times in society in general. The staff not only felt unappreciated for their efforts, but a deep sense of lost identity as the next participant expresses.

"The moment you get lecturers striking because of money, … you even lose your dignity in front of your workers, and you are not taken seriously" (Participant 7).

For this participant, while industrial action may appear justified, it is not her desired response. she feels that failure by the administration to address their grievances has pushed them to engage in industrial practices. Consequently, the academic identity constructed is that of a critic and rebel. In employing this identity construction, participants view their work from a negative perspective (Ylijoki &Ursin, 2013). The main feature of the identity is opposition, and the academic is primarily against the existing trends of enrolment expansion. The resistance displayed is often related to a kind of nostalgic longing for the past. Established academic principles and values, such as collegiality, academic freedom, autonomy, and the Humboldtian model of the university, are valued and applied as a reference point.

Altbach (2012) confirms that teaching at a university is one of the lowest paying professions worldwide. However, as participant 2 below argues, the study institution can borrow experiences from other LMICs that have innovatively maintained the dignity of academics, not through higher salaries but through other benefits like health and education support for academics and their families. He cited India and Ethiopia, who have managed to attract top-quality staff through competitive remuneration for academic staff while other countries have managed to raise the bar for benefits to staff including tax rebate and health coverage.

"But some developing countries like India have high levels of vibrancy in universities. This is because life for lecturers in public universities is highly subsidised. For that reason, their level of research is extremely high basically in all fields" (Participant 2).

This may be interpreted to mean that academics are not usually looking for exorbitant salaries but when they cannot meet their basic needs then their integrity in society is dented, and they feel that they are justified to look for consultancies to fill the financial gap even where the strategies adopted seem to go against academic ethos. This participant is arguing that a goodwill from the administration can make positive changes.

Similar sentiments were echoed by another participant who argued that the expansion was a waste of resources because it lacked a long-term government strategy.

"It takes a lot of resources to train one student through university, he argued; and if it is not going to amount to any life opportunities, then it is a futile exercise (Participant 12),

The final subtheme looks at academics' feelings of loss.

5.2.2.3 Feelings of loss

In this subtheme, massification of higher education has been associated with times when the academics' position of teacher and researcher undergoes significant changes that evoke feelings of identity loss. This sub-theme reports on the reflections of academics trying to reconcile the transition from the traditional Humboldtian model, encompassing a merger between teaching and research with generous funding opportunities, into one governed by neoliberal funding policies characterized by suppressed autonomy and feelings of loss (Pritchard, 2004).

The findings of this study show, academics are looking for support, a sense of belonging, acknowledgment, and a feeling of being valued in society (Lee & Chao, 2013). Scheer (2012) argues that practices encompass specific cultural and historical elements tied up with and reliant on "emotional practices," involving the self, language, material artifacts, the environment, and other people. As Pierre Bourdieu elaborates in his concept of habitus, "the body is not a static, timeless, universal foundation that produces ahistorical emotional arousal, but is itself socially situated, adaptive, trained, plastic, and thus historical" (Scheer, 2012, p.193).

The academics feel that they have lost their identity as collegial benefits diminish as indicated in the following excerpt.

"The old days we used to teach for 2 terms and during the third term we used to have long holidays. The long vacation sat between two academic classes - that disappeared" (Participant 17).

Something has disappeared. It implies that they woke up one morning and it was gone. Nobody prepared them for the disappearance. The subtheme of loss is painted with frustrations, fears, and disappointments that have changed academic practices by portraying academics as victims of change. In their discussions, some participants felt that they were going through a period of deterioration of academic practices. Some of them felt that they were no longer in control of their teaching practices and hence a sense of lost identity that evoked feelings of resentment, helplessness, and dissatisfaction. In their response, the experience of loss does not evoke active opposition and resistance, but a rather depressed, submissive, and passive tone instead as implied in the following excerpt.

"The only trouble with enrolment is that the decision is made very first from the other side" (Participant 11).

Participant 11 felt that he has lost his autonomy because he no longer has the power to design and implement training programmes intended to generate maximum benefit for the students and his personal fulfilment. This situation is imbued with disillusionment and pessimism. The identity construction involved in this account of loss is susceptible, feeble, and defenceless. This participant feels that he is not in control of his decisions and yet he can do nothing about the situation. In social practice theory, identity should be a negotiated outcome. As Wenger puts it, we define who we are by the ways we experience ourselves through participation as well as by the ways we and others reify ourselves (Wenger, 1998). However, this participant feels that he has neither the means nor the capacity to resist the changes coming from those holding decision-making power in the institution. He succumbs to suffering in silence by submitting to the demands laid upon him and tries to survive. Another participant reinforced this feeling of giving up when she said:

"… trying to limit the number of students that an individual lecturer supervises is not doable because if you already have 30 students and you are only *5 lecturers, that means 6 and if you say only three, where do you take the others" (Participant 8)?*

The situation here seems to point to an absence of practices to deal with changing circumstances. Aside from academic identity, participants brought up the challenges with institutional autonomy. The findings show that participants were seeking for institutional autonomy.

> *"Make universities autonomous or semi-autonomous. Release them from the crutches of central government"17).* Even the language of this participant is very strong. The next participant supporting this view adds that autonomy gives academic staff the power to plan and implement relevant policies.
>
> *"… autonomy will give leeway to evolve and implement relevant and well-planned policies" (Participant 6).*

The sentiments from these participants imply that massification has strengthened government decision-making powers as funding resources dwindle. However, this is not sitting well with the practitioners who seem to suggest that if the institution was autonomous, then it will be easier to institute plans that fall within available resources. The helplessness displayed is indicative of a poor relationship between the practitioners and administration.

From the submissions of the respondents in this study, inefficient implementation of policies and guidelines and inadequate communication on enrolment expansion policies are perceived as constraining academic practices. The participants felt that lack of adherence to policies on admission that led to seamless admissions denied them the opportunity to take sabbatical leave and holidays. This was a cherished moment when academics previously took time out to do research and evolve meaningful publications besides taking time to rejuvenate. Furthermore, the large numbers of students constrained teaching, research, supervision, and assessment practices. The participants seem to imply that these experiences have a bearing on academic identity. In spite of all the disappointment expressed by the participants, the major finding and greatest contribution to knowledge from this study is the expressions of hope amidst a challenging environment.

That may explain why administration just informs the academics that more students are coming. It can be argued that if proper consultation is done, there is a possibility that decision-makers will incorporate the views and proposals from academic staff to ensure comprehensive strategies are put in place and academic practices are not manipulated.

5.3 Section Two: Discussion

This section will interpret the findings in relation to the research questions. While all participants acknowledged the need to expand participation, they argued that the policy fell short of adequate strategic planning and weak involvement of academics in the decision-making process. The arguments of the participants further suggesting that inadequate collaborative planning coupled with government silence on the needs of staff encroached on the smooth running of academic programmes leading to academic staff resentment.

The participants interrogated the current expansion arguing that it was poorly planned devoid of adequate consultation with all stakeholders' especially academic staff. As a consequence, they associated the challenges of inadequate availability of requisite resources like staff, physical space, equipment, and funds for research activities with poor planning practices. This argument represents a desire by academic staff to forge strong relationships with administration in order to enhance their practices. The theory of practice architectures can inform such interrogative work (Mahon, Kemmis, Francisco & Lloyd, 2017).

These sentiments may reflect the academics' power positioning. Their power may be presumed to be lower, hampering communication channels with administration. Their sentiments indicated a feeling of powerlessness and discontent and yet one of the key strengths of participation in decision making is increased acceptance and motivation. Studies show that when people play an active role in group decision-making and problem solving, they tend to view the outcomes as 'ours' rather 'theirs' or what Brynjarsdottir et al., (2012) refer to as sustainability unpersuaded. If the participants are given more opportunities to take part in the decision-making process, they are likely to be motivated to own institutional policy decisions and be driven to enhance implementation. This is what Kemmis et al. (2014) considers a manifestation of a relational undertaking that describes and prescribes practices.

Another key issue challenging academic practices is the institutional struggle to deliver requisite resources. Academic staff viewed this gap as direct outcome of massification. The participants argued that with the growing number of students, a seamless admission culture, and inadequate financing to recruit more staff, the amount of work (teaching, research, supervision and assessment) has escalated. Work overload - a condition where people perceive role demands as exceeding their time, energy, and capabilities, tends to impose considerable costs on employees and institutions (Alfes et al., 2018). It is linked to a range of negative consequences including lack of organizational commitment and low work performance (Fisher, 2014). It is argued in this

discussion that turning a blind eye to the consequences of work overload in higher education can become a very expensive cost in the long run. Thus, it is important for institutions to understand how and when work overload impacts work performance. Studies have shown that work overload can trigger a variety of stress reactions which would ultimately impede work performance (Halbesleben et al., 2014). Undeniably, many academics responded negatively through participation in prolonged industrial strikes, reduced assessment and teaching practices and demotivation. Despite the concerns with negative implications, it is inspiring to note that participants were pushed to interrogate current teaching, research and assessment practices to fit within available resources. Some of the participants used the opportunity to forge new partnerships especially in the area of fundraising, introduce new teaching and assessment practices like flipped learning and group assessments or embrace multidisciplinary approach to research in line with current literature. For instance, Bukvova (2010) found that collaborative research has the potential of increasing access to more resources including funding, expertise, and exchange of ideas across discipline as opposed to competitive individual research. From the social practice perspective, the findings confirm that research practices in the university setting are enabled and constrained by prevailing organizational and societal funding practices.

In view of this finding, higher education institutions are challenged to think outside of the box and use massification to forge new innovative opportunities to cope with the experience. This is critical for SSA countries because of their historical experiences. As a post-colonial consequence, SSA countries have been highly dependent on foreign aid for development activities including education. It is time to interrogate and domesticate their policies in line with national resources. The effects of globalization and the adoption of neoliberal policies for the higher education sector in the 1980s in Kenya still linger in the institutions and the country must work towards gaining real autonomy in this sector and this will take the goodwill, effort and broad consultation between all stakeholders including academic staff. The finding further shows the potential for solving higher education challenges through a wider engagement of stakeholders in the sector as opposed to the current top-down approach to policy formulation.

Following on the current study, the quality of communication between academic staff and administration has a negative effect on the relationship between work overload and psychological strain, ultimately influencing work performance and improving this relationship can ameliorate feelings of academics towards massification. For instance, research shows that a social context abounding in possibilities and resources, which feeds the resource pool of employees can enable

employees to better deal with their workload (Ozer et al., 2014). I consider that my research extends previous work by demonstrating that work overload can yield multiple aspects of performance-related outcomes through an interrogation of existing practices.

The study encountered three categories of staff: those interested in research and ready to enhance grant proposal development skills; those with a passion in teaching; and those with both teaching and research interests. In line with the practice architectures lens, this finding points to further interrogation of current employment contracts. The institution may further use these empirical findings to interrogate the current contractual agreements and design them in line with peoples interests and strengths as opposed to the traditional assumption that all academicians can satisfactorily undertake both teaching and research responsibilities. The idea of complementarity where the institution taps the individual talents may be one way to address the challenges of massification regarding allocation of academic duties. The university can leverage on individual interests and talents and set-up a grant unit purely dedicated to raising funds for research activities.

The study revealed that funding and inadequate time are compromising research practices. The quality and amount of research going on at the university is currently low and yet for institutional development and expansion to happen, research requires to shift to the forefront of government priorities. There is goodwill from the academic staff and there were expressions of positive innovations and practices that can be harnessed to enhance research practices during times of massification. However, communication practices between academics and administrators are seen as a major barrier between the two groups encouraging negative implications for practice. Could this be an outcome of managerialism that has invaded the management of higher education? Communication between administration and academic staff is a key consideration for improving academic staff attitudes and practices. The theory of practice architectures incorporates the importance of social relations in practice (Kemmis, et al., 2014). The interconnectedness of sayings, doings, and relating is key to decision-making and policy formulation in higher education. The relationship between academics and the management is portrayed as poor by the participants. Unfortunately, the scope of this study did not allow for participation of administration staff. However, poor communication goes against the sociality of practices in social practice theory and the perceptions of academics. It is recommended that future studies incorporate the views of administration staff to make more conclusive recommendations on the factors responsible for this vice.

Finally, the participants associated massification with lack of autonomy and an eroded identity. These two attributes had a negative effect on their collegial practices. For instance, Tlali (2019) in a study in Lesotho, found that growth in student numbers compromised the quality of education. The study claimed that academics lost their voice to management on enrolment expansion decisions although they are the ones contending with an increasing workload. The study also indicated that inadequate human resources affected the amount of time available for student consultation. In effect, Tlali argues that the respondents in her study viewed massification not only from the perspective of increasing workload but also on the capacity of academics to handle large classrooms, provide timely feedback to students to allow them to make necessary improvements and effectively engage students in essential competencies.

In another study, Probert, (2013) argues that the combined effect of massification has seen a shift of academic identity in particular directions as the demands of academia, accompanied by the effects of macrostructural changes to higher education, have re-organized the traditional academic position and engrained philosophies of academic identity. But, shifting from a Humboldtian model to the current situation may call for a rebalancing of priorities and the establishing of innovative collegial efforts. This kind of a transition has a likelihood to impinge on personal self-esteem and sense of identity. Arguably, identities are not static, but are continually changing, and thus comprehending the process of changing identity may shape the change positively (Yiljoki & Ursin, 2013). Regrettably, there is poor alignment between institutional expectations and the support offered to academics. If institutions can distinguish causes of disappointments and enhance the relevant support structures, they can promote the development of a more positive academic identity. In this regard, identities are likely to align with the organizational reality and meet institutional goals even amidst challenges with massification.

5.4 Chapter Summary

This chapter has discussed endeavoured to answer the research questions using the experiences and perceptions of academic staff in relation to existing literature and the theory of practice architectures. The findings have been presented under two overarching themes namely, material-economic dimensions and academic response to socio-political environment. In responding to the research questions for this study, I have drawn from the findings to show how participants perceived and responded to massification. The theory of practice through the lens of practice architectures was used in this study because it offers an opportunity for practitioners and

institutions to create new possibilities for practice by challenging and interrogating current practices in education and professional practice (Mahon, Kemmis, Francisco & Lloyd, 2017).

The findings show that academics have re-invented themselves during practice through cultural-discursive, material economic, and socio-political arrangements found/brought to the institution as a site of practice to either enable or constrain what participants say, do and how they relate to each other (Kemmis, 2014). The practice theory drew attention to the innovative work of academics in constructing and reconstructing disciplinary identities and academic practices in the context of institutional changes brought about by enrolment expansion. The findings presented reflect a university project that influenced the everyday teaching and research episodes in site because this formed the very fabric of academics' experiences in their practice. The main purpose here is to view regular ordinary practices and accounts of teaching and research practices through a 'praxis lens' and the theory of practice architectures to highlight the significance of massification on academic decision-making.

CHAPTER SIX: CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.1 Introduction

The preceding chapter discussed the significant research findings from the study and how these findings may inform public university policies in Kenya and other institutions facing similar conditions worldwide. This chapter offers the conclusion and recommendations of the study.

The phenomenon of massification is a present reality in Kenya and SSA as a whole. The findings of this study point to existing possibilities for academic staff seeking for solutions in times of massification. The finding further demonstrates the unique possibility of attending to both the practicalities and materiality of organizations. It gives hope to institutions going through massification and reinforces on the importance of including the views and perceptions of academics during policy formulation to enhance workable solutions for higher education institutions in the continent and beyond especially at this critical era of enrolment expansion.

This study illustrates how we can use theory of practice architectures to understand what becomes meaningful for academics to do during times of massification. The study focuses on academics' practices in relation to context. It takes its departure from twenty academics' response concerning conditions for practice during times of enrolment expansion in answer to the following research question:

1. How do academics perceive massification within their institution?
2. What are the implications of institutional massification for academic practices?

The analysis is based on the theory of practice architectures (Kemmis, et al, 2014). By analysing academics' response to massification, I show how academics are trying to uphold practices and what dilemmas they are trying to solve in their practice. The participants are a team of twenty academics from a public university in Kenya. The empirical material collected in 2018 consisted of transcripts from individual interviews with the academics about their perceptions and experiences with massification.

The findings show that cultural-discursive, material-economic conditions as well as social-political arrangements on site enabled and constrained practices. What became meaningful for the academics was the ability to forge new partnerships and new practices during times of stress.

With the theory of practice architecture, it becomes obvious why massification from academics' point of view is challenging. Analyses based on the theory contributes to the discussion about what kind of arrangements could support academics to initiate and innovate new practices.

It further shows the importance of analysing every unique massification context to understand what needs to be changed to strengthen academic practices further questioning the massification typology by Martin Trow.

6.2 Contribution to social science knowledge

Massification is a pertinent and topical issue in higher education studies, more so within the African contexts. The empirical data from this study will contribute to a dearth of studies addressing the micro yet recurring macro level studies on the impact of enrolment expansion in higher education. Specifically, the significance and relevance of this research is seen in light of the insights from the perspectives of academic staff that are relevant to Kenya and other SSA countries where public systems contend with pressure from ever-increasing demand for student access to higher education, and where concerns about dwindling state funding for higher education in such LMICs are a present-day reality. In light of the findings, the following two major contributions to the field of social science are acknowledged:

- Academic innovations during massification
- Importance of reviewing and extending the massification theory of Martin Trow

6.2.1 Academic innovations during massification

Massification in the Kenyan context is associated with negative implications. This is indeed true for many other contexts in LMICs (Mohamedbhai, 2008). Literature shows that academic practices are significantly shaped by their interaction with an environment that is being regulated and impacted by policies that bring about change (practice architectures) in the institution including availability and efficiency of resources. Studies associate negative social architectures like the prevailing challenges with inadequate resources in this research with constraints, this study agrees that massification can be associated with negative implications on academic practices. However, the findings further demonstrate that innovative practices and positive attitudes can significantly ameliorate negative implications for practice. The participants in this study went above the bar to be innovative and resilient in times of scarcity. This finding resonates with the on-going debate on the possibility of massification offering both challenges and opportunities for higher education institutions (Hornsby & Osman, 2014). Therefore, this study brings hope to academics going through massification to look beyond the challenges and tackle negative conditions through practice enablers. This is a particularly key contribution to knowledge of global higher education systems, academic staff adaptation, practice theory, and public higher education.

6.2.2 Relevance of Trow's concept of massification for the Kenyan context

The second contribution is a review of the concept of massification by Martin Trow and its suitability to the study context. The study looked at the implications of "institutional massification" on academic practices. Massification as dominantly conceptualized in much HE literature, is based on the definition drawn from the essay on 'Problems in the Transition from Elite to Mass Higher Education' (1973) by Martin Trow. There have been prior critiques from others in the majority world as discussed earlier in this research and so this study will contribute to such discussions of how massification is enacted and experienced through practice in the specific study context. The following aspects will be addressed to underscore the findings of this study with regard to the strengths and limitations of this definition: Trow's concept of phases of massification; shift in the purpose of higher education during massification; categories of massification; and the social dynamics of massification.

Phases of Massification: In his essay, Trow presented his argument showing that there was a broad pattern of development of higher education manifest in three phases: elite higher education; mass higher education, where participation reached 15 percent or so of the age group; and universal systems, where participation exceeded 50 percent with distinct changing characteristics between the three phases. He posited that access to higher education shifted from being a privilege in the elite phase to a right in the mass phase and then to an obligation in the universal phase, where higher qualifications became mandatory for full and effective social engagement (Marginson, 2016). This linear progression has been gradually accepted and adopted by many countries as a reasonable framework for sorting higher education systems and their trajectories worldwide. However, the reality in Kenya and many other LMICs is different. For instance, UNESCO (2021) reports that tertiary education enrolment in SSA stood at 9.4 % with variations within countries, and Kenya standing at 11% against an average global enrolment rate of 38%. This has raised fundamental questions especially on the definition of massification as proposed by Trow. Besides, evidence continues to show that while massification may be experienced at the national level for many countries, the script in Kenya and other sub-Saharan countries tends to depict a completely different picture as massification continues to be witnessed at the institutional level. The greatest challenge observed in these institutions is growing number of students entering defunded and inadequately equipped institutions resulting in what has been referred to in this study as institutional massification.

Along the continuum, Trow envisioned the main purpose of higher education shifting from shaping the mind and character of the ruling class in the elite phase to preparing a larger group in professional and technical skills in the mass phase, to creating a whole population capable of adapting to social and technological change in the universal phase (Scott, 2019). This explanation does not resonate with the process undertaken within many LMICs because of the role of colonial governments in the evolution of higher education in these nations. Most higher education institutions contemporary SSA countries were by-products of post-colonial independence demands and majority of higher education decisions have been driven by foreign policies. Today, countries are experiencing a kind of massification resembling what Trow defines as differing patterns of practice that occur alongside each other in the present. For instance, the study institution currently admits students based on both merit as a priority that initially targeted qualified students based on available space and infrastructure as well as an open access for those with minimum qualifications. In spite of the limited resources in this institution, the latter group was ushered in mainly as fee paying students in what has generally been referred to as the effects of commercialization of higher education. In this case, the push for HE as a human right or for equality have not been seen as s a motivating factor for enrolment. While the HE system in Kenya still gives so-called merit students priority, all other students who attain minimum university entry qualifications as set by the joint admission board and are admitted to both private and public institutions receive a percentage of funding. In this case massification has enhanced the equality and universality of access. However, there still remain a large group of students who are unable to participate in higher education despite achieving the minimum qualification because of poverty and financial challenges as well as lack of institutions. Therefore, the concept of universal as expressed by Trow is still a mirage for Kenya.

Additionally, the findings of this study suggest that enrolment expansion has come with a deterioration of services, that infringes on academic practices. They shared their concern with the inability to meet the needs of students because of the growing numbers and growing workload, inadequate time to give and mark assignments, inadequate research time and inadequate equipment to meaningfully undertake clinical and laboratory work. Therefore, although Martin Trow's account of elite, mass, and universal, backed by its nuance of historical inevitability, presents a reasonable framework for sorting higher education systems and their trajectories, the experience in Kenya and probably a number of countries in SSA presents reasonable evidence to warrant a reviewed of his definition of massification.

Conceivably, Trow's sociological imagination better explains long-term patterns of educational participation and the social character of higher education. For Trow the motor that drives the rising demand for participation is not economic rates of return but family aspirations to maintain and improve social position. Trow further argued that labour markets respond to changes in higher education, as graduates tend to displace those without college credentials.

Trow's second insight implies that in the long run government policy must follow the growth of social demand for higher education. Governments will be under pressure, especially from middle-class families, to facilitate growth until saturation is reached, using expanded supply and if necessary financial aid to support participation.

The third insight Trow highlights is that high and growing participation in higher education does not necessarily trigger upward social mobility on a broad scale when social stratification is aligned to the vertical institutional segmentation of higher education. But the creation of various segments of higher education, reflecting the status hierarchies in the larger society, is a more effective way of using higher education to sustain rather than undermine the class structure.

In a nutshell, this analysis concludes that Trow's concept of massification interpretation of elite, mass, and universal, backed by its nuance of historical certainty, presents a sensible framework for cataloguing higher education systems and their trajectories but the experience in most LMICs needs to be reviewed as stated before to enhance the definition of massification currently applied in the literature. Some predictions are universal in nature, but many other insights are uniquely applicable in developed economies that accompanied the growth in higher education with massive financial resources giving them an edge over countries in SSA for instance. This study recommends a review of the term massification to include the experiences of LMICs especially the institutional struggles, the impact on academic practices and the challenges with funding.

6.3 Implications for policy and practice

This study indicates that academics associated inadequate resources and poor relationship between academic staff and university administration with teaching, research, assessment, and supervision practices during enrolment expansion. Ideally, this finding points to the realization that institutions should plan enrolment expansion in line with the available resources to ensure effective academic practices. The Kenyan government's financial limitations have negatively affected the level of funding for higher education leading to constraints at institutional level. Funds for research are particularly key to the growth in the number of academics with relevant skills to undertake academic work in higher education.

The government should explore various avenues to address the funding deficit that is affecting the quality of teaching and learning (Mukhwana, Too, Kande & Nandokha, 2020).

Academic staff should explore more opportunities for multidisciplinary research projects that seem to attract donor funding to enhance the research kitty. This could at the same time raise funds to support PhD and other post-graduate students who will work as graduate assistants and lessen the academic staff workload.

The findings indicate that enrolment expansion beyond the capacity of the institution contributed to growing workload, overcrowding in classes, high student/ staff ratios and academic staff fatigue. This underlines the continuing importance of HE institutions to balance existing capacity with enrolment expansion both at the institutional and the national levels. This may even call for a review of higher education admission policies and expansion of TVET institutions.

In response to the growing workload associated with enrolment expansion, the staff argued that they were having inadequate time to develop strong grant/research proposals. The institution should consider a grants unit dedicated to development of grant proposals. This strategy will deploy staff skills and talents based on individual interests and capabilities.

Academics' response to the socio-political environment was negatively portrayed in this study. The findings suggest that the relationship between academic staff and administration was marred with poor communication. Academic staff consistently accused the administration of high handedness and lack of consultation. This process was associated with high student/staff ratios and work overload that was blamed for the current spirit of resentment and resistance from academic staff. Academics felt that they are not sufficiently engaged in crucial decisions as major implementors of institutional policies. As a result, the academic staff have tended to respond to their grievances with resistance and resentment to institutional policies and this is affecting their working relationship with the administration. The outcomes are not conducive to progressive academic practice as they include industrial strikes, low self-esteem, and lack of commitment to work. The study recommends that the institutional management makes deliberate efforts to involve academics in policy change strategies that involve all major stakeholders during the decision-making process. Academics on the other hand seek new and ethical ways of addressing their grievances away from industrial strikes.

The findings further show that academics were dissatisfied with the level of remuneration and the continued unfulfilled promises through CBAs. This has further escalated resistance to policy compliance and low staff commitment and morale.

Recommendation: The institutional management should endeavour to review remuneration and compensation policies for academic staff to match the prevailing market price, enhance and strengthen institutional autonomy to improve staff commitment, and improve the working relationship with academics. On their part, the academic staff have the responsibility of initiating dialogue with administration with positive attitudes; show leadership in improving the university environment through enhanced innovations and expanded networks that will expand opportunities for teaching and research practices; create more opportunities for networks and multidisciplinary research; and encourage proven innovative teaching practices that work well in large classes.

Moreover, the study showed that massification has led to multiple identities among the academic staff as most of the participants closely linked the concept of academic freedom with their identity. There were feelings of responsibility, ownership, multiplicity of tasks and an acute developing sense of identity. A degree of uncertainty was evident as regards government policy on enrolment expansion. Increased enrolment without funding and without consultation with academics was largely seen as unfair and inconsiderate. But, despite some scepticism, the chance to forge networks and use new innovative strategies to enhance academic practices was perceived positively by those academics who showed signs of enthusiasm and willingness to implement new positive practices. While workload was an impediment, networking strategies was clearly facilitating their work and giving them professional empowerment, something that they viewed as a novel concept and not associated with top-down innovations.

In spite of the challenges of massification, the findings show that academic staff can play a major role in ameliorating the current situation through forging positive relationships with administrative staff as well as innovatively applying positive practices in the existing context. This may include strategic participation in policy meetings, using new teaching techniques, assisting the institution to raise funds and forging partnerships through multidisciplinary grant development and research.

6.4 Dissemination Strategy

Dissemination of research findings is an important part of the research process, sharing the benefits to other scholars, professional practitioners and the wider society. As a professional

practitioner and Kenyan citizen, I am morally obligated to share the findings of this study with the Kenyan public as well as the academic fraternity for the good and enhancement of higher education in Kenya, in SSA, in LMICs, and the global higher education community. I will adopt the following dissemination strategies to contribute to higher education policy and discourse:

1. Share a copy of the findings with the research institution, commission for higher education (CUE) in Kenya and all the participants
2. Using my influence and experience with the public service in Kenya and the study institution in particular, seek for funds to share the findings in order to contribute to policy through public debates, workshops on particular issues, opinion papers and public seminars
3. Evolve publication papers in reputable journals on the key findings from the study
4. Use the webinar to disseminate the findings of the study
5. Carry out further research based on the findings of the study

6.5 Possible future research

The findings of this study provided useful insights and understanding on how academic staff in a public university may experience massification. Further research in the following areas is recommended:

1. This study was qualitative and the small sample of 20 participants cannot represent the whole population of academic staff in public universities in Kenya. Neither can it fully represent those who are engaged in academic practice in sessional roles; other disciplines; looking at aspects like the gendered experiences; experiences of elite or older staff; ethnicity and experience – attributes of known concern in Kenya. Moreover, other institutions in the country may have unique challenges and conditions that may affect their strategy to massification. A quantitative study could provide wider representation about the implications of massification on academic practices.
2. The focus of this research was the perspectives of academic staff alone. It may be of value to expand this finding through studies that involve other insiders, including adjunct academic staff and administration staff as well as insights from other stakeholders such as students and Ministry of Education personnel.
3. This study is not only significant in Kenya, but it makes good ground for research in other countries that are experiencing related challenges especially using other research approaches that may cover more depth or breadth than what I could cover in this thesis. This may include

comparing similarities, and differences with other contexts to see where policy-practice relations are handled differently or experienced differently.

4. Studies have been conducted in Kenya addressing the challenges of massification of higher education focusing on what the government has not done and ought to do, however, with the realization that massification is going to be part of the education system in the next few decades, it is important to forge dependable solutions to the current problem in Kenya by tapping the perspectives of all stakeholders.
5. Inadequate funds for research were identified repeatedly as a major concern for academics. The scope of this study could not allow for further investigation into this matter. More research on how to expand sources of financing through involvement of non-academic funding streams within the country, and internationally will enhance the findings of this study.
6. The study revealed that academic staff morale is very low following the perceived low salary and long-standing failure of the institution to honour legal CBAs. This situation has especially affected academic staff commitment to work. A study to establish the opportunity cost of "underpaying" academic staff is recommended.
7. Governments are continuing to mitigate the challenges of higher education massification, and researchers are constantly seeking to find ways to combat the negative effects of massification. In the meantime, academic practices are at stake at the expense of the quality of teaching and research as core responsibilities of higher institutions of learning. More research is needed to bridge the gap between policy makers and academic staff and enhance collaborative policy formulation strategies that will enhance efficient and effective implementation of higher education programmes.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: APPROVAL FROM THE UNIVERSITY OF LIVERPOOL

Dr Peter Kahn
Director, Centre for Higher Education Studies

School of Histories, Languages and Cultures
Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences
Cypress Building
University of Liverpool
Liverpool L69 7ZR
T 0151 794 4297
E kahn@liv.ac.uk

www.liverpool.ac.uk

To whom it may concern

14th June 2018

Dear Sir/Madam

We are pleased to confirm that the thesis proposal for Mariah Mosomi was approved at the University of Liverpool as part of the Doctor of Education programme on the 3rd May 2018.

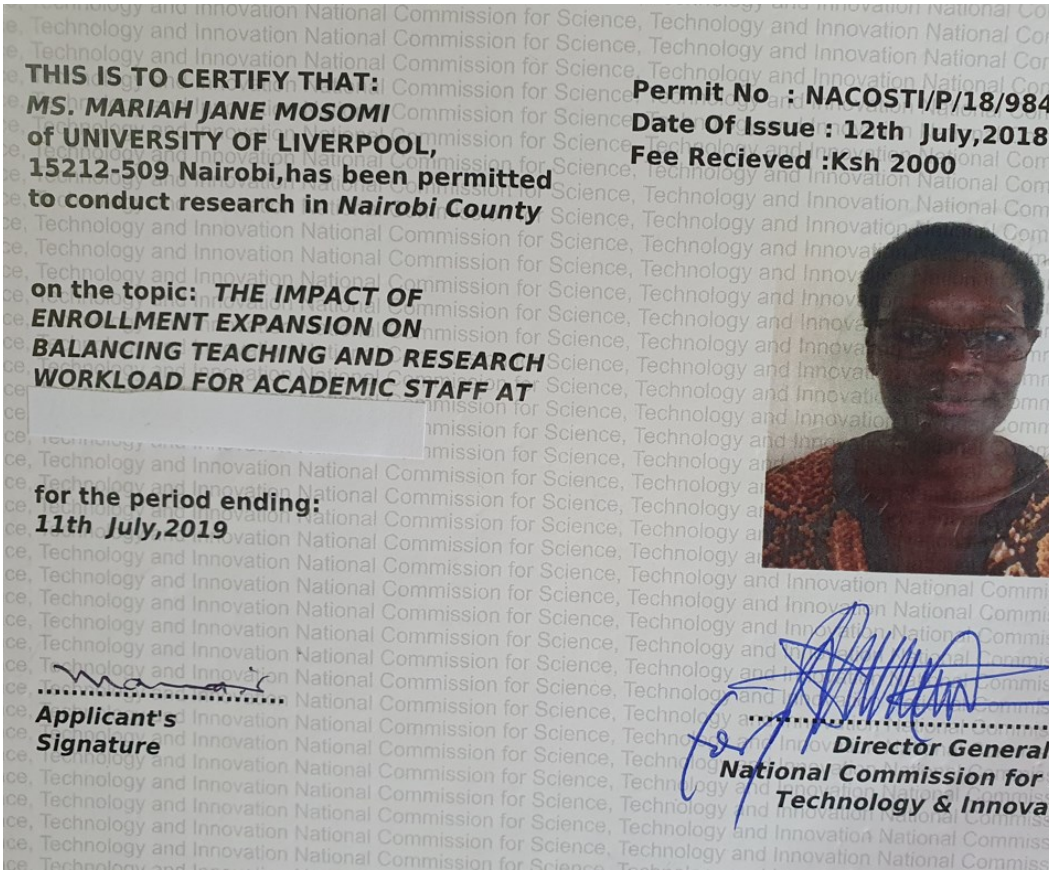
The provisional title for her thesis is 'The Impact of enrolment expansion on balancing teaching and research workload among academic staff at the University of Nairobi in Kenya'.

Yours sincerely

Dr Peter Kahn
Director of Studies, Doctor of Education

Dr Mary Johnson
Primary supervisor

APPENDIX B: APPROVAL FROM NATIONAL COMMISSION FOR SCIENCE TECHNOLOGY AND INNOVATION



THIS IS TO CERTIFY THAT:
MS. MARIAH JANE MOSOMI
of UNIVERSITY OF LIVERPOOL,
15212-509 Nairobi,has been permitted
to conduct research in *Nairobi County*

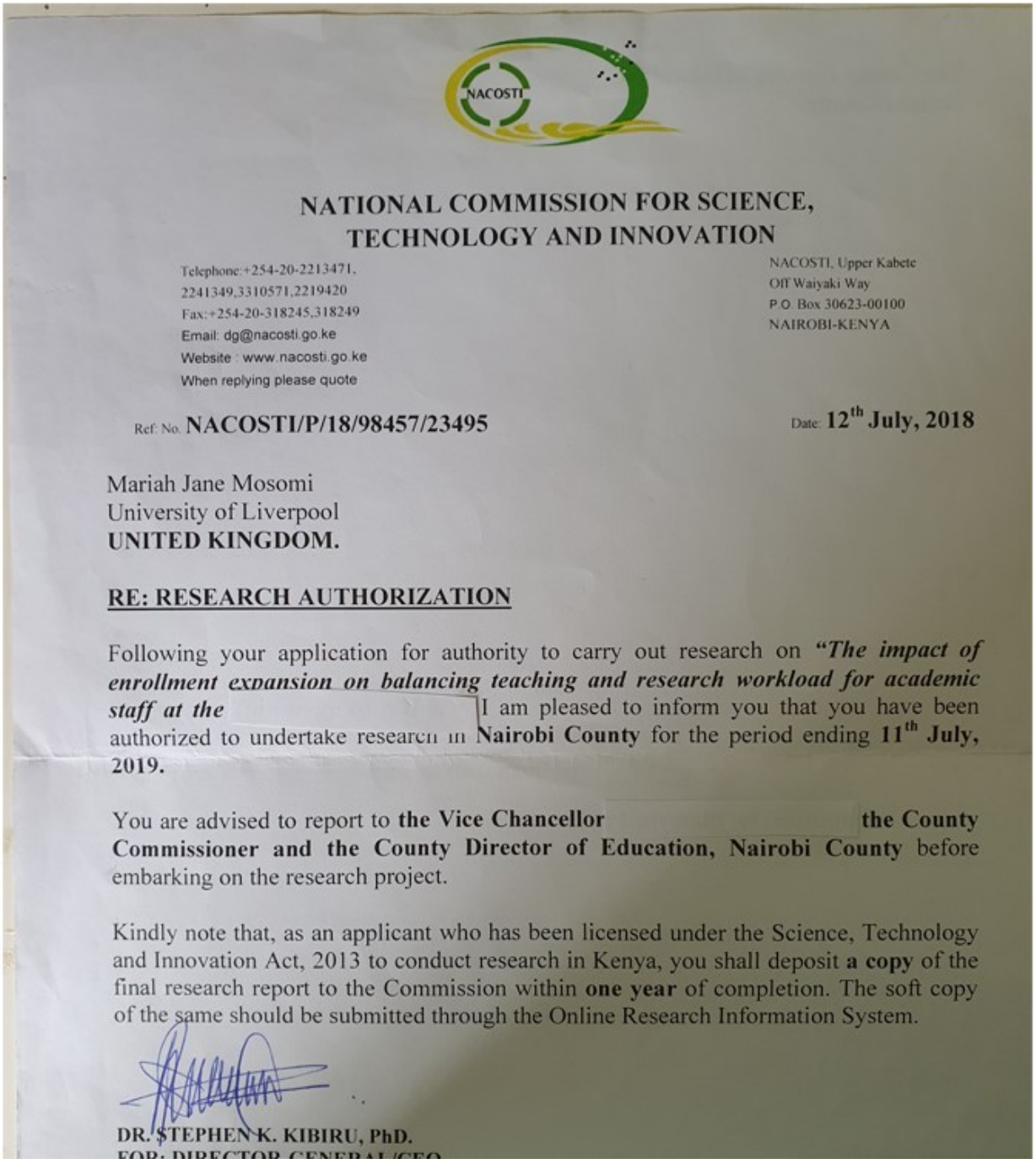
on the topic: *THE IMPACT OF ENROLLMENT EXPANSION ON BALANCING TEACHING AND RESEARCH WORKLOAD FOR ACADEMIC STAFF AT*

for the period ending:
11th July,2019

.....
Applicant's Signature

Permit No : NACOSTI/P/18/984
Date Of Issue : 12th July,2018
Fee Recieved :Ksh 2000

.....
Director General
National Commission for
Technology & Innova



NACOSTI

NATIONAL COMMISSION FOR SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY AND INNOVATION

Telephone:+254-20-2213471,
2241349,3310571,2219420
Fax:+254-20-318245,318249
Email: dg@nacosti.go.ke
Website : www.nacosti.go.ke
When replying please quote

NACOSTI, Upper Kabete
Off Waiyaki Way
P.O. Box 30623-00100
NAIROBI-KENYA

Ref: No. **NACOSTI/P/18/98457/23495**

Date: **12th July, 2018**

Mariah Jane Mosomi
University of Liverpool
UNITED KINGDOM.

RE: RESEARCH AUTHORIZATION

Following your application for authority to carry out research on ***"The impact of enrollment expansion on balancing teaching and research workload for academic staff at the*** I am pleased to inform you that you have been authorized to undertake research in **Nairobi County** for the period ending **11th July, 2019.**

You are advised to report to **the Vice Chancellor** **the County Commissioner and the County Director of Education, Nairobi County** before embarking on the research project.

Kindly note that, as an applicant who has been licensed under the Science, Technology and Innovation Act, 2013 to conduct research in Kenya, you shall deposit **a copy** of the final research report to the Commission within **one year** of completion. The soft copy of the same should be submitted through the Online Research Information System.

DR. STEPHEN K. KIBIRU, PhD.
FOR: DIRECTOR GENERAL/CEO

APPENDIX C: PARTICIPANT CONSENT FORM

Committee on Research Ethics

Title of Research
Implications of 'institutional massification" for academic practices: Social practice-based perspectives and experiences of academics at a public university in Kenya

Name of Participant Date
Signature
……..……

Researcher Date

Signature
……..……

Declaration

I …… (NAME) confirm that I have read and have understood this information sheet dated …… for the above study. I have had the opportunity to consider the information, ask questions and have had these answered satisfactorily.

I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time without giving any reason, without my rights being affected. In addition, should I wish not to answer any particular question/s, I am free to decline.

I understand that under the Data Protection Act, I can at any time ask for access to the information I provide, and I can also request for the destruction of that information if I wish.

I understand that confidentiality and anonymity will be maintained, and it will not be possible to identify me in any publications.

I agree for the data collected from me to be used in future research and understand that any such use of identifiable data would be reviewed and approved by a research committee.

I understand and agree that my participation will be audio-recorded, and I am aware of and consent to the use of these recordings for your thesis and publication emanating from your research and any relevant future research.

I understand and agree that once I submit my data it will become anonymised, and I will therefore no longer be able to withdraw my data.

I voluntarily agree to take part in the above study.

Name of person taking consent Date Signature.

……

APPENDIX D: PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET

Participant Information Sheet

Date: 19th June 2018

I Mariah Mosomi, a doctoral student at University of Liverpool, I am undertaking research on "Experiences of academic staff on balancing teaching and research workload in this university. I am inviting you to participate in my research study. However, before you decide whether to participate or not, it is important for you to understand why the research is being done and what it will involve. Please take time to read the following information sheet carefully and feel free to ask me questions if you would like more information or if there is anything that you do not understand, or you might need further clarification on. I would like to stress that participation is voluntary, and you are under no obligation to accept this invitation and should only agree to take part if you want to.

Summary of the Research and its Purpose

The focus of this research is to provide a better understanding on the experiences of academic staff on the implications of massification on academic practice. The findings of this research have strong implications for the Higher Education System, hopefully opening pathways to allow for policy changes that may partly overcome staff challenges during this era of rapid enrolment expansion. Consequently, the study aims to raise awareness to professionals, policymakers, and the educational system as a whole for further review of policies governing academic practice.

Participants will be required to participate in an in-depth interview that will last about one hour to assist me with the research and its research goal.

Why have I been chosen to take part?

You are welcome to participate in this research because you meet the necessary criteria set for this study. This University has both full-time and adjunct staff. However, because adjunct staff do not ordinarily handle research responsibilities in this institution, which is the backbone to my investigation, they have been excluded from this study. This is because the study is seeking to understand the possible tension between teaching and research time for academic staff by analysing their experiences and perceptions. I am therefore only interviewing full-time academic staff with both teaching and research responsibilities. To get a wide spectrum of views, the study is applying stratified random sampling methodology to recruit participants from all schools to take part in the study.

Do I have to take part?

You are being invited to participate in my research study with no obligation. As a student, I have no payment or compensation to provide participants taking part in this study. However, as a practitioner, I hope you will consider it beneficial to represent your colleagues in sharing your experiences and perceptions regarding the implications of massification on academic in this institution. Accepting the participation is completely voluntary and you are free to withdraw your participation at any time without any obligations and without experiencing any disadvantages.

What will happen if I take part?

Due to the purpose of my study, I will interview you by using unstructured in-depth questions to make sure that the data covers a wide spectrum of teaching staff and policy makers at this university.

Throughout the process, I **Mariah Mosomi** will be the only one answering your potential questions, providing clarifications, and carrying out the interview. Carrying out the in-depth interview will take about 1 hour of your time. You will provide your answers verbally. I emphasize the fact that you will share your answer just with me. Eventually, you can use any anonymous name in case you wish to do so. I will use an audio recording device with your permission due to its access to accurate shared data. It will also save you on time since I will not need to take intensive notes during the interview. However, should you for any reason choose not to have audio recording of the interview, you are free to decline without giving reasons.

Risks in taking part in this study

Please be informed that there are no perceived disadvantages involved in participating in this research. However, because this study addresses very delicate concerns for academic staff surrounding the level of tension they may be exposed to while endeavouring to balance research and teaching time, there is a possibility that you might experience some minimal discomfort due to the nature of questions involved. But this is not expected to exceed ordinary encounters as experienced during normal university meetings. Should you feel uncomfortable with any of the questions, do not hesitate to let me know and I will address it honestly and in a transparent manner. Please note that all personal information from this interview will be de-identified, the interview will be privately conducted, and all elements specifically identified in the interview anonymized. Additionally, in case you experience any discomfort or perceive a level of disadvantage as part of the research, this should be made known to my Doctoral Supervisor Dr Mary Johnson at mary.johnson@online.liverpool.ac.uk.. You can also contact me (Mariah Mosomi on telephone number 0733772177 or email me immediately at mariah.mosomi@online.liverpool.ac.uk. and we will try to help. If you still remain unhappy or have a complaint which you feel you cannot come to me or my supervisor, kindly contact the Chair of the Liverpool Online Research Ethics Committee at liverpoolethics@liverpool-online.com. When contacting the chair, please provide my details and description of the study (so that it can be identified), the researcher(s) involved and the details of the complaint you wish to make.

Sense of confidentiality

The process of the research, shared information, and the result of the research work will be kept confidential. The data will be stored in my password protected personal laptop and I Mariah Mosomi will be the only one with access to the collected data. The information will be stored to the maximum of 5 years, and it may be published using an anonymous way.

What will happen to the results of the study?

The results of the research will be made available to the participants in case they are interested. You also will be notified whether the results are to be published. If the results are to be published, I will detail how and where they will be accessible for your convenience. Please be advised that your personal information will not be identifiable from the results.

What will happen if I want to stop taking part?

Without any explanation, you can withdraw your participation in this study at any time. The results up to the period of withdrawal may be used if you are happy with this to be done of course. Since the result will be anonymized, the outcomes may only be withdrawn prior to anonymization.

Who can you contact if you have further questions?

You may contact me or my supervisor Dr Mary Johnson at any time for any question you may have, and we will provide further clarification.

Kindly let me know if you have any further questions. You may now sign the consent form before we commence the interview.

Mariah Mosomi

Doctoral Student at University of Liverpool

APPENDIX E: INTERVIEW PROTOCOL

In your view, what is the relationship between research and teaching in a university setting?

Can you share with me your experience with enrolment expansion in this university?

Please share with me your views on how enrolment expansion has impacted your teaching and research work.

Can you share with me your opinion on the quality of research undertaken in this university?

How can you describe the amount of research that is currently going on in this university?

Please share with me your experiences with university policies and how they facilitate your work.

Do you have any recommendations that may enhance your practice in this institution?

APPENDIX F: TABLE 6 - LIST OF PARTICIPANTS

	Gender	College	Edu. Level	Title
P1	Male	Architecture and Engineering	PhD	Senior Lecturer
P2	Male	Humanities and Social Sciences	PhD	Senior Lecturer
P3	Male	Architecture and Engineering	Masters	Tutorial Fellow
P4	Female	Architecture and Engineering	PhD	Tutorial Fellow
P5	Female	Agriculture and Veterinary Services	Masters	Tutorial Fellow
P6	Male	Health Sciences	PhD	Professor
P7	Female	Education and External Studies	PhD	Senior Lecturer
P8	Female	Humanities and Social Sciences	PhD	Senior Lecturer
P9	Female	Humanities and Social Sciences	PhD	Tutorial Fellow
P10	Female	Agriculture and Veterinary Services	PhD	Professor
P11	Male	Biological& Physical Sciences	PhD	Professor
P12	Male	Health Sciences	PhD	Senior Lecturer
P13	Male	Architecture and Engineering	Masters	Lecturer
P14	Female	Health Sciences	PhD	Senior Lecturer
P15	Female	Humanities and Social Sciences	PhD	Lecturer
P16	Male	Architecture and Engineering	Masters	Tutorial Fellow
P17	Female	Agriculture and Veterinary Services	PhD	Senior Lecturer
P18	Male	Biological& Physical Sciences	PhD	Senior Lecturer
P19	Male	Education and External Studies	Masters	Lecturer
P20	Male	Health Sciences	Masters	Tutorial Fellow