

Reimagining Human Capabilities in Somali Education Service Provision: Critical Exploration of Existing Policy Frameworks

Abdihakim A. Farah^{1,2}, Abdiqani Ahmed Farah^{1,2*}

¹Faculty of Public Health, Al Hayat Medical University, Tarabuunka, Mogadishu, Somalia

²Department of Education and Social Justice, Lancaster University, Lancaster, UK

Email: a.farah1@lancaster.ac.uk, *abdiqani.farah@alhayat.edu.so, *a.farah@alhayat.edu.so

How to cite this paper: Farah, A. A., & Farah, A. A. (2026). Reimagining Human Capabilities in Somali Education Service Provision: Critical Exploration of Existing Policy Frameworks. *Creative Education*, 17, 371-392.

<https://doi.org/10.4236/ce.2026.173024>

Received: January 23, 2026

Accepted: March 17, 2026

Published: March 20, 2026

Copyright © 2026 by author(s) and Scientific Research Publishing Inc. This work is licensed under the Creative Commons Attribution International License (CC BY 4.0).

<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/>



Open Access

Abstract

Through the lens of Amartya Sen's capability approach, this paper explores elements of a systematic study that employs documentary research and thematic analysis to investigate Somali policy frameworks for the provision of education services particularly in the design of policy priorities, goals, objectives in the program implementation. The study has employed documentary investigation as a research method through close scrutiny of controlled selection of policy and documents to situate elaboration of basic human capabilities, also known as Human Development, to categorize, investigate, interpret and identify the limitations of physical sources, most commonly written documents in the private or public domain for that matter. The application of Capability Approach (CA) has gained traction as an evaluative framework in both theoretical and empirical contexts within the social and human sciences, fostering a strong and mutually enhancing relationship between Capability Approach and education. This relationship serves as a fundamental resource that enables individuals to structure effective opportunities for living a life they have reason to choose and value; thus, being literate, knowledgeable, and having access to education that allows one to flourish is indeed a valuable capability. Certain pertinent questions thus prop up, such as: are there fair distributions of valued capabilities in and through education? Are some people in a position to access more opportunities to convert their resources into capabilities than others, and if so who, how, and why? since Somalia lacked an organized education system for over 30 years it is very daunting and challenging to insert basic capability into future education sector strategic plan that is functioning and responds to the myriad of priorities. The aim of the study is to illuminate how far the planned objectives in the educational policy frameworks support Substantive freedoms, which refer to capabilities, and outcomes, defined as achieved functioning, are

important concepts. Thus, the study promotes what people are able to do and be, on the quality of their life consequently removing barriers, the kind of life they have reason to value. Research tools and document selection methods mainly adopt a qualitative documentary research scheme to analyse and examine a controlled selection of policy documents. The research findings policy documents resulted in 280 reference points the provision of quality education and training to all Somalis is a constitutional right and access and propagating education for all to be government's overall strategy for the prosperity of Somalia's state rebuilding. Donor-funded program enabled children to have continued access to quality education through the provision of dignity kits ensured equity in education for female student population with special attention to adolescent girls to averted their dropping out of school. Hence, capability deprivation was averted with meeting basic capabilities for these students. Finally, basic human capabilities in the education policies and frameworks are useful for the achievement of individual well-being and able to achieve actual functioning. Thus, the intent of educational policy frameworks should be refocused away from economic development to the promotion of basic capability and individual well-being.

Keywords

Human Capabilities, Provision of Education Services, Policy Documents, Outcomes

1. Introduction and Objectives

This paper discusses aspects of a systematic review through documentary research and thematic analysis of the Somali policy frameworks for education Service provision from the perspectives of the capability approach by Amartya Sen ([Walker & Unterhalter, 2007](#)). The specific focus of the scope of the review and analysis sought to unearth some insights on the basic capabilities of some sort in the policy content of the current policy framework documents which are in official use. Policy contents were analyzed and synthesized to track down basic capabilities of some nature particularly in the policy priorities, goals, and objectives. The capability approach (CA) was used both as an evaluative and theoretical framework to guide the research focus and to answer the following research questions:

- 1) What aspects of basic capabilities have been articulated in the design of the Somali education sector policy frameworks and how do these basic capabilities roll out in the program implementation?
- 2) To what extent did education sector policy frameworks contribute directly or indirectly to individual capability set: well-being achievement, opportunity set, agency and personal freedoms?

This study has employed documentary investigation as a research method and means of developing a nuanced understanding through the close scrutiny of controlled selection of policy and documents to situate elaboration of basic human

capabilities. “The use of documentary methods refers to the analysis of documents that contain information about the phenomenon one wishes to study, and it is described as the techniques used to categorize, investigate, interpret and identify the limitations of physical sources, most commonly written documents whether in the private or public domain” (Mogalakwe, 2006: pp. 221-223).

This theoretical and systematic review work revealed that there is a scope to accommodate the promotion of basic capabilities and individual well-being in the design of the educational policies and frameworks. Thus, it proposes approaching the formulation of educational policies from a capabilities perspective rather than economic development (Walker & Unterhalter, 2007).

2. Theoretical Approach

Human capability approach, also known as Human Development, has two facets, the formation of human capabilities such as improved health, knowledge and skills and how people make use of their acquired capabilities, for leisure, productive purposes or being active in cultural, social and political affairs. If the two dimensions of human capabilities do not align well with each other, individuals may experience significant frustration in their abilities. (UNDP, 1990). More importantly, thinking about human development has fundamentally transformed under the tutelage of the Nobel Laureate and economist, Amartya Sen in the past 20 years. More encompassing and central indicator of development policies has emerged, and this new framework emphasizes the extent to which human capabilities have been enhanced and their choices widened to enjoy freedoms that make life meaningful and worthwhile. These freedoms emanate from the right of access to resources that allow people to stay healthy, obtain self-respect, be well-nourished, sustain livelihoods and enjoy peaceful relationships (UNESCO, 2002; UNDP, 1990).

The application of CA has obtained traction as an evaluative framework both theoretically and empirically in social and human sciences. Education has joined this bandwagon most recently although the capability perspective, which focuses on the individual’s abilities to act or, more precisely, to exercise agency, was in substantial use by other disciplines and given, apparently, a potentially strong and mutually enhancing relationship between CA and Education. The increased interest in the approach as an analytical and empirical examination from an educational point of view has been reignited and it is not only recognized as a suitable approach from further exploration in terms of its merit which equates with key dimensions of education such as literacy which is very much ingrained in the CA but also education is regarded as fundamental resource enabling people and structuring the effective opportunities of people to live a life they have reason to choose and value. No one would doubt nor generally argue in opposition that being literate, knowledgeable and having access to an education which allows a person to flourish would not be a valuable capability (Otto & Ziegler, 2006).

The relation between the capability perspective and education is, *inter alia*,

acknowledged and policies are judged to be successful if they have enhanced people's capabilities (UNESCO, 2002). From this perspective, education is important for a number of reasons. Initially and in its fundamental form, having the skills provided by basic education, such as being able to read and write, is valuable in and of itself, the human capabilities approach to education states that education is intrinsically valuable as an end. The CA further clarifies the diverse reasons for the significance of education. Although many of the traditional instrumental arguments for education are acknowledged, the distinctive feature of the CA is its assessment of policies not on the basis of their impact on incomes, but on whether or not they expand the real freedoms that people value. Education is central to this process (UNESCO, 2002). In consideration of the more foundational view of CA, the opportunity to obtain basic education or health care is among the building blocks of development. The CA advances a distinct framework for evaluating development policies and processes, judging policies on the merits of their contribution to enhancement of human capabilities whether or not they have impacted income, growth and other important means to this end (UNESCO, 2002). Rather, education counts as a "valuable being or doing", as an "end" of development.

In the same vein, it is noted in the work of (Walker & Loots, 2017) on Human capability and Gender that in places where gender parity has been achieved in universities, the concentration is on invariable numerical measurement, ignoring the complexity of inequality beyond numbers. Hence, inequality is envisaged in a macro-perspective, with the objective being to increase the numbers of women in education rather than how diverse women and men are actually faring. This focus on a single target neglects accounting for micro-impacts in real lives. Unlike earlier frameworks of Aristotle and Marx, Sen's approach holds that freedom possesses both intrinsic and instrumental value; freedom used in a broader sense here and referred to as not encompassing only negative liberties, arbitrary imprisonment or harm but extends to rights of access to the particular resources that differently-placed individuals would need. This signifies that different people in different states would require different resources in order to enjoy basic life (i.e. disabled person versus elderly man) (UNESCO, 2002).

3. Capability as Evaluative Framework

The CA as an evaluative framework advances different foundations for policy proposals, and can be a helpful yardstick in the evaluation and critique of individual welfare, social norms, practices and arrangements. CA is getting traction from governments for national policy making. Using the approach, more than 500 regional or country-level Human Development Reports discuss regional, national and local development strategies. The approach stresses the importance of improving individuals' substantive freedoms or real opportunities to achieve valuable states of being and doing (Dang, 2014). The central tenet of this approach is that in evaluations each person should be considered not as a means to economic growth or social stability but as an end. People's real opportunities are evaluated

so that they are in a position to be able to make decisions they value and work to remove obstacles to those achievements (Robeyns, 2006).

The CA firmly reinforces that the actions should be judged by how they affect human beings and that individuals are the “primary objects of moral concern” (Robeyns, 2006). Evaluation is thus not simply a reaction to what particular individuals want or say they want. Designing policy only to address specific needs could mean that a government might exhaust nearly all the country’s budget for education just to provide resources for the small number of children from rich backgrounds whose parents want schooling only in lavish buildings, with one-to-one tuition, leaving very meager resources for the majority of children whose parents favour provision of the best education the government can afford. As a conceptual framework, the CA may lead people to think about problems or service provision differently (Dang, 2014).

Evaluating capabilities, rather than resources or outcomes, turns the axis of precise analysis to establishing and assessing the conditions that enable individuals to take decisions based on what they have reason to value. These conditions will vary in different contexts, but the approach is at outset sensitive to human diversity; complex social relations; a sense of reciprocity between people; appreciation that people can reflect reasonably on what they value for themselves and others; and a concern to equalize, not opportunities or outcomes, but rather capabilities (Robeyns, 2006).

Sen’s CA invents an evaluative space to assess individual well-being which is divergent from dominant utilitarian views based on the accumulation of wealth and resources by individuals and nations, rather the CA concentrates on the opportunities (capabilities) an individual has to choose and pursue a life they have reason to value. How we conceive our well-being is inextricably tied to our values and views of what constitutes justice, the “good life” and notions of human flourishing (Hart, 2009). CA is anchored on the idea of freedom and reflects real opportunities to live the life that one has reasons to choose and value. The social environment and possible variations are determining factors for freedoms. Sen termed these as the conversion factors to underscore this variability of commodities and resource conversion into functionings and capabilities and identified several kinds of conversion factors: personal conversion factors (such as physical conditions, age, and gender), social conversion factors (e.g., institutions, cultural, and social norms), and environmental conversion factors (including climate, pollution, and public facilities). The process of translating of available resources into well-being is contingent on these individual, social, and environmental features (Walker, 2015).

As a basis for conceptually and practically evaluating education policy-making, planning, implementation and service provision, the above elaboration of the CA serves as a benchmark in terms of worthy contribution to refining policy priorities to meet people’s aspirations, well-being and agency achievement and finally be assistive in converting the meager resources available into functioning and capa-

bilities while at the same time taking nuanced note of the contextual factors and conversion capabilities.

Crucial to the analysis is the diversion of focus from resources to capabilities. Sen argues that the locus should not be equalizing income of every individual in a country or resource for every person. For example, a typical ration, a strict ratio of teachers to pupils, or a certain amount of expenditure per capita on each pupil, and not outcomes, for instance, every child leaves school with a particular qualification. Rather, what should be equalized are human capabilities, that is, what people are able to be and to do. People must be able to make decisions about what they have reason to value in and from education, or any other aspect of social action (Walker, 2008). This all-encompassing concept of human capability expansion entails people's freedoms which they actually enjoy choosing the lives that they have reason to value. For valuable life, people should be able to make choices that matter to them. Capabilities are therefore synthesized as "actions one valued doing or approaches to living one's values" (Walker & Unterhalter, 2007).

4. Education and the Capability Approach

Education is central to the capability approach as the CA is to education. Sen (1992: p. 44), for example, identifies education as one of "a relatively small number of centrally important beings and doings that are crucial to well-being". Nussbaum (1997, 2003, 2004, 2006), in her work on higher education in the US and on schooling in India, has underscored the importance of education for women's empowerment and the importance of public education as crucial to democratic societies. She highlights three key capabilities associated with education: first, critical thinking or "the examined life"; second, the ideal of the world citizen; and third, the development of the narrative imagination (Nussbaum, 1997, 2003).

In both Sen's and Nussbaum's works, education is, in itself, a basic capability; it contributes to the development and expansion of other capabilities. Possessing the opportunity for education and the development of an education capability stretches human freedoms. Not having education harms human development and choosing and having a full life. Education, argues Sen (1999), accomplishes an instrumental social role in that critical literacy, for example, fosters public debate and dialogue about social and political arrangements. Education contributes to different roles including instrumental process role (i.e. the number of people one comes into contact with, expanding our horizons), empowerment and distribution role (i.e. facilitating political organization of the disadvantaged, marginalized, and excluded) and redistributive effects (i.e. between social groups, households and within families) and additionally inter-personal effects (i.e. using the benefits of education to support others and hence to the social good and democratic freedoms). In nutshell, "education is an unqualified good for human capability expansion and human freedom" (Walker & Unterhalter, 2007). Certain pertinent questions thus prop up, such as: are there fair distributions of valued capabilities in and through education? Are some people in a position to access more oppor-

tunities to convert their resources into capabilities than others, and if so who, how, and why? In short, it is worthy of note of the crucial importance Sen attaches to the matter under question.

5. The Education Context in Somalia: Relevant Literature

The period of 1940s-1960s was termed as a period of intellectual awakening and was significant in the history of the development of the Somalia Society and Culture. An overwhelming feeling of rejuvenation and rebirth, a general sense of being on the threshold of new experience formed a hallmark of the Somali Society and culture. Three major functionings have resulted; people's consciousness transforming from kin loyalty to a higher form of national awareness based on "*Somalinimo*". The second was the drive toward education based on the general view that modern education was the only way toward a better life. The third was the emergence, rise and flourishing of the new forms of arts and oral expression (Afrah, 1994).

Oral culture which provided foundations for the (uncodified) law and reason garnered unmistakable respect for the social institutions have been salient traits of the Somalis. Poets and parents consciously and constantly used narratives and other forms of cultural heritages as educational tools to instill in the minds of their children the ideals of tolerance, mutual aid and condemnation of violence and commitment to the common good. Culture referred here as the mode for people to perceive the world and react to it through various forms of creativity was extensively attuned to the environment, social and political conditions of the society (Afrah, 1994).

Over short timespan during 1960s, a landmark era for the Somali culture has propped up with salient/noticeable cultural values and towering attitudes of traditional Somali Society. This period marked a cultural revival and innovations. Given whatever reference materials that existed in Somalia were destroyed, Afrah (1994) claims oral culture remains the most reliable and effective resource to a better understanding of this society.

The Scorching plains of Africa's Horn have not known literacy, a few roving holy men (aka. Wadaads) boasted about possessing a rudimentary knowledge of Arabic and sacred law. They taught the Qur'an and basics of religious sciences and conducted marriage ceremonies. Nevertheless, the Wadaads' literacy, no matter what, had no appreciable impact on the population at large, whose native tongue, Somali, was unwritten and in fact, remained so with all intents and purposes, until 1972. This meant that the oral means was the notable medium to conduct public and private life, the prominent channel being poetry. Somalis have demonstrated unparalleled superior intellect. Pastoralists have exhibited remarkable powers of retention and apparently they are conscious of their superiority over the urbanized in this respect. As noted by (Samatar, 1982), the talented memorizer, unaided by writing, is capable of learning by heart a repertoire/selections of poems which would not be "exhausted by several days of unbroken recitation". The tentative

powers of memorizer were impressive. In comparison of traditional Somali Society with that of current times, the former was self-evidently far more thoughtful and intelligent (Afrah, 1994).

Historically, education was handed down via informal systems of communal exchange in pre-colonial traditional Somalia. With the advent/arrival/introduction of colonialism in the mid-late 19th century, slow but steady establishment of programs of learning has started in limited scope, serving colonization purposes followed by a surge in development in the education sector during independence in 1960. With disintegration of the Somali State in 1991, all modern systems of learning were devastated by the civil war, creating a social vacuum following the collapse of state structures that resulted in the stimulation of the emergence and proliferation of community-based self-help associations and private businesses with the capacity to provide much-needed economic and social services including education in both primary and post-secondary stages (Abdi, 1998; Farah et al., 2025; Ogbaharya, 2008; Cassanelli & Sheikh, 2008; Abdi & Farah, 2023).

For a country that has lacked an organized education system for over 30 years, it is very daunting and challenging to put together an education sector strategic plan which is lean, nimble and immediately responds to the myriad of priorities which are under-resourced with huge demands placed on them. The civil war has brought a disintegration into every facet of the social life, particularly education sector, both primary and higher education sectors, and to get the bits and pieces together is a tremendous undertaking (Abdi, 1998; Abdi & Farah, 2023). On that note, Social disintegration, educational and university facilities became among the first casualties of the senseless mass destruction of the country's infrastructure. Civil wars and civil strife in general destroy aspirations of the people and extinguish lights and devoid people of conversion capacity of basic capability into future functioning and talents. It is almost a generation since when the first civil war has taken a toll of the country's plight. However, the education sector strategic plans neither take account of the plagues that have ravaged the country particularly the deeply-engrained divisions and loss of sense of civic duties, etc. but peace education is covered in limited form in the government policy frameworks (Abdi, 1998; Abdi & Farah, 2023).

The Aim:

The purpose of this study is to illuminate how far the planned objectives in the educational policy frameworks support some aspects of well-being: substantive freedoms (capabilities) and outcomes (achieved functioning)/Substantive freedoms, which refer to *capabilities*, and *outcomes*, defined as achieved functioning, are important concepts). With the two above main overarching questions, the study would aim to present a conceptual description of the capability approach, gauge the articulation of the wellbeing achievements, wellbeing freedoms, agency achievements, and agency freedoms and establish their direct and indirect contribution to individual well-being by the policy and strategic frameworks. This study

matters as it brings to the fore the focus of the current frameworks in promoting what people are able to do and be, on the quality of their life, and on removing barriers in their lives so that they have more freedom to live the kind of life that, upon reflection, they have reason to value (Robeyns, 2005).

6. Study Design

Research Tools and Document Selection Methods

This study mainly adopts a qualitative documentary research method to analyze and examine controlled selection of policy documents. Documents generate a major form of data through varied forms of written text, provide access to and facilitate insights into what people in their studied settings write and report, and how organizations and agencies project themselves to their publics. Various documents get into research in multiple ways that reflect contemporary worlds, and such potential resources provide the social scientists with the relevant opportunity to address specific research questions and conduct secondary analysis of extant data (Charmaz, 2006; Cohen et al., 2011). In this study, though, review of policy documents is relied upon due to their potential value to theorize on unique phenomenon by analyzing various types of policy text for its purpose, utility, legitimacy, consequences, and content of essential capabilities based on the study's theoretical framework. The content and the text of the policy documents were screened from the perspective of their integration of human capabilities and their contribution to individual's well-being; the range of capabilities an individual beneficiary has as the capability set potentially articulated and purposively planned in the policy documents under scrutiny and more specifically whether the planned objectives in the policy documents support well-being achievements (what benefits the person or the vector of achievement a person actually achieves particularly through education), well-being freedoms, agency achievements (achievements reflecting commitments beyond self-interest) and agency freedoms.

In reality, critical analysis of policy frameworks for education service provision is informed by a selective reading of documents; further comprehensive content analysis of the documents has been conducted using NVivo software program for qualitative data analysis, specifically for thematic analysis of unstructured text. Various functions of the NVivo such as an axial coding, cluster analysis, word-frequency search, and text search was used to confirm capability-indicating words, terms and assertions from the content of the selected documents.

In identifying the basic capability-indicating content, purposes, utility of the various statements in the policy document and potential consequences for the achievement of basic capabilities for the beneficiaries, an indicative list of context-relevant basic capabilities were drawn up from the prescribed list by two prominent intellectuals on the CA (Nussbaum, 1997, 2002, 2004, 2006; Terzi, 2007) which is basically constitutive of education capabilities, coupling this with several

already SEN endorsed elementary capabilities such as the capability to be sheltered, nourished, educated, and clothed. However, Robyn proposed procedural criteria for the selection of capabilities were considered, i.e. explicitly formulated, methodologically justified list with different levels of generality established, exhaustive and non-reductive list. Below is the abridged list consolidated through perspectives of which has been unearthed on the capability focused language and terms from the policy frameworks as per **Table 1**.

Table 1. The abridged list of the capability-focused language and terms from the policy frameworks.

Terzi List	Nussbaum List
Extension of choices of occupations and certain levels of social and political participation: better life prospects, career opportunities, and civic participation	Life: Being able to live to the end of a human life length; not dying prematurely, or before one’s life is as to be not worth living.
Have a sense of a future for themselves, for their families and perhaps also for their communities, which they can to some extent control or influence	Bodily Health: Being able to have good health, reproductive health; to be adequately nourished; adequate shelter.
list of basic capabilities for educational functioning, at the ideal level:	Bodily Integrity: Being able to move freely from place to place to be secure against violent assault, including sexual assault domestic violence; having opportunities for sexual satisfaction and for choice in matters of reproduction.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Literacy</i>: being able to read and to write, to use language, and discursive reasoning functioning • <i>Numeracy</i>: being able to count, to measure, to solve mathematical questions, and to use logical reasoning functioning • <i>Sociality and participation</i>: being able to establish positive relationships with others and to participate in social activities without shame • <i>Learning dispositions</i>: being able to concentrate, to pursue interests, to accomplish tasks, to enquire • <i>Physical activities</i>: being able to exercise and being able to engage in sports activities • <i>Science and technology</i>: being able to understand natural phenomena, being knowledgeable on technology, and being able to use technological tools • <i>Practical reason</i>: being able to relate means and ends and being able to critically reflect on one’s and others’ actions 	<p>Senses, Imagination, and Thought</p> <p>Emotions: Being able to have attachments to things outside ourselves; to love those who love and care for us,</p> <p>Practical Reason: Being able to form a conception of the good and to engage in critical reflection about the planning of one’s life. (This entails protection for the liberty of conscience and religious observance.)</p> <p>Affiliation. A. Being able to live with and toward others, to recognize and show concern for other human beings, to engage in various forms of social interaction; to be able to imagine the situation of another. (Protecting this capability means protecting institutions that constitute and nourish such forms of affiliation, and also protecting the freedom of assembly and political speech.)</p> <p>Other Species. Being able to live with concern for and in relation to animals, plants, and the world of nature.</p> <p>Play. Being able to laugh, to play, to enjoy recreational activities.</p> <p>Control over one’s own environment: political, material.</p>

Most recurring themes emitting some nature of capability inducing or supporting dimensions were filtered out, grouped in relevant nodes and packaged along certain fundamental elements of significance and relevance to the capabilities articulated in the evaluative and the theoretical frameworks, particularly the above list and the procedural criteria.

The coding process in this study was conducted based on Sen's CA due to its theoretical and evaluative framework input to education. The guiding research questions plus key contributions from publications which assessed the merits of the capability approach as an evaluative space were used to analyze the policy content to gauge close readings of relevant themes for basic elements of capabilities as is relevant to the research questions. Initial auto-coding was done, and the extraction of concepts and categories were conducted.

The policy text information was broken up, and the same, or similar categories and types were selected via axial-coding which specifically identifies the properties and dimensions of a category and it is seen as a way of coding and making the resultant analysis more systematic (Charmaz, 2006). Hence a code identification and screening property of (NVivo: "Non-Versioned Information, Versatile Outcomes") is applied to extract aligned thematic information with the central research questions. After the first stage of open coding was complete, the resulting concepts and categories were screened to critically evaluate specific policy content in relation to the theoretical framework and establish how these fare in capability lenses.

To ensure the comprehensiveness, objectivity, and validity of the coding, I drew on the relevant basic capability-indicating words from most frequent word of the documents via NVivo capabilities.

Moreover, the policy implementation instruments were further examined for the relevant capability-indicating themes in the contributions made in these programs toward achievement of well-being, capabilities and functions. Objectives, priorities and targets were screened for their articulation of capabilities and well-being achievement and freedom-inducing activities. Further elaboration was also looked which could have enabled achievements of capabilities.

Selection of Data Sources:

In this study, initial step concentrated on identifying the policy frameworks and key related documents recently formulated by the Ministry of Education, Culture and Higher Education; the principles of authority and relevance in selecting policy documents were followed, based whether the documents have fully obtained endorsement from the Federal Government and its Member States. The primary source for document selection was the Ministry of Education's own collection of policy framework documents on their website.

An initial sample size of documents picked for analysis from the data sources were 9 documents categorized along sector analysis, sector policy and sector programmes. Out of these, five policy and policy-related documents have initially been selected, three were dropped due to their limited scope and three were found

to be more comprehensive and valid for our purpose of wide-ranging policy coverage and relevance. The Education sector analysis which informed the design of the policy frameworks was also scantily analyzed and two sector programmes were analyzed not as primary policy texts but rather as secondary evidence of implementation. **Table 2** depicts both the primary policy texts and the programme instruments which proceeded for final analysis.

Moreover, policy implementation instruments particularly education sector programs were further located; at least 2 programs and one grant completion report were selected for secondary analysis to see the scope and the extent these instruments supported the achievement of basic capabilities for the student population and their families in practical terms.

Table 2. The scope of the achievements of basic capabilities for the student population and their families in practical terms.

Date of Promulgation	Document Name	Policy Sources
2022	National Education Sector Strategic Plan 2022	Ministry of Education culture and Higher Education
28 th February 2022	National Education Policy	Ministry of Education, Culture and Higher Education
21 March 2022	Somali emergency education Drought response program	Ministry of Education, Culture and Higher Education and the Global Partnership for education
10 September	1) Education Sector Program Implementation Grant 2) GPE Accelerated Funding (Regular, Non-Covid10) program Grant Completion Report	Ministry of Education, Culture and Higher Education and the Ministry of Education, Culture and Higher Education and the Global Partnership for education

7. Findings and Outcomes

Policy Framework Distribution

In this study, 5 policy documents, 3 policy Implementation Instruments and overarching sector analysis were read and analyzed in the coding process (NVivo functions) resulting in 280 reference points. The axial coding process is summarized in all reference points, forming 30 primary sub-nodes and 12 s-nodes as depicted in **Table 3**.

Using NVivo, specific nodes have been set up based on the most recurring themes and further explored in the lenses of my theoretical and evaluative framework to relish some of the most significant dimensions of potential capabilities, well-being achievements, and strong demonstration or articulation of opportunity set in the policy thematic content.

Table 3. The axial coding process summarized in all reference points.

Generated Primary Nodes and Secondary Nodes				
Primary Nodes				
Equitable education	School environment and school facilities	Safe schools	Awareness	State building/state rebuilding
Learning assessments	Education, Governance and economic system	Pedagogy/teaching systems	Young population/youth	Priorities
Play, pleasure and enjoyment	Quality	Rights	Development	
Proficiency	Child development	Intellectual development	Continuing/life education	Public consultation/participation
Achievements	Peace/stability	Science	Technology	Intellect, thought and imagination
Context	Governance	Special needs	Vocational training	Capabilities
Secondary nodes				
Access	Awareness	System	Good behavior	Education
Socio-economic	Priority	Schools	Life	Conduct
Quality	Equity			

8. Result and Discussion

A range of areas and themes make specific commitments of capabilities and functionings in the Education Sector Policy Frameworks. In the preface, the strategic plan highlights that the provision of quality education and training to all Somalis is a constitutional right and terms it as fundamental to the government's overall strategy for the prosperity of Somalia's development. Equal opportunity for education to all citizens, life-long learning, empowering students' personal capacity, their active participation in promoting Somali culture, socio-economic development and national competitiveness are some of the capability-indicating themes emerging from the national policy. This articulation ideally places citizens at center stage to take control of their destiny while the prioritization of the national competitiveness and economic development goals apparently remains the end-goal towards which actual human capability achievement by citizens contributes. Life-long learning and student's personal capacity align with elements under the Terzi list particularly on extension of choices of occupations and certain levels of social and political participation: better life prospects, career opportunities, and civic participation. Learning disposition under Terzi list also remains prominent. Under Nussbaum list, senses, Imagination, and Thought have some correlation.

The Education Sector Strategic Plan (ESPP) aligned with overarching National Development Plan, 2020-2024 corresponds and contributes to the NDP'S strategic

vision which promotes a “just, stable and prosperous Somalia” and pursues the goals of the global 2030 agenda, particularly (SDG 4: Education, SDG 5: Gender, SDG 10: Equity, and Peace and Security SDG; 16).

The ESPP registers 6 policy priorities; Three are essentially focused on access (i.e. basic and secondary education, TVET, and Higher Education), one is directed toward quality and relevance (i.e. basic and secondary education), another tends to address governance and system management and the last but not least is geared towards integration and utilization of ICT in education. Similarly, the National Education Policy sets these as key objectives.

Closer examination of the goals and priority objectives reveals a concentration more subtly on state rebuilding through investment in human capital formation to provide foundations for economic growth and social development than promotion on individual well-being, human development, agency and freedom. Screened against the capability framework, the extracted nodes and themes fall short of meeting the specific categories in the Nussbaum and Terzi lists in good measure but at least satisfy some elements in rudimentary manner.

The locus of the policy content is rather directed more unfavorably towards increasing access and propagating education for all (EFA). The policy priorities in the Strategic Plan mirrors verbatim the six EFA goals first agreed in Dakar in 2000. EFA goals have strictly favored quantitative growth and lacked qualitative transformation let alone consider capabilities, functioning and well-beings. While the global pursuit of international goals is imminent and governments are obliged to make sure that EFA goals and targets are reached and sustained, yet governments have had flexibility to commit to the goals and not take it for granted the assumption that priorities are established for them and imposed from outside (De Grauwe et al., 2015). One explanation for this strict alignment in Somalia could be the fact that the government’s meager budget merely finances public education with as low as 5% allocation. In net figures, the financing envelope of \$ 285 million to enable the implementation of the plan over the next five years will only garner 20% of annual allocation of 21 million for the ministry as the rest goes toward recurrent costs such as salaries hence the bulk of plan investment will be donor-funded. Domestic financing for education therefore is far well below 20% UNESCO recommended expenditure figure for education.

With the plan goals aside, the national policy content reveals a modest but encouraging drive toward promotion and contribution of some basic capabilities and well-beings in the plan for education service provision. Basic capability-focused language emerged from the policy particularly the commitment to reinstate a high-quality education system that inspires, promotes and cultivate students’ culture, spirit, knowledge, skill and ability and ultimately provides prosperous future to students and nation at large. These parallels so closely with some critical elements of the capability framework both from Terzi and Nussbaum; having a sense of a future for themselves, for their families and perhaps also for their communities, which they can to some extent control or influence is featured from the

Terzi list as well as partially encompassing Terzi's list of basic capabilities for educational functionings, at the ideal level as noted above. The emerging themes also draw from the Nussbaum list more precisely on Senses, Imagination, and Thought as well as practical reason. Control over one's own environment: political, material, is apparently well embedded as well.

Again, commitment is made in the policy and strategic frameworks to create a better life prospect by focusing on the overall development of the Somali children to ensure safe transition into adulthood and prepare them to be successful contributors to economic development. The national policy by far indicates an emergence of a good deal of capability-focused language in this sense and draws parallels with the practical reason and affiliation categories under the Nussbaum list, particularly engaging in critical reflection about the planning of one's life, i.e., a safe transition into adulthood as noted in the policy. However, the ultimate achievement of these basic human capabilities was considered more as means to economic development than an end in themselves.

A bit deeper dive into the policy content draws some parallels with dimensions of the above integrated basic capability list with regard to the type of person with capabilities to ultimately graduate from the envisaged education process; the policy idealizes such a person to exercise liberty of conscience and religious observance and it states so directly that such a person has a knowledge of the basic values of Islam, practices its fundamental principles, the purposes of the sharia and whose ideas are outstandingly balanced and far from radical ideology of any form. In capability terms, this means that the ability to form a conception of the good and to engage in critical reflection about the planning of one's life. Also, personal conduct, creativity, innovation and the ability to make wise decisions are listed as key traits of individual students, demonstrating a fine level of integration with the selective framework from both the Terzi and Nussbaum lists.

Additionally, strong sense of right and wrong, adapting to new circumstances and able to cope with stresses, durable tolerance, thinking sensibly and independently, being interactive and exchange skills and information effectively are some additional personality traits pushed by the policy and probably aligned with Senses, Imagination, and Thought in the Nussbaum list.

Self-motivation, ability to set strategic goals, and striving to achieve and good citizen, commitment to continue education, encouraging peace, tolerance and respect for human rights are additional capabilities indicated which is synchronized with practical reason, learning dispositions, emotions: Being able to have attachments to things outside ourselves and the Affiliation strand-being able to live with and toward others, to recognize and show concern for other human beings, to engage in various forms of social interaction; control over one's own environment, both political and material are acknowledged in the policy in the language assertion of individual contribution to social justice, active and powerful participation in social services and recognizing responsibility not as a superiority but from a position to serve the community. More confirmation from the basic list

emerged particularly bodily Health: Being able to have good health as the policy also maintains a vision for the individual student to enjoy a healthy and active lifestyle as well as taking appropriate control measures to ensure safety and security.

The critical thinking, ideals for the citizen and the development of the narrative imagination are relatively well captured in the policy content. The plan notes the critical role of higher education in provision of the knowledge, skills and professional competencies to equip Somali youth to contribute to the development of the country and the Ministry adopts some clear actions to tackle barriers, and improve opportunities, particularly for marginalized and at-risk youth. This is technically sharp commitment to instilling some basic capabilities in the young generation as they form the bulk of the estimated 16 million country population, roughly at 75%. Worthy of note is the preserving agency for the youth and dissuading them from disruptive behavior and potential enticement for violence and terrorism. In this sphere, the Terzi and Nussbaum Lists profile well particularly in terms of agency achievements.

The ESSP first policy priority is about access, equity and completion in basic and secondary Education. Increasing access and completion of Early childhood education is set as first priority objective. Further scrutiny on this objective reveals a number of articulations of basic capabilities and capability-enhancing undertakings. Some of the areas of concentration for the current plan are more emphasis on early education, which if implemented as planned could contribute to the potentiality of young children to achieve basic capabilities early on. UNESCO strongly anchors such idea that learning begins at birth and global growing understanding and evidence concurs that the period from birth to the start of primary education is a critical formative stage for the growth and development of children. The learning outcomes, norms and values, knowledge, skills, of primary education are more enduring when learning occurs in the years prior to regular schooling.

Additionally, early learning is established to improve the child's chances of enjoying good health, of finding work later in life, of social inclusion and of being less likely to commit crime (UNESCO, 2002). It can be argued that the Strategic Plan has some capability-inducing potentialities if the implementation instruments further advance such thinking as a growing body of knowledge emanating from recent developments in brain research exists that supports ECCE (Early Childhood Care Education) policies. The notion of 'sensitive periods', in which young child can best learn certain things, has been sharpened. Apparently, there are very specific and sometimes brief periods in which the developing brain is particularly fit to learn certain tasks (UNESCO, 2002). In general, these research outcomes point towards intensifying structured learning experiences during ages earlier than those that have usually been the subject of most education policies.

The Somali government seems to understand the value of this level as being critical to appropriately prepare students for primary education while also sup-

porting their socioemotional development. The national education policy lays out some space for agency particularly for children by recognizing and encouraging discipline as a significant element of school life and aims to instill positive behavior which helps them to take responsibility for decision-making and understanding why some decisions are made in their best interest. Through promoting positive behavior, there is opportunity for children to grow as unique human beings, understand mistakes and appreciate how positive behavior can bring positive experiences and opportunities.

Some capability-enhancing aims are reflected in the strategic plan for provision of the early education services whereby the overall development and well-being of children will be improved, and their school readiness will be boosted but alarmingly enough, there are no publicly owned or publicly run early education institutions. Overall, early education service provision is limited in Somalia. Hence the articulated capabilities are futile if they are not translated into action.

The plan also envisages a commitment to work toward sustainable development, freeing the nation from poverty and enabling every Somali citizen to live a productive life. The plan asserts investment in the country's human capital through education as a means to create foundations for economic growth and social development. It brings in youth as a key beneficiary of these endeavors, for the provision of education and training opportunities is anticipated to meet the growing demands for education. The plan sets out government responsibility to provide resources and meet the commitment of every child's right to education. Nevertheless, the means take precedence here than the ends: going to school does not necessarily mean learning. There is always a challenge in leveraging gains in access into gains in learning. To attain development aspirations, achievement levels need to be enhanced to provide the necessary human capital. This conversion of gains to ensure that learning remains relevant to the nation's development priorities was central theme of the Rwanda ESSP (2020-2022), one thing which in the context of Somalia could be equally productive.

Somalia is marred so heavily in conflict and insecurity yet the dividends of education in this juncture, are neglected in the design of the strategic plan. The national policy has articulated peace-promotion relevant content and encourages knowledge dissemination based on skills, attitudes and values necessary for rehabilitation and providing children, adolescents and adults with the ability for prevention of conflict and violence both on their own means and procedures. The policy advocates non-violent means of problem-solving at all levels to peacefully resolve conflict and create viable conditions for peace promotion. The policy calls for integration of peace education into the curriculum and enables pedagogical skills for educators.

The Education sector analysis gives a gist of the overall TVET situation and in the process, it narrates some capabilities like for example, a lot needs to be done in the future to ensure that eligible young people are targeted with appropriate programs. It further underscores that in this way, the youth will not only escape

the ever-present lure of social ills but will also be equipped with skills that will see them successfully transition to the labor market and improve their quality of life in the end.

The education sector analysis which informed the formulation of the plan has seamlessly unearthed issues of social justice by identifying the stark disparities in gender, social capital (in terms of location and family wealth). Favorable advantage enjoyed by boys over girls in accessing school and maintaining time for studies is evidently laid out in the analysis with 30% more time in store for boys. The role the social capital plays is also pertinent in both location and income differences (Urban vs Rural, wealthy vs poor) tilting the balance to the elite and new understanding developing to indicate that education is largely a realm for the elite in the country. This is apparently stifling the capabilities of certain people and forming certain concerns on this, the education sector analysis vehemently cements that certain steps need to be taken to guarantee that all children have equal access to school, and to ensure that they finish the compulsory levels of formal education, in order to break cycles of intergenerational poverty and improve outcomes later in life. This assertion is capability-compliant, and the analysis has got this right both to address issues around poverty and look deeply to intervene to unroot the inequalities while at the same time strategizing to enhance life outcomes.

Program Implementation

Donor-funded program implementation was more pointedly relevant to the contribution to the basic capabilities directly or indirectly supporting things that program beneficiaries have a reason to value. The education service provision spearheaded by these donor-funded agencies and organizations has in store certain incentives for students and their families to lure them into schooling and learning. Under their program interventions, the learning environment in the target schools improved and enabled children to have continued access to quality education through provision of much needed and immediate lifesaving, protective and integrated interventions. For instance, in one case, school construction coupled with school feeding has considerably increased enrollment from a target of 10,000 to 19,284 learners. The program was something for beneficiaries to value and aspire to as it not only focused on provision of incentives for students but also vetted teachers have access to monthly allowance. Incentives resulted in increased teachers' livelihoods and reduced the cost of education for underprivileged communities, especially the IDPs whose children study for free.

The school feeding program uses home-grown model where e-vouchers to purchase nutritious food from contracted local retailers are in use. "At the school level, Community Education Committees (CECs) are trained to support the management and implementation of the school feeding program. Under the supervision of the CEC, volunteers/support staff prepare two meals daily in on-site school kitchens. These volunteers receive cash-based transfers from WFP as an incentive

to help ensure high standards of hygiene, cooking, food distribution and record-keeping” SFP. With WFP technical and capacity support, school feeding units have been institutionalized within the education ministries, with responsibility for managing, implementing, and monitoring the SFP program. Agency achievement was also more prominent in program implementation, both involving the community participation and government ownership in the programme.

Special well-being achievement was considered in the program for female student population as the program ensured equity in education through the provision of dignity kits. Adolescent girls miss classes for 4 to 5 days every month during their menses, which, affects their performance and ultimately leads to their dropping out of school. Orientation and training were also provided on the use of the pads and the proper pad disposal management. Teachers reported regular attendance of adolescent girls following this intervention. Hence, capability deprivation was averted with meeting basic capabilities for these students.

9. Conclusion

This paper has presented a theoretical argument in support of the capabilities approach as a useful framework for considering the articulation of basic human critical capabilities in the education policies and frameworks rather than paying attention solely to economic development as the end result of the educational pursuit of the Somali children and youth.

The aim of this study was to systematically review the Somali policy frameworks for Education Service provision from the perspectives of basic human capabilities approach by Amartya Sen and scrutinize the policy priorities, objectives, aims and the wider content for indication of basic capabilities and the potential for the achievement of individual well-being. Ideally, the philosophical underpinnings of the capability approach to explore the field of education and bringing in the dimensions of capabilities defined as valued “beings and doings” matters so people are able to achieve actual functioning, that is “the actual living that people manage to achieve” (Sen, 1992: p. 52). Intriguing discovery has been uncovered from the study’s examination in terms of aspects of basic capabilities articulated in the design of the Somali education sector policy frameworks and how planned programs support the basic capabilities in their implementation. Fundamentally, it is of great significance that people are able to achieve actual functioning, that is “the actual living that people manage to achieve” (Sen, 1992: p. 52).

Conceptually, the key research questions revealed that educational frameworks provided various capabilities and functioning from the basic capability being adequately nourished; examples of which include school feeding programs and provision of drinking water during the droughts at rural schools to the very complex dimensions of capabilities, such as being able to take part in the life of the community.

More apparently, the designers of the various policy frameworks might not have been conscious of the prominent and renewed interest in considering capa-

bilities in the design and evaluation of policies yet without that awareness, important coincidences of the type of articulation of capabilities and functioning were not accommodated. CA is getting traction from governments for national policy making (Dang, 2014) and it is potentially warranting going forward that researchers further investigate the capability approach and its contribution to education in Somalia. If this perspective was considered in the design of the Somali Policy Frameworks, the assumption and focus now placed on economic development could be redirected to the promotion of the basic capability and individual well-being. In more concrete terms, the intent of educational policy frameworks should be refocused away from economic development to the promotion of basic capability and individual well-being.

Finally, the idea of the capability is to be further explored in the Somali context in relation to the Early Leaving from Education and Training (ELET) policy by examining the Home School Community Liaison (HSCL) program that has been explored in Ireland, which aims to create partnerships between parents and schools with the goal of reducing educational inequalities; it could also observe the socioeconomic and structural factors contributing to ELET. The current policies take no notice of the significance of early intervention during obligatory education (Spiteri & Cin, 2025).

Conflicts of Interest

The authors declare no conflicts of interest regarding the publication of this paper.

References

- Abdi, A. A. (1998). Education in Somalia: History, Destruction, and Calls for Reconstruction. *Comparative Education*, 34, 327-340. <https://doi.org/10.1080/03050069828171>
- Abdi, A. A., & Farah, A. A. (2023). Higher Education in Somalia. In Y. Waghid (Ed.), *Chronicles on African Philosophy of Higher Education* (pp. 160-178). BRILL. https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004543805_011
- Afrah, M. D. (1994). *The Mirror of Culture: Somali Dissolution Seen through Oral Expression*. <https://arcadia.sba.uniroma3.it/bitstream/2307/2962/1/The%20Mirror%20of%20Culture.%20Somali%20Dissolution%20Seen%20Through%20Oral%20Expression.pdf>
- Cassanelli, L., & Abdikadir, F. S. (2008). Somalia: Education in Transition. *Bildhaan: An International Journal of Somali Studies*, 7, Article 7. <https://digitalcommons.Macalester.Edu/bildhaan/vol7/iss1/7>
- Charmaz, K. (2006). *Constructing Grounded Theory: A Practical Guide through Qualitative Analysis*. Sage publications Ltd. https://books.google.so/books?id=2ThdBAAAQBAJ&printsec=copy-right&source=gbs_pub_info_r#v=onepage&q&f=false
- Cohen, L., Manion, L., & Morrison, K. (2011). *Research Methods in Education* (8th ed., p. 944). Routledge. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315456539>
- Dang, A. (2014). Amartya Sen's Capability Approach: A Framework for Well-Being Evaluation and Policy Analysis? *Review of Social Economy*, 72, 460-484. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00346764.2014.958903>

- De Grauwe, A., Bitoun, C., Chauvet, A., Gay, D., Hite, S., Suso, E., & Valderrama, A. (2015). *The Impact of the EFA Agenda: Comparing National Education Plans before and after Dakar. Paper Commissioned for the EFA Global Monitoring Report 2015, Education for All 2000-2015: Achievements and Challenges.*
- Farah, A. A., Farah, A. A., & Isse, M. (2025). Quality Assurance for Higher Education from the Perspective of a University's Organisational Structure, Approaches and Challenges in the Somali Context. *Creative Education, 16*, 1460-1475. <https://doi.org/10.4236/ce.2025.169086>
- Hart, C. S. (2009). Quo Vadis? The Capability Space and New Directions for the Philosophy of Educational Research. *Studies in Philosophy and Education, 28*, 391-402. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11217-009-9128-4>
- Mogalakwe, M., (2006). The Use of Documentary Research Methods in Social Research. *African Sociological Review/Revue Africaine De Sociologie, 10*, 221-230. https://www.academia.edu/89661425/The_Use_of_Documentary_Research_Methods_in_Social_Research
- Nussbaum, M. (2002). Capabilities and Social Justice. *International Studies Review, 4*, 123-135. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1521-9488.00258>
- Nussbaum, M. (2003). Capabilities as Fundamental Entitlements: Sen and Social Justice. *Feminist Economics, 9*, 33-59. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1354570022000077926>
- Nussbaum, M. C. (1997). Capabilities and Human Rights. *Fordham Law Review, 66*, Article 2. <https://ir.lawnet.fordham.edu/flr>
- Nussbaum, M. C. (2004). Women's Education: A Global Challenge. *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society, 29*, 325-355. <https://doi.org/10.1086/378571>
- Nussbaum, M. C. (2006). Education and Democratic Citizenship: Capabilities and Quality Education. *Journal of Human Development, 7*, 385-395. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14649880600815974>
- Ogbaharya, D. G. (2008). (Re-)Building Governance in Post-Conflict Africa: The Role of the State and Informal Institutions. *Development in Practice, 18*, 395-402. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09614520802030482>
- Otto, H. U., & Ziegler, H. (2006). Capabilities and Education. *Social Work & Society, 4*, 269-287. <https://ejournals.bib.uni-wuppertal.de/index.php/sws/article/view/158>
- Robeyns, I. (2005). The Capability Approach: A Theoretical Survey. *Journal of Human Development, 6*, 93-117. <https://doi.org/10.1080/146498805200034266>
- Robeyns, I. (2006). The Capability Approach in Practice. *Journal of Political Philosophy, 14*, 351-376. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9760.2006.00263.x>
- Samatar, S. S. (1982). *Oral Poetry and Somali Nationalism*. Cambridge University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1017/cbo9780511735370>
- Sen, A. (1992). *Inequality Re-Examined, Greater Clarendon Street*. Oxford University Press. https://books.google.so/books?hl=en&lr=&id=LOLnCwAAQBAI&oi=fnd&pg=PR7&dq=Sen,+A.,+1992,+Inequality+re-examined+Oxford:+Clarendon+Press&ots=ob-ZWbE0boV&sig=21hSLGzbx_fAmIgmuwL0v2iJYeA&redir_esc=y#v=onepage&q=Sen%2C%20A.%2C%201992%2C%20Inequality%20re-examined%20Oxford%3A%20Clarendon%20Press&f=false
- Sen, A. (1999). *Development as Freedom*. Anchor Books. https://raggeduniversity.co.uk/wp-content/uploads/2025/01/1_x_senDevelopmentasFreedom-compressed.pdf
- Spiteri, P. M., & Cin, M. (2025). Bridging Home and School: Enhancing the Capability to Be Educated to Prevent Early Leaving from Education and Training in Socio-Economi-

- cally Marginalised Contexts. *British Journal of Educational Studies*, 73, 755-780.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/00071005.2025.2533133>
- Terzi, L. (2007). The Capability to Be Educated. In M. Walker, & E. Unterhalter (Eds.), *Amartya Sen's Capability Approach and Social Justice in Education* (pp. 25-43). Palgrave Macmillan US. https://doi.org/10.1057/9780230604810_2
- UNDP (The United Nations Development Programme) (1990). *Human Development Report*. Oxford University Press.
<https://hdr.undp.org/content/human-development-report-1990>
- UNESCO (2002). *EFA Global Monitoring Report. Education for All. Is the World on Track? Summary Report*. UNESCO Publishing.
- Walker, M. (2008). The Capability Approach as a Framework for Reimagining Education and Justice. In H. U. Otto, & H. Ziegler (Eds.), *Capabilities—Handlungsbefähigung und Verwirklichungschancen in der Erziehungswissenschaft* (pp. 116-130). VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-531-90922-6_7
- Walker, M. (2015). Advancing Student Well-Being and Agency: Outline of Capabilities Friendly Approach. *South African Journal of Higher Education*, 29, 279-296.
<https://journals.co.za/doi/pdf/10.10520/EJC182505>
- Walker, M., & Loots, S. (2017). Human Capabilities and Gender Equality: What Do Higher Education Students Have Reason to Value? In A. Lopez-Fogues, & F. M. Cin (Eds.), *Youth, Gender and the Capabilities Approach to Development* (pp. 23-38). Routledge.
<https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315306353-2>
- Walker, M., & Unterhalter, E. (2007). The Capability Approach: Its Potential for Work in Education. In M. Walker, & E. Unterhalter (Eds.), *Amartya Sen's Capability Approach and Social Justice in Education* (pp. 1-18). Palgrave Macmillan US.
https://doi.org/10.1057/9780230604810_1