The Process of Conformation in Eastern African Education

A discourse analysis of gender equality in Eastern African educational policy documents

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Abstract
In this study, we will carry out a discourse analysis on gender equality in Eastern African educational policy documents. We have chosen to investigate policy documents from Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda, since these countries share a common cultural and colonial heritage. The Eastern African process on enhancing gender equality in education is of great interest to investigate in an educational study since the work on improving gender equity is still quite undeveloped in this region. In addition, these countries have all signed the Millennium Declaration, which obligate the participating countries to reduce gender disparities in education and provide universal primary education to all children.

Our aim is to analyse and compare different aspects of gender equality in these Eastern African policy documents. In order to do so, we have synthesised critical discourse theory with pedagogical methods. Focus is going to be aimed on the interrelationship between ideas of gender, education, state and society within the different discourses and how these affect the distribution of power.

This study concludes that there is several common interregional gender discourses embedded in the policy documents, although some national differences has been determined. Our study does also acknowledge that gender and educational policies are globalised. East African gender discourses have conformed to international educational norms and values. This process has resulted in a uniform acceptance of ideas and strategies on how to eradicate gender disparities in education.

Keywords: Eastern Africa, discourse, gender, equality, education
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<th>Acronym</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tr>
<td>AIDS</td>
<td>Acquired immune deficiency syndrome</td>
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<td>ACAPE</td>
<td>The Alliance for Community action on Female Education.</td>
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<td>BEMP</td>
<td>Basic Education Master Plan</td>
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<td>CCM</td>
<td>Chama cha Mapinduzi</td>
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<tr>
<td>CEDAW</td>
<td>Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Women</td>
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<td>CPE</td>
<td>Certificate of Primary Education</td>
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<td>EFA</td>
<td>Education For All</td>
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<td>ESIP</td>
<td>Education Strategic Investment Plan</td>
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<td>FAWE</td>
<td>Forum for African Women Educationalists</td>
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<td>HIV</td>
<td>Human immunodeficiency virus</td>
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<td>IMF</td>
<td>International Monetary Found</td>
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<td>KADU</td>
<td>Kenyan African Democratic Union</td>
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<td>KANU</td>
<td>Kenya African National Union</td>
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<td>KCE</td>
<td>Kenyan Certificate of Education</td>
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<td>KESSP</td>
<td>Kenya Education Sector Support Program</td>
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<td>MDG</td>
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<td>NGO</td>
<td>Non Governmental Organisation</td>
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<td>National Resistance Movement</td>
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<td>UPC</td>
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<td>UPE</td>
<td>Universal Primary Education</td>
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<td>SEMP</td>
<td>Secondary Education Master Plan</td>
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<td>TANU</td>
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Summary

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1. Introduction

“Today, we know everything about how Africans die, but almost nothing about how they live.”¹
Anders Ehnmark

East Africa stands, at the present situation, in front of a crossroad. The process of nation-building that was interrupted by structural changes and institutional decline in the wake of the fiscal crisis during the 1980s is now being resumed. The governments of Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda are currently, together with NGOs, foreign donors and other stakeholders, in the process of reassessing governmental practises, in order to adjust social, political and economic policies to better meet the demands of society and the various tendencies of globalisation.

Education is crucial in any type of society for the preservation of the lives, norms and values of its members and the maintenance and development of social structures. Lack of education contributes to ongoing poverty at both family and national level. Education is a basic need and a vital aspect of well-being. Where the right to education is guaranteed, people’s access to and enjoyment of other rights is enhanced and the imbalances in life are lessened.² Education is, however, seldom free, and that is true of in the East African context. Some families simply cannot afford the expenses of books and school uniforms, or the bribes that the head teachers may demand; others may need their children to perform different chores and labour at home. Against this background the high priority which many families give to education in this region is remarkable.³

One of the main impediments for East African education, as for the society as a whole, is the prevalence of gender inequalities. Women and girls in these countries have been the victims of cultural, socioeconomic and institutional discrimination for a long period of time. Now, however, these misogynist structures are starting to be challenged by a number of both national and international stakeholders. East African governments are officially taking a distinct stand against gender inequalities and discrimination by developing new and radical policy documents in accordance with the recommendations alleged by the UN, NGOs, foreign donors and other important stakeholders.⁴ Furthermore, teachers, learners and politicians construct approaches to gender, class, ethnicity, race and sexuality in different ways at

¹ Quotation from Anders Ehnmark, our translation. Ehnmark is a well-known author and journalist, who have worked as a correspondent in Southern Africa.
² Närman 1995, 73.
⁴ Women and education in Sub-Saharan Africa 1998, 27.
different times. This means that social relations and ideas about gender and other social divisions are open to change. Maintaining gender inequalities is thus not a natural process; it entails deciding not to change. The question is if the East African societies’ approaches towards gender inequalities are going to change, and, in that case, how is this structural transformation going to be realised?

This study will investigate the reassessed and revitalised view upon the correlation between gender, education, state, and society as it is expressed in the national curricula in Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda in the context of the structural changes that Eastern Africa has undergone during the last decade. This approach is going to be realised by a discourse analysis of various recently composed educational policy documents from each of the countries involved. Since the institutions of education counts it legacy back to colonial times, we will also take a closer lock at changes in the sociocultural structures in this region in order to adequately carry out or analysis.

1.1 Aims and Problems
Systematic work on gender equality is largely undeveloped, and patriarchal structures dominate the societies of Sub-Saharan Africa. Women in Eastern Africa continue be, to a great extent, denied participation in politics and decision-making and, in places, traditional systems of inheritance prevents women from becoming equal in economic terms. Some development scholars have stated that:

Girls are socialised [...] to live in a perpetual limbo of dependence, conforming to an unequal distribution of resources and work load within the household. A girl’s future is dominated by marriage, which may occur at an early age.

Woman’s inferior situation seems to prevent further development of the region, much because girls are, for several reasons kept from education. Particularly in rural areas of Eastern Africa, where old customs are hardly changed and where poverty is greatest, girls are excluded from the educational system. Economic and cultural factors seem to interact; for instance, a rather common idea in the countryside is that girls will not gain any material benefits from education. Besides cultural and economic obstacles, the alarming number of HIV and AIDS victims is probably the greatest threat to gender equality in education in Sub Saharan Africa.

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5 Gender and the Millennium Development Goals 2005, 46-47.
6 Peasgood, 1997, XI.
7 Brock-Utne, 1990, 18.
The disease decreases pupils’, particularly girls’ school attendance. Cultural norms often force girls to care for their sick parents and young siblings, thus placing much of the burden of participation in domestic labour on girls.\textsuperscript{8}

Despite the facts that the UN has put focus on achieving gender parity in education since the 1990s and that girls’ enrolment rates in primary education have increased faster than boys’ during the last decades, only small progress has been achieved in terms of real equality. Policies and legislation changes are crucial if gender equality is to be achieved in Eastern Africa, since institutional change can influence change in traditional patterns of behaviour among individuals over time and place.\textsuperscript{9}

In 1990 most of the world’s countries reached an agreement on a six point program EFA, Education For All.\textsuperscript{10} EFA became, in the year 2000, an important part of the Millennium Declaration, which Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda have signed and thus committed themselves to following. The Millennium Declaration, commit the participating countries to provide all children with equal education; this goal shall be accomplished by the year 2015. One of the measures put in placed by UNESCO in order to reach the goals of EFA and the Millennium Declaration is UPE, Universal Primary Education, which focuses on inequalities in education.\textsuperscript{11}

There are also several NGOs, government organisations and other stakeholders, both domestic and foreign, involved in the process of accomplishing equality in education in the region. Education in Eastern Africa is therefore provided through multiple actors. National governments are responsible for the providing of education but individuals, the private sector and NGOs are encouraged to join the governments to educate as long as they educate in conformity with national policy documents. Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda are, as mentioned above, currently involved in a revaluation process of obsolete curriculums. Thus provisional policy documents have been evolved, from which new curriculums will be developed. This is

\textsuperscript{8} Landguiden.se, 4/05-2008.1,6 million HIV/Aids victims were known in Tanzania 2003 and 1,3 million in Kenya the same year. In Uganda 530, 000 were contaminated with the virus in the year 2001. Kakuru, 2006, 18. The impact HIV has on girls’ attendance in school creates a vicious cycle. Less participation in education has the effect that girls do not learn about the risks connected with sex. This has also proven to raise girls’ involvement in prostitution.

\textsuperscript{9} Baker, LeTendre 2005, 149.

\textsuperscript{10} EFA goals 1: Expand early childhood care and education. 2: Provide free and compulsory primary education for all. 3: Promote learning and life skills for young people and adults. 4: Increase adult literacy by 50 per cent. 5: Achieve gender parity by 2005, gender equality by 2015. 6: Improve the quality of education.

\textsuperscript{11} EFA Global Monitoring Report, 2003, 44. Goal two and five of UPE are to be considered of great importance for achieving gender equality. Goal two declares that all children by 2015, particular girls and children in difficult circumstances and those belonging to ethnic minorities, shall have access to free education. The fifth goal focuses on the elimination of all gender disparities in primary and secondary education by 2005; according to this goal shall full gender equality in education be achieved by 2015.
a process of great importance because socialisation through education may be a tool to break patriarchal structures, and an essential steep towards the development of equivalent societies.

The aims of this study are to investigate how \textit{educational policy documents} consider gender equality. More precisely, our aim is to analyse and compare different aspects of gender equality that appear in these documents. Focus is on the interrelationship between ideas of gender, education, state, and society within the different discourses and how these affect the distribution of power. In other words it is the expectations and commitments codified in the documents that will be examined, not how these ideas are carried out in reality.

The study results aims at revealing some of the attitudes in educational policy documents, towards gender equality. In order to fulfil this purpose; a discourse analysis regarding gender equality in educational policy documents will be carried out. The study’s main question is as follows:

- Is there an Eastern African discourse of gender equality visible in the educational policy documents? How, in that case, does the discourse mirror these structures?

These questions are relatively wide and in need of a narrower definition, therefore have three more questions been developed, which will act as a limiting framework to the main questions.

- Are there any significant concepts constructed within the different discourses?
- Is there any relation between the individual, state and society described in the discourses?
- Are there structures of power, such as exclusion mechanisms,\textsuperscript{12} reflected in the discourses?

\textsuperscript{12} Bergström, Boréus, 2005, 311. According to Foucault, power cannot be exercised by a subject or against a subject. Power is however, developed in relations between human beings, which entitles possibilities for some and restrictions for others. The concept of exclusion mechanisms refers to situations when something constitutes as forbidden, or is defined as pathologic or not pathologic, right or wrong.
1.2 Theory and Method
We will in this chapter discuss different aspects of discourse and define what the concept will mean in this study. It is hard to divine theory from method because of the nature of discourse, therefore, through an abstract theoretical discussion, will we reach a model of method. A further aim is to synthesise discourse theory with pedagogical methods and social discourse analysis. We wish to mention from the start that our material is disparate and inconclusive. We have, however, chosen to use this large and unwieldy material because we see a value in analysing gender discourses in educational policies in a wide context. Furthermore, there have so far, to our knowledge, not been any academic investigations of these documents carried out, thus there exist no previous research of gender that utilises this particular material. However, a multitude of reports and evaluations on this topic have been published by the UN, in particular by UNESCO and the World Bank, and several NGOs have, as mentioned, shown interest to gender related issues in Eastern Africa. These reports are therefore of great value to this study and will act as a basis to our investigation.

1.2.1 Different perspectives on discourse
The word discourse is a polysemous concept, it is therefore essential to define what the concept of discourse will mean in this particular study. This is even more important in order to achieve the primary aims of this chapter which, as it is described above, is to synthesise pedagogical methods and traditional social discourse analysis.

A mutual consensus on the foundation of the concept exists, even if the concept of discourse has many different meanings to several scholars at the present time. This consensus concludes that discourse implies an idea that language is structured in different shapes and patterns. When we as human beings try to describe something, the descriptions will naturally follow the shapes and patterns of the particular social domains that we for the moment are parts of.\textsuperscript{13} Discourse analysis is, in its simplest form, an analysis of those patterns, which easily can be noted in the quote from Foucault below:

\begin{quote}
My intention was not to deal with the problem of truth, but with the problem of the truth-teller, or of truth-telling as an activity [...] the question of the importance of telling the truth, knowing why we should tell the truth, we have the roots of what we could call the 'critical' tradition in the West.\textsuperscript{14}
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{13} Jørgensen, 2000, 7.
\textsuperscript{14} Faubion, 1994, 128.
This is the core of the present consensus regarding discourse; however there is no consensus that point out a direction of how to implement an analysis of these patterns. Two main views can be identified, though, the first of these analytical models have an individual point of view\textsuperscript{15}, this idea’s model of explanation emanates from a belief in the importance of individuals’ impact on society, rather than the collectives’. The scholars who prefer to explain society from this point of view are of the opinion that institutions which are found in society, such as schools, do not exists simply because of society’s need or demand for them. Instead their existence is based upon the interests of individuals; it is the sum of individual actions which make the existence of such institutions possible.\textsuperscript{16}

The other main view is the structural perspective, the basis of this model of explanation works on the assumption that society continuously reproduces itself via different systems and structures. It can from an external point of view, be seen as an organism living its own life regardless of the impact of individuals. In this context, society, and individuals too, still need institutions to survive and function.

According to the structural perspective, the purpose of institutions is to transfer norms and values from the state or other stakeholders to the people, in hope to socialise the people in order to fit into society and avoid a Hobbesian’ chaos. Education plays a cardinal role in the process of socialisation; its purpose is to serve as a gateway between older generations and the children of today. The accumulated knowledge of previous generations, which are accepted by society handed over to the younger citizens through the educational system. This way the pupils will become accepted, and recognised as socialised into society.\textsuperscript{17}

It is necessary to choose which one of these perspectives to use, in order to form a theory and methodology with high reliability and validity. The material which will be analysed in this study is produced by states in order to be implemented by governmental and nongovernmental institutions, such as educational facilities. Individuals’ motives and incitement are invisible to us because of this fact; they can only be investigated by a scholar \textit{in situ}. Therefore, the structural perspective is the most suitable one for our purposes.

One limitation of the structural perspective is its relatively strong connection with Marxist ideas concerning conflict structures within society. The conflict structures in the Marxist historical materialist theory emanates from the idea that there is an existing conflict between

\textsuperscript{15} This model will from now on be referred to as; the Individual Perspective.
\textsuperscript{16} Lund, Sundberg, 2004, 10.
\textsuperscript{17} Ibid.
the base of society and its superstructure. According to Marxism, the base of society consists mainly of economical issues; the most important among these issues is that society structures the ownership of the means of production. The superstructure, in this case, consists of the state and its institutions such as schools and the judicial system. The superstructure is determined by the foundation, meaning that it is the economic structure which controls people’s thoughts and minds. Historical materialism has several lacks, principally because of the focus on economy as an exclusive model of explanation, the theory disregards other important explanation factors such as gender and ethnicity which may or may not directly be connected with economic issues.

1.2.2 Discourse analysis according to Foucault and Fairclough

The structural perspective emanates from a French discourse tradition, mainly from Michel Foucault. It is necessary to point out that we will not practice a theoretical or methodological idea, drawn from Foucault, Fairclough or any other scholar. Instead, we will select a number of crucial ideas, which will form the theoretical foundation of our study.

We will begin by examining Foucault’s discourse theory, and then will Fairclough’s critical discourse be investigated, followed by a similar discussion of pedagogical discourse theories. Foucault is considered to be the inventor of the discourse concept explaining why it is crucial to examine how he defines discourse, in order to gain an understanding of Fairclough’s further development of the concept. Attention will be focused on how Foucault deals with power within discourses.

As we have stated, discourses contain certain ideas regarding how humans perceive and describe the world. From Foucault’s point of view, these different discourses, regardless if they are political or academic, include power structures. Humans are to a great degree controlled by the limitations or the opportunities a discourse carries within it, when created, a phenomenon known as “exclusion process”. Due to the research material of this study, exclusion processes and power structures are of great importance, the analysis material consist entirely of policy documents which form a discourse, within a given social practice. The nature of this kind of documents is such that they regulate different issues which will eventually be implemented by humans. Therefore, power and exclusion processes is an

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20 Bergström, Boréus, 2005, 311.
essential part since these phenomena’ emerge when policy documents include prohibitions, taboos but also when certain actions or thoughts shall be considered unethical.\textsuperscript{21}

Consequently discourse is, drawn from one of Foucault’s perspectives, systems of social relations which are basically political. Significant for such relations and the product of those, is that they are generally the result of conflicts and compromises.

There are similarities between Foucault’s definition of discourse and how Fairclough defines the concept. According to Fairclough, “‘discourse’ is use of language seen as a form of social practice, and discourse analysis is how texts work within sociocultural practice”.\textsuperscript{22} In accordance of Foucault’s perspective there is an ongoing struggle between those who form a discourse; this struggle reproduce the existing structural circumstances of society, which is in its turn a result of the historical context.\textsuperscript{23}

According to Fairclough, discourse has three dimensions, text, discursive practice and social practice; together these three dimensions form the Critical Discourse Analysis theory. The text dimension tends to focus on the linguistic nature of a produced text. In consensus with that definition is the text dimension in the main part of Faircloughs’ works an analysis of semantics and grammar in a particular text.\textsuperscript{24} Discourse practice includes an analysis of production-, distribution- and consumption actions. Production- and distribution action refers to; in which social and historical context the discourse is produced and distributed to the receivers. Consumption action refers to how the receiver of a text acts.\textsuperscript{25} The social practice, in some of Faircloughs’ work, is activities included, which he refers to as physical discourse. An investigation of the previous dimensions has to be accomplished, in order to understand why the physical discourse is carried out. The concept also includes existing power structures within a discourse and varieties of different elements of factors, which are connected to social life.\textsuperscript{26}

\textsuperscript{21} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{22} Fairclough, 2003, 22.
\textsuperscript{23} Lund, Sundberg, 2004, 29.
\textsuperscript{24} Fairclough, 2003, 89.
\textsuperscript{25} Bergström, Borèus, 2005, 323-324.
\textsuperscript{26} Fairclough, 2003, 25.
1.2.3 A pedagogical perspective on discourse

The pedagogue Ulf Lundgren, has developed a pedagogical definition of production and reproduction. Lundgrens’ point of view is that:

Production processes, is the creation of the necessities for social life and the creation of knowledge from which production can develop. Reproduction processes is the re-creation and reproduction of knowledge from one generation to the next; the reproduction of knowledge and skills for production but also the reproduction of the conditions for production.27

The concepts of production and reproduction are interrelated with the sociocultural context, which determines the development of social life and culture which is therefore, to a great deal, reproduced in discursive text and is hardly changed.28 The production and reproduction process, in terms of education, regards curriculum and educational policy documents. The first aspect we will analyse is the Context of Formulation, which refers to the process of developing documents. For our purposes, the Context of Formulation is of significant interest, since the developing process of documents and the final results reflect ideals and intentions of society, which presumably have emerged from the historical and sociocultural context. According to this idea, educational policy documents are used to implement specific intentions of politicians and other pressure groups, such as non governmental organisations.29

In conformity with Foucaults’ perspective there is an ongoing power struggle between discourses, but they are all products of sociocultural heritage, resulting in a reproduction of values within curricula and other policy documents. Regarding these theoretical approaches, power structures are vital when analysing a discourse. The pedagogue Ulf Olsson, has taking Foucaults’ works as his point of departure a model of how power structures work in the field of pedagogy, which we will use when analysing the material in this study. The most essential conclusion is that analysis of power should not target who practice power. Instead, emphasis is laid on how power is practiced. Power is to a great deal connected with the different institutions of society such as schools.30 This means that the core of social practice analysis is the analysis of micro-level of power. This places focus on such uses and abuses of power that affect individuals such as pupils.

27 Lundgren, 1984, 10.
28 Ibid.
29 Lindhe, 1999, 37. Lindhe also discuss the Context of Realisation which refers to the practice of teaching and the interrelation between teachers and pupils.
1.2.4 Central methodological conceptions

The method used in this paper will be an amalgam of pedagogical discourse analysis and Faircloughs’ critical discourse analysis. Focus is placed on the interrelationships between text, discursive practice and social practice in the context of educational policy documents. We will therefore discuss how these concepts relate to each other, and how we will employ them, in this study.

In the case of this study focus will be on curricula text, however, as critical discourse analysis demonstrates no text is produced in a vacuum. The details of the interrelationships between text, social practice and discursive practice are not included in the scope of this study. However, we will understand that the context of a text’s construction is made up of social and discursive practices together. We wish to emphasise that text is not a finished end product, but continues to interrelate with its social and discursive context. In other words, a curricula is a product of social practices, institutional, textual and in its turn, will continuously influences these practices. We have attempted to construct a model that illustrates this relation:

![Diagram](image)

In the case of this study, focus will be on the text dimension from a sociological and pedagogical point of view. Therefore, we will concentrate mainly on the specific ideas and conceptions within the educational policy documents, rather than on semantics and grammar, in order to identify the discourses at work in the text.\(^{31}\) A problem with this definition of text is that Faircloughs’ second dimension, discursive practice, if kept in its original form, shows a great deal of similarities with the pedagogical definition of the text dimension. However, this

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\(^{31}\) Lund, Sundberg, 2004, 33-34. The pedagogical definition of the text dimension is a part of the “Critical Hermeneutic” methodology, which reveal a distinction from Faircloughs’ focus on linguistic.
does not present a problem to the present study because our interest does not lie with the implementation or distribution of policy documents.

When studying the social practice, a variety of different elements connected to social life could be analysed. In this study gender equality will be the social factor of particular interest. The “physical discourse” of teachers’ behaviour towards girls and boys is in this study impossible to investigate. However, it is possible to demonstrate which discursive ideas and values the teachers are obliged to follow. Furthermore, we have emphasised that discourse analysis, according to Foucault and Fairclough, can be an analysis of patterns within a text which has emerged from a particular social domain. This means that an investigation of the sociocultural context of the text dimension is necessary. Such an investigation is essential to enable an awareness of the ideas that are reflected in a specific discourse. It should be mentioned that we cannot know how many or which ideas that has been reproduced in the analysis material used in the study. However it is possible to point out common values and ideas and relate those to the sociocultural context and through this procedure reveal ideas which, presumable are reproduced.

So, in order to reveal and recognise different discourses, we will reconstruct Tanzania, Kenya and Uganda’s sociocultural context. As stated, the reconstruction is pertinent to our study since this act as a basis for the analysis. This reconstruction will be carried out separately, country by country, in order for the reader to gain a satisfying overview of the context. Thereafter, the discourse analysis will follow. We will during this analysis answer the questions which have been presented systematically in connection with our aims for this study. Furthermore, our theoretical tools will be utilised in this particular procedure and we will therefore discuss more specifically how the analysis will be carried out in practise.

We have, in order to accurately distinguish significant concepts within the gender discourses, utilised Focault and Faircloughs’ definition of discourse analysis, which emphasise that concepts is a vital part of the implicit patterns in a certain social domain. We will by this approach determine values and norms that are supposed to be transmitted from state to community. An important part of the structural perspective is, according to the pedagogical perspective on discourse analysis, to determine how the relationship between state, society and individual is formulated within a given text in order to reveal how the connections between discursive practice and social practise is interrelated within the text. Finally, we have chosen to utilise Foucault and Olssons’ definitions of power in order to

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33 Jørgensen, 2000, 35-37.
distinguish which power structures and exclusion mechanisms that is embedded in the policy documents. Focus is, as mentioned, aimed on how these documents expresses how power is supposed to be practised rather then on whom may be in position to use power. We anticipate to identify certain gender discourses embedded in the policy documents by operationalise our analysis in this way and correlate the research questions. Hereafter, we will compare and contrast common themes in the policy documents. This approach will help us to determine constructed ideas regarding gender equality embedded in the discourses, and will also clarify which discursive structures within the policy documents that can be considered as significant.\textsuperscript{34}

1.3 Delimitations

In a study as comprehensive as ours, several delimitations are required in order to utilise the disparate and unwieldy material adequately. First, this study focuses solely on the policy documents adopted by Kenyan, Tanzanian and Ugandan authorities, and there will be no comparisons or correlations between these documents and others in the East African region. These particular countries have been selected for this study since the language utilised in their administration and formal educational system is English. In contrast to most other countries in the region, valid and pertinent educational policy documents are relatively easy to attain and are all written in English. In accordance, Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda share a common sociocultural and educational heritage, which derives from the British colonisation. It is therefore of significant interest to study if there are any conceptual similarities among the different gender discourses embedded in each countries policy documents.

Second, this study is generally focusing on what educational policy documents states about formal primary and secondary education in the region. Other sections of the East African educational system such as pre-primary education, vocational training programmes, tertiary education, adult illiteracy training and non-formal education is not included in our framework, albeit neither of the policy documents that has been analysed includes specific strategies on how to enhance gender equality in these educational sub-sectors.

Third, we would like to make the reader aware of that gender policies that constitutes as guidelines for the education sphere does not solely emanates from the educational documents that we have analysed. For example, in Tanzania have the Ministry of Community Development, Women and Children’s Affairs elaborated a gender policy framework that is

\textsuperscript{34} Mills, 2003, 63.
supposed to influence the entire public sector. This sector-wide approach on how to ensure gender equity in the public sector constitutes as a general policy framework for the educational system and is meant as a complement for the guidelines formulated in the educational documents.35

1.4 Material Discussion

There are great difficulties involved in the process of assessing and determine which educational policy documents or curriculums are the most recently developed and, therefore, applicative in this analysis. First, all of the countries in this study are, since the adoption of EFA, UPE and the Millennium Development programmes, in a process of redeveloping and revitalising older curriculums. Therefore, has provisional educational policy documents been developed. These documents, which conform to the policies postulated by UN organs, NGOs, foreign donors and other stakeholders will also constitute as the paradigms of future curriculums.36

Second, Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda have adopted a series of interrelated educational policy documents during the last decade and it is therefore an intricate operation to delineate how these documents are correlated, since their relation seldom are elucidated explicit.

Third, East African bureaucracy constitutes as a problem of its own. Official information that ministries and departments transmit are often ambiguous or insufficient, rendering and updated information is hard to attain and analyse. Furthermore, the relation between different ministries and other governmental organisations are complicated, since a multitude of stakeholders are involved generally in the process of policy development. In Tanzania, for example, five ministries are involved in the process of educational policy production and evaluation for the education sphere, namely the Ministry of Education and Culture, the Ministry of Science, Technology and Higher Education, the Ministry of Labour and Youth, the Ministry of Community Development, Women and Children’s Affairs. This fragmentation of institutions does, however, not allow reallocation of resources according to priorities since each ministry is responsible for its own budget planning.37

We have, in order to overcome these difficulties, selected educational policy documents for this study by using two different indicators. First, we have scrutinised the information available on the official websites of several ministries involved in educational policy

36 Murphy 2003, 2.
development in order to determine how different documents are related to each other and which one is the most relevant. Second, we have also, in cases when the information has been ambiguous or insufficient, investigated other studies of similar topics in order to distinguish which documents international reports and evaluations find significant.

In contrast to Tanzania and Uganda, Kenyan authorities are relatively informative and explicit regarding processes of educational policy development. The Kenyan ministries have adopted a sector wide approach. A common platform which engages a multitude of governmental organisations, NGOs and other stakeholders in educational planning, although the Ministry of Education, Science and Technology have the ultimate responsibility and is therefore the most influential in the implementation process. Kenyan authorities have produced relatively few educational documents which include gender policies during the last couple of years. The national action plan on education for all was adopted in 2003, however, the conclusions and stipulations in this particular document was later engrossed in the more detailed and voluminous Kenya Education Sector Support Program that was adopted in 2005. KESSP is therefore our choice of relevant educational policy document to analyse in this study. In addition, KESSP is supposed to function as a framework for Kenyan education until 2010 when new curriculums will be introduced. The main objective of KESSP is to give every Kenyan the right to quality education and training regardless of his or her socioeconomic background.

Tanzanian education policies still rely on the stipulations and principles in Tanzania education and training policy, which was adopted in 1995. However, the Tanzanian government has, since signing the Millennium Declaration, revitalised the old curriculums by the adoption of two new correlating policy documents. These supplemented documents are aimed to engross and develop the content of the former edition. For instance, UNESCO, NGOs and other stakeholders deplore that Tanzania education and training policy lacked an explicit perspective on gender inequalities and poverty eradication. The first one of these two policy documents that we will investigate is the Basic Education Master Plan. BEMP is intended to address major issues of concern in Basic education, which includes pre-primary-, primary- and non-formal education. BEMP is complemented by the Secondary Education

39 Henceforward, we will refer to the Kenyan Education Sector Support Program by using the acronym KESSP.
42 Henceforward, we will refer to the Basic Education Master Plan by using the acronym BEMP.
43 Basic Education Master Plan 2000, 7.
Master Plan regarding issues concerning secondary education, which has been adopted under the same conditions as its counterpart. These educational frameworks have been elaborated by the Ministry of Education and Culture, although the content has been reviewed by a variety of international donors and consultants.

Educational planning and implementation in Uganda is still, to a significant degree, dependent on the objectives and measures of curriculums adopted in the 1970s. However, Ugandan authorities have, since the adherence to the UPE program in 1997, been comparatively ambitious in implemented policy programs that contain educational guidelines. Major policies that followed include the Poverty Eradication Action Plan, Uganda’s Vision 2025 and the Education Strategic Investment Plan. However, gender and education related issues have a subordinate role in most of these documents, with the exception of ESIP, that solely focuses on the education system. We have therefore chosen to exclusively investigate the gender policies embedded in ESIP. The Ministry of Education and Sports is the executive agency behind this project, although Uganda, like Kenya, has adopted a sector wide approach in order to engage a multitude of UN organs, NGOs, government organisations, consulting firms and other stakeholders in the process of policy implementation. In addition, Uganda has just recently developed a new curriculum which includes strategies to cope with the directions and aims set out by UNESCO and the Millennium Development Goals. However, we have chosen to overlook this particular document in this study, since it focus solely on issues concerning primary education.

Furthermore, the literature utilised in this study mainly consists of contemporary research from the 1990s and onwards, with the exception of a few studies from the 1970, which has been valuable in order to reconstruct the sociocultural context. These studies are all composed by prominent scholars in the fields of pedagogy, geography, sociology, anthropology, history and social science. However, there are few studies made that assess and examine the most recent East African educational policy documents. We have, therefore, also utilised several reports, evaluations and studies conducted by different UN organs, consultants and governmental organisations such as the World Bank and UNESCO.

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44 Henceforward, we will refer to the Secondary Education Master Plan by using the acronym SEMP.
46 Murphy 2003, 3.
47 Henceforward, we will refer to the Education Strategic Investment Plan by using the acronym ESIP.
48 Murphy 2003, 4-5.
49 Education Strategic Investment Plan 2000, 4-5.
1.5 Disposition

In the following pages, we will reconstruct Kenya, Tanzania, and Uganda’s sociocultural context. This reconstruction will be carried out separately, country by country, in order for the reader to gain a satisfying overview of the context. To begin with, the socioeconomic development of Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda will be investigated. Hereafter, we will discuss the educational policies of these countries; focus will be aimed on the process of educational development since Independence in early 1960s. The final part of the contextual reconstruction will focus on the process of gender policy development. Furthermore, the sociocultural reconstruction will also include common regional premises such as the British colonial heritage and the Millennium Development Goals. As stated, the reconstruction is pertinent to our study since it will act as a basis for the analysis.

Thereafter, the discourse analysis of the educational policy documents will follow. We will during this analysis endeavour to answer the questions, which has been formulated in connection with our aims. The analysis will be carried out thematically, country by country, which will make it easier to distinguish similarities and differences between the documents. First, we will investigate if there are any significant gender related concepts embedded in the texts. Second, the expressed relationship between individual, state and society will be investigated. In this passage, focus will be aimed on how the process of adopting and implementing gender policies are manifested in the documents. Third, we will investigate if there are any gender related conceptions of power embedded in the documents. This part of the analysis will be carried out in accordance with the pedagogical definition of power. We will also investigate if any forms of exclusion mechanisms are reflected in the documents.

Hereafter, we will analyse and assess common themes in the policy documents. This approach will help us to distinguish constructed ideas regarding gender equality embedded in the discourses, and will also clarify which discursive structures within the policy documents that can be considered as significant. Finally, we will discuss the interrelations of these discourses and thereafter apply our conclusions on a wider international context, in order to discuss how these discourses are a part of a global educational trend.

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Mills, 2003, 63.
2. The Reconstruction of a Sociocultural Context

In order to adequately analyse the empirical material, it is necessary to reconstruct a sociocultural context, which makes up the prime empirical premise for the discourse analysis of the educational policy documents. At first, we will explicate some of the common circumstances of the different countries, focusing mainly on their cultural and colonial heritage. We will also look at conditions for the implementation of the UN millennium goal policies in the educational sectors. Second, we intend to analyse the respective countries according to three different and yet commensurable dimensions, namely socioeconomic development, education- and gender policies. These particular dimensions will form the basis of the contextual reconstruction.

2.1 Common Premises

At first, we will explicate and discuss some of the circumstances and implications of the British colonial reign in East Africa, since norms, traditions and institutions still remain relatively influential in the region. Second, we will discuss the importance of the Millennium Development Goals for education in the East African context.

2.1.1 The British cultural heritage

Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania (former Tanganyika) share a common colonial and cultural heritage, which derives from the British annexation of Eastern African coastlands in the early 1800s. These territories, were then partitioned, consolidated and formally legislated as British soil after the multilateral – but Intra-European - Berlin conference in 1885, where the “scramble for Africa” was officially initiated.\(^\text{52}\) At this point, Tanganyika\(^\text{53}\) was recognized and legitimised as a German colonial outpost, an arrangement that was to be abruptly subverted in the wake of the First World War, when the recently established League of Nations succeeded the responsibility of the protectorate, and declared it a mandatory territory under the organisations patronage. After brief deliberations, Great Britain succeeded the League of Nations as Tanganyika’s colonial governors in 1922, and the territory thereby became a British colony, in similarity with Kenya and Uganda.\(^\text{54}\)

The British institutional structure made its mark as instruments of government in these specific countries, and thus survived the convulsions associated with Kenya, Uganda and

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\(^{53}\) Former recognised as German East Africa.

Tanganyika’s struggle for independence in the early 1960s. Generally speaking, the administrative system, principles of jurisdiction, military traditions and British educational policies were preserved, albeit sometimes modified to better meet the needs of independent nations were the majority of inhabitants no longer were discriminated against and considered as inferior.\(^{55}\) In terms of education, some were adjusted to the new post-colonial society. Thus, British educational traditions such as school uniforms, the boarding school system, the curricular focus on theory rather than practice as well as gender-separated classrooms, are retained. However, the Eurocentric focus on British history was jettisoned together with other racist ideals, which had constrained Africans from participating in higher education during the years preceding the emancipation.\(^{56}\) Another remnant from East Africa’s colonial past was the prevalence of the English language as lingua franca in higher education and the administrative system. Acquaintance with the English language is almost a necessity for future white collar workers, although primary education is given in local languages.\(^{57}\)

Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania’s British cultural heritage did also manifest itself in terms of its social structure and governmental administration. When British settlers established their supremacy over the region in the wake of the Berlin conference, they seldom interfered with the traditional tribalism, thus were the local chieftains permitted to continue the ruling of their demarcated domains as long as they accepted the ordinations carried out by the British administration. African natives kept most of their municipal freedom, although their colonial masters saw little or no reason to educate the majority of Africans.\(^{58}\) Consequently, very few natives have had the opportunity to learn administrative and theoretical skills, which were essential fundaments in the harsh process of nation building. The prevalence of illiteracy and tribalism was thus immense predicaments, that the newly established governmental structures were forced to overcome.

Furthermore, Great Britain’s resignation of colonial supremacy was not the end of its influence in the region, since their economic interest maintained intact. Consequently, British leverage was alternating from political domination into a neo-colonial economic stronghold. These bonds between the newly independent states and the former mother country were in fact tightened on an economic level, and the region remained within the British Commonwealth.\(^{59}\) In general, the process of nation-building in East Africa was in fact a

\(^{55}\) Cornell 2004, 147.
\(^{57}\) Anderson, 6-7.
\(^{58}\) Cornell 2004, 147-145.
\(^{59}\) Anderson, 87-88.
result of the globalisation of European nationalism. Thus were the embryos of African nationalism ideological products that the colonial powers indirect carried with them to the continent, although they never intentionally sow the seeds to modern nationalism. However, the emergence of indigenous African intellectual elite, educated in Europe, conformed the concept of European nationalism to the African context and used its intrinsic subversive powers to crack the foundations of colonialism. The prime challenge for the newly independent East African states was not to transform or dethrone most of the British colonial norms and institutions, but rather to ameliorate and accommodate them to the modified socioeconomic context.

2.1.2 The millennium development goals in an African context

In 2000, the leaders and heads of state of 189 countries signed the Millennium Declaration, which set a series of targets for global action against poverty by 2015. The Millennium Development Goals are the result of this process. The MDGs, ceremoniously avowed to be implemented in all signatory states, were in fact elaborated after alarming information concerning increasing poverty and socioeconomic morass in predominately Sub-Saharan countries and the former Soviet Union. Thus was the Millennium Declaration principally a substantial approach towards an action plan aimed to benefit countries in the Third World. On the agenda, were eight different and yet interrelated quantitative tasks. The declaration emphasise that governments, with the assistance of NGOs and concerned UN organs, should implement the policies in the civic sphere, and inform the public on a grass root level about their essence and relevance.

Our prime intention is to highlight the third Millennium Goal, which stipulates that each signatory state ought to promote gender equality and the empowerment of woman. This particular objective has made a tremendous difference on the elaboration process of educational policy documents and the aims for the profession, especially in Sub-Saharan Africa. Intrinsically, the promotion of gender equality infers that signatory states should work

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60 Lönneborg 1999, 21.
61 Henceforward, we will refer to the Millennium Development Goals using the acronym MDG.
63 Millennium Development Goals 2006, 4-6. Goal number one concerns the eradication of extreme poverty and hunger. Goal number two; the achievement of universal primary education. Goal number three; the promotion of gender equality and the empowerment of woman. Goal number four; the reduction of child mortality. Goal number five; Improvement of maternal health. Goal number six; the combat against HIV/AIDS, malaria, and other pandemic diseases. Goal number seven; to ensure environmental sustainability. Finally, goal number eight, which is intended to promote the development of a global partnership for development.
64 Millennium Development Goals 2006, 2.
towards the complete elimination of gender disparity in primary and secondary education by 2005, and in all levels of education by 2015. Off course, this ambitious target cannot be implemented successfully in economic underprivileged African countries such as Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania without implications on the current educational practise, norms and policies. In fact, the reassessment of former curriculums in these states has much to do with the embracement of the Millennium Goals. All signatory states have been obligated to develop national and regional strategies in order to remove impediments against gender equity, and to promote institutional cooperation in order to eradicate structural biases against woman.

According to the Millennium Declaration, task number three, advocating the elimination of gender disparities, will be successful only when an equal amount of boys and girls gets enrolled in primary, secondary and hopefully even tertiary education. In the long run, Development Goal number three also emphasise that an increasing number of seats in the national parliaments should be held by woman. Thus, a radical gender equality reform in the educational sector is aimed to precede a corresponding change on a governmental and administrative level. Education is thus viewed upon as a mean for woman to challenge conventional male prerogatives. These specific stipulations are vital in the African context, though women only constitute for 13 per cent of the elected or appointed representatives in the Sub-Saharan national parliaments.

Development Goal number three exclusively consists of gender equality objectives, which explains its importance for this study. This does not mean that we are solely going to focus on the reinforcement of this particular Goal. Progress towards one goal affects progress towards others. The success of the implementation of goal number three is therefore dependent on the success of the implementation of other goals. The complex interrelationships of the implementation processes of all the Goals are especially apparent in the context of Development Goal number two, regarding the achievement of universal primary education. This particular goal stipulates that countries should ensure that boys and girls alike will be able to complete a full course of primary schooling by 2015. Development Goal number two is thus permeated with gender-related aims and will therefore be discussed later in the analysis, although in this context, it is subordinate to Development Goal number three.

69 Gender and the Millennium Development Goals 2005, 10.
The Millennium Declaration’s great influence on East African social structures, governmental institutions and educational policies cannot be overestimated. However, the MDGs gender perspective has been the subject of fierce criticism, particularly from a feminist point of view. The quintessence of this critic is that visions and values regarding women’s empowerment have been translated into a series of quantified and technical goals to be implemented by the very actors and institutions that have blocked their realisation in the past. Furthermore, these critics argue that the MDGs do not take action against patriarchal structures in society, qualitative aspects of gender equality is thus absent in the schemes. The declaration does not mention anything about reproductive rights, violence against women or unjust misogynist laws.\textsuperscript{70} Despite their importance in the struggle towards eradication of poverty, it is already quite obvious that most of the MDGs are unlikely to be reached within their specified time-frames.\textsuperscript{71}

\section*{2.2 Contextual Practises}

Our intention is to reconstruct a sociocultural context from three separate, and yet correlated premises. These premises consist of, as mentioned earlier, the socioeconomic development, education- and gender policies. Each country will be examined separately.

\subsection*{2.2.1 Socioeconomic development}

This passage, which constitutes as a component in the contextual reconstruction, will explicate the socioeconomic development in each country. We will focus on progression and setbacks since the Independence in the early 1960s.

\subsection*{2.2.1.1 Kenya}

In contrast to Uganda and Tanzania, Kenya’s fertile pastoral regions attracted a significant amount of English settlers, and also an important minority of Asian labour.\textsuperscript{72} In general, English colonists excluded the indigenous population from most of the cultivable lands, and introduced cash-crop agriculture, mainly coffee, which still holds sway as the most vital component in Kenya’s monocultural economy.\textsuperscript{73} A nationalist liberation movement was initiated in the early 1940s, generally led by native Kenyans educated in Great Britain. The resentment between the white colonists and the black rebellions was exacerbating in 1952,  

\textsuperscript{70} Gender and the Millennium Development Goals 2005, 38-39.  
\textsuperscript{73} Governance and politics in Africa 1992, 178-179.
when the so-called Mau-Mau movement initiated a full-scale war against white farmers, causing thousands of victims on both sides. Eventually, the British government came to the conclusion that further repression and warfare was pointless, and therefore agreed to negotiations and reconciliation.\textsuperscript{74}

Political opposition to British supremacy had initially been organised along ethnic divisions. In the first general election, which was held in 1963, KANU\textsuperscript{75} and its leader Jomo Kenyatta was declared victorious. Kenyatta and his closest party members represented Kenya’s largest ethnic group, the Kikuyu, and KANU was soon accused of discrimination and to benefit Kikuyu interests at the cost of others.\textsuperscript{76} Nevertheless, Kenyatta proclaimed Kenya an independent republic in 1964. The opposition was forced to join hands with the ruling party shortly after Independence, consequently Kenya, nominally a democracy, became a one-party state. The freedom of conscience was however never fully restricted, thus, the media were permitted to criticise the policies of the ruling party. While Kenyattas Kenya was not democratic, it was nonetheless a relatively open and flexible system, with multiple centres of power and accountability at the local and regional levels.\textsuperscript{77} Essentially, the main purpose of Kenyatta’s socioeconomic policies was to prevent or avert separatist tendencies with the instruments of centralisation and nationalism.\textsuperscript{78} The newly established government struggled to achieve reconciliation with their former British masters, consequently relatively few white colonists left Kenya, and instead they remained in office, generally as white collar workers or large-scale farmers.\textsuperscript{79}

Kenya endeavoured to adjust its emerging national economy to the rules of the world market; the embracement of market economic policies made Kenya an anomaly in the Eastern African context. The Government encouraged foreign investors with tax alleviations, low-cost labour forces and political stability, making Kenya a paradise for Westerner tourist and venture capitalists. However, state-owned industries and enterprises coexisted with large-scale foreign capital, and domestic investments were imposed governmental restrictions and regulations, thus were the national economy not entirely guided by the rules of the international market economy. Kenya experienced a great economic development during the 1960s and early 70s, despite the lack of natural resources, when GNP was rising with more

\textsuperscript{74} Mellquist, Homström 1986, 33.
\textsuperscript{75} Kenya African National Union.
\textsuperscript{76} Närman 1995, 99-101.
\textsuperscript{77} Governance and politics in Africa 1992, 175.
\textsuperscript{78} Governance and politics in Africa 1992, 171. Generally, Kenyatta ended his speeches and written ordinations with the lapidary buzzwords “in the interest of the national unity”.
\textsuperscript{79} Mellquist, Homström 1986, 34.
than 6.3 per cent per annum. However, the regional differences were enormous and the wealth was generally accumulated in the urban areas of the midland, leaving rural and pastoral regions almost without any economic gain. Urbanisation became an increasing social problem when thousands of Kenyan farmers left their villages with the anticipation to find employment in the rapid growing cities, usually with the result of increased poverty, criminality and alienation. Another major socioeconomic obstacle was the high level of nativity, causing Kenya the highest birth-rate in the world during the decades preceding year 2000. Consequently, over half of the population is at present time under 15 years old, which has made most of the economic gains disposable.

Jomo Kenyatta died of natural causes in 1978, and was succeeded by Daniel Moi, who was commencing his reign by challenging the Kikuyus political stronghold through repressive methods. Kenya experienced a significant socioeconomic decline during the first decades of President Mois government. Unemployment rates were rising in devastating proportions, while foreign debt was grossly exceeding former limitations and the currency was plummeting. These specific economic shortcomings was a result of the dramatic rise in the price of imported oil during the late 1970s and the end of the world coffee boom in 1979, causing an immense recession for the export industry. The situation was exacerbating when President Moi constrained the freedom of conscience and manipulated national elections in order to disarm regional opposition, causing ethnoregional subversions and an immense level of administrative corruption.

Kenyas economic deterioration forced President Moi to implement structural adjustment programmes elaborated and issued by the World Bank. These programmes urged the government to privatise most parastatals, whether profitable or not, and to reduce public spending, consequently, fees for higher education, healthcare and public transportation was risen considerably, and thereby worsening the regional economic diversification. The continuing violence against Human Rights deprived Kenya from most of the foreign aid in 1990, which had constituted as a vital contribution to the limbering economy up until this point.

However, after pressure from the UN, foreign donors and important NGOs; President Moi was forced to sanction the first general multi-party election since the declaration of Independence in 2002. The Presidents long tenure came to an end, and he resigned peacefully.

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80 Närman 1995, 89.
82 Eastern and Southern Africa 2004, 75.
83 Närman 1995, 106.
The election was won by KADU\textsuperscript{84} and its protagonist Mwai Kibaki, who promised to reduce poverty and to combat corruption. Kibaki's initial tenure was disturbed by political instability and ethnoregional convulsions, although the President strived to re-establish the former bonds between Kenya and the international society, in order to revitalise the Kenyan economy.

In conclusion, Kenya has perpetually been under strong influence of global interest. This has passed through a number of phases including direct colonial rule and multinational investments, to a stage in which the World Bank and IMF representatives exercise an influential role. It is obvious that the formal and informal links established between Kenya and its former colonial masters have remained largely intact, or taken new neo-colonial forms and patterns.\textsuperscript{85}

2.2.1.2 Tanzania

In contrast to Kenya, Tanganyika experienced a relatively tranquil process towards Independence, mainly because of Britain’s meagre economic interest in the country and the diminutive amount of colonist resident within its borders. Tanganyika’s national movement, TANU\textsuperscript{86}, was established in the 1950s and led by a former school teacher, Julius Nyerere,\textsuperscript{87} who had been educated in Britain. TANU received massive support from the indigenous African populace, especially in the socioeconomic neglected rural areas of the country, and initiated deliberations with the colonial regime. Britain agreed, although reluctantly, to grant Tanganyika Independence in 1961. Nyerere won the first general presidential election with an astonishing 97 per cent of the votes. At the same time was a violent revolution taking place on the nearby island monarchy of Zanzibar, in which the reigning sultan was overthrown by the Marxist influenced Afro-Shirazi Party. Soon after the revolution, Zanzibar joined hands with TANU and ratified the newly founded unity by proclaiming the amalgam state of Tanzania in 1964\textsuperscript{88}, and by merging the two political parties into the unified revolutionary party – Chama cha Mapinduzi (CCM). However, the government of Zanzibar kept its political and economic autonomy to a significant extent.\textsuperscript{89}

\textsuperscript{84} Kenyan African Democratic Union.
\textsuperscript{85} Närman 1995, 120-121.
\textsuperscript{86} Tanganyika African National Union.
\textsuperscript{87} In fact, the Swahili word “Mwalimu”, meaning teacher, was the only honorary title that Julius Nyerere ever accepted for himself.
\textsuperscript{88} Bigsten, Danielsson 2001, 17. This particular arrangement was forced upon the newly installed government by US authorities, in order to prevent Zanzibar from transforming into an “African Cuba”.
\textsuperscript{89} Lindhe 1999, 62-63. The United Republic of Tanzania consists of mainland Tanzania and Zanzibar. Both have their own educational system. Whenever Tanzania is mentioned here in an educational, political or gender related context, it indicates mainland Tanzania only.
Nyerere were convinced that a multi-party system was going to undermine the central authorities, and reinforce traditional tribalism and inter-ethnic conflict. Thus, Tanzania was soon after Independence proclaimed a one-party state. TANU adopted a political agenda which endeavoured to introduce African socialism in Tanzania. Self-reliance became the watchword for this form of experimental socialism, which characteristics was expressed in various ways, including the willingness to exist without foreign aid; non-alignment with the great world powers; the Africanization of the labour force, as well as large investments in rural development.\(^90\)

During the years following Independence, Nyerere and his proselytes transformed the very fundamentals of Tanzania’s social, political and economic structures in several ways. The first objective was to endeavour an elimination of the inherited colonial system of politically autonomous ethnoregional chieftains, which existence fomented the influence of tribalism and inhibited governmental jurisdiction. This process of destroying former ethnic bases of power became very successful, and was reinforced by the villagization process in the early 1970s, when administrative units which had once been the realms of relatively autonomous chieftains were broken up into smaller entities. These particular entities was organised according to the somewhat ambiguous belief of an Arcadian pre-colonial African family paragon; meaning that people shared life, work and burdens equally and collectively. This system of decentralised organisation has been known as the *Ujamaa*; a Swahili word referring to the extended family.\(^91\)

Second, was the *Arusha* declaration in 1967, which became a watershed in Tanzanian political and economic history. The party was endeavouring to nationalise all major financial, commercial and manufacturing companies. The state was thus trying to expand its presence by increasing social services, the number of parastatals, and the size of the bureaucracy. These measures were, according to the maxim of self-reliance, meant to liberate Tanzania from neo-colonial influences.\(^92\) Third, was the systematic undermining of local political and economic organisations throughout the early 1970s. The authorities insisted on that all civic projects and voluntary organisations were to be set under governmental control, while the operations of international NGOs was illiberally regulated and supervised by party incumbents.\(^93\)

Government policies were successful in providing social services for the majority of Tanzanians; most children and adolescents were guaranteed participation in primary

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\(^{90}\) Lönnberg 1999, 155-157.
\(^{91}\) Lönnberg 1999, 216-220.
\(^{92}\) Bigsten, Danielsson 2001, 15.
\(^{93}\) Governance and politics in Africa 1992, 231.
education and medical treatment were of comparatively good standard and relatively accessible. However, Tanzania entered a period of fiscal crisis and economic stagnation during the mid 1970s, mainly caused by external circumstances such as the oil price hikes and the end of the world coffee boom in 1979. Consequently, more then 60 per cent of the export incomes were being used for oil imports and the immense budget defiance were covered by foreign aid. Furthermore, real wages fell by 83 per cent between 1974 and 1988, causing urban dwellers to pursue a variety of survival strategies, including migration from urban centres to rural communities, were economic autarky became the principle way of living.

President Nyerere's resignation in 1985 pawned the way for a more liberal socioeconomic policy including devaluation and import liberalisation. His successor, Ali Hasan Mwinyi, was reluctantly agreeing on reforming the economy and administration in accordance with the stipulations of the World Bank and IMF. The adoption of these structural adjustment programmes meant that the visions and values of African socialism were finally jettisoned. Several reforms and austerity measures was carried out during the years following Nyerere's defection, including significant cut-downs in the size of the immoderate bureaucracy; downsizing of the public sector, closing or selling of loss-making parastatals; the introduction of school fees, as well as the abolishment of government regulations on trade and corporations. Moreover, IMF and the World Bank were also imposing CCM to initiate pluralistic reforms, guarantee the freedom of conscience and to liquidate its monopoly of political power. Consequently, new forms of local participation were emerging and NGOs were once again establishing linkages with the government, replacing the predominance of regulatory relations between the state and the grassroots.

Multi-party elections were finally sanctioned by the government in 1991. National elections have subsequently been held in 1995 and 2000, both of which have been won by CCMs candidate Benjamin Mkapa. However, CCM was accused of electoral fraud by the opposition and international inspectors were expressing concern regarding the reliability of the outcomes. The political disappointment emerged into religious and interethnic convulsions, especially between different Muslim fractions, in the late 1990s. Nevertheless, the economy has gradually been recovering during the last couple of years, although Tanzania still remains

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95 Mellquist, Homström 1986, 54. This dependency on foreign aid reach an all time high in 1982 when more then 80 % of government expenditures was paid by foreign donors.
96 Governance and politics in Africa 1992, 223.
98 Bigsten, Danielsson 2001, 89.
dependent on foreign aid to fully cover the immense budget defiance. On the other hand, the process of dismantling parastatals and the reliance on NGOs and foreign capital has increased the diversifications of regional economic growth, leaving some rural and pastoral areas of the country in recession.\textsuperscript{100}

\subsection*{2.2.1.3 Uganda}

In contrast to Kenya and Tanzania, Uganda’s post-colonial history has been permeated by various ethnic and religious\textsuperscript{101} subversions, wars and humanitarian atrocities. The Independent nation of Uganda inherited a grossly tribalistic structure of administration from the British colonial government. The European population in Uganda has always been relatively small, therefore, were British authorities not to reluctant in granting Uganda Independence in 1962. The British colonial regime had, during the years preceding Independence, favoured the King of Buganda more then leaders of other tribes. Bugandan authorities self-proclaimed their institutions and administration as the nexus of the nation, which caused resentment and aversion in other regions of the country.\textsuperscript{102} However, Bugandan political supremacy was challenged by the opposition, mainly emanating from various underprivileged tribes in the northern areas of Uganda. In 1966 were the prime minister and leader of UPC,\textsuperscript{103} Milton Obote, initiating a coup, which abruptly putted an end to Bugandas political stronghold, since the \textit{kabaka}\textsuperscript{104} himself was deposed.\textsuperscript{105}

Milton Obote and UPC was fervent to agitate for national unity, a proclamation in 1970 simultaneously legislated Uganda as a one-party state and forced all other parties to dissolve their operations, these undemocratic actions were all ratified in the interest of “national cohesion”. However, UPC was in fact exploiting ethnic, racial and religious division, by grossly benefiting their collaborators in northern Uganda. In time, Obotes regime became increasingly corrupt and repressive, making public discontents arise because of economic recession and famine. Consequently, the government was left aidless when Obotes former Army Chef Idi Amin initiated a coup d’état in 1971.\textsuperscript{106}

\textsuperscript{100} Bigsten, Danielsson 2001, 30-33.
\textsuperscript{101} Musiri 1997, 41. During the phase of colonisation, missionaries representing many different cultures, denominations and religions were fighting over the souls of the indigenous people. Therefore, has Uganda transformed into a nation of religious heterogeneity. Most Ugandans confess themselves to either Protestantism or the Roman-Catholic Church, although Muslim denominations are common in the war stricken regions in the north.
\textsuperscript{102} Musiri 1997, 37-38.
\textsuperscript{103} Uganda People Congress. The party was originally representing the interest of the protestant population.
\textsuperscript{104} The title on the King of Buganda.
\textsuperscript{106} Musiri 1997, 46-48.
Under Amin's violent tenure as President, Uganda entered an onerous phase of “general predation”. Government jurisdiction became increasingly arbitrary, the legislation process was repellently capricious and the institutions were decaying. Furthermore, government institutions and incumbents was aiming on parasitize on society rather then encourage the development and allocation of public services. One of many herostratic policies that the Amin regime realised was the expulsion of all Ugandan citizen of Asian ancestry. This action rendered more then 200 000 people stateless and impoverished, since the regime confiscated all of their properties and funds.\footnote{Landguiden.se 14/05-2008. The ancestors to these refugees was symbolically compensated and reinvited to Uganda by President Musevani in 1991.}

Tanzanian troops were finally able to dethrone the usurper in 1979, after Amin, as mentioned above, unsuccessfully tried to invade Tanzania. The Tanzanian military reinstalled the ex-president Milton Obote in office.\footnote{Davidson (1991) 2001, 169.} However, Obotes second tenure as president became just as infamous as the previous one. Economic recession, corruption, poverty and national unrest was threatening to balkanise the country, and the President fomented these subversive structures by demonstratively discriminate religious and ethnic fractions that collaborated with the opposition. After years of divisive inter-ethnic conflicts and civil war was Obote finally deposed in 1986 by the National Resistance Movement (NRM), and its leader Yoweri Museveni.\footnote{Musiri 1997, 174.}

NRM consolidated power by offering several of the old and previously banned political parties, who represented the interest of religious and ethnical minorities, representation and influence in a joint government. Uganda was nominally a non-party state, although NRMs political stronghold made the country a one-party state in reality. The government commenced an ambitious process of rebuilding and reassesses decayed governance institutions, cut-down the oversize bureaucracy and decentralise decision-making.\footnote{Davidson (1991) 2001, 211.} Perhaps NRM:s most successful effort to increase local participation and institutional accountability came soon after Independence when local councils were given a measure of autonomy and an increased amount of resources. These locally elected bodies main functions is to promote public involvement in maintaining security; planning and implementing development plans; carrying out judicial functions, as well as overseeing the provision of educational-, medical-
and water facilities. This policy has encouraged a form of local-level democracy and reduced the governmental expenses on civil services.\textsuperscript{111}

Regarding the economic development, Uganda constitutes as an anomaly in the African context, since the government has been eager to adopt, and successful in implementing several structural adjustment programs. The economic recovery began in 1987, and since then has the average growth been more than 6 per cent per annum. This development is more impressive considering Uganda’s former monocultural dependency on coffee; a dangerous circumstance that struck several neighbouring countries with economic recession in the late 1970s, due to the plummeting prices on the international market. Thus, Uganda has been considered an uncommon African economic “success story”, although a large amount of the economic prosperity is dependent on external capital and generous foreign donors.\textsuperscript{112}

Moreover, many inherited debts have been written off by IMF, the World Bank and international contributors in order to stimulate economic liberalisation policies and to encourage the government to proceed with the process of institutional reform.\textsuperscript{113}

Uganda’s economic policies and cordial cooperation with different UN organs and other international stakeholders has thus been fairly successful. However, many socioeconomic problems persist. The civil war and inter-ethnic convulsions have proceeded and exacerbated since 1986, in spite of the economic achievements. Rebellions are located to northern Uganda in particular, where insurgences receive material and pecuniary support from Sudan. Pressure from the World Bank and foreign donors resulted in the return of multi-party elections in 2001, although this reform and other policy measures to increase democratisation has not resulted in any form of sincere deliberations or pacification of the insurgency.\textsuperscript{114} Furthermore, NGOs and the press have faced increased efforts from the government to monitor their activities. Several ministry boards have been given the legitimacy to revoke, register and certificate medical bodies and NGOs. These increased tendencies of government regulation measures have been condemned by the UN and foreign investors.\textsuperscript{115}

\textsuperscript{111} Tripp 2000, 65-66.
\textsuperscript{112} Eastern and Southern Africa 2004, 76. The government was reporting in 1998 that 49 % of the budget was covered by external support. This support financed about 80 % of public investment.
\textsuperscript{113} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{114} Landguiden 2008.
\textsuperscript{115} Tripp 2000, 59-61.
2.2.2 Educational policies

In this passage, we focus mainly on the process of educational development in Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda since Independence in the early 1960s. Progression and setbacks are going to be highlighted, as well as the structure of the current educational system.

2.2.2.1 Kenya

Kenyan formal education is organised according to the 8-4-4 principle, implying that regular primary education last eight years and secondary, as well as tertiary education, last four years each. The Kenyan primary education has experienced a tremendous quantitative expansion since the Independence in 1964; the net primary enrolment was less then 30 per cent of the relevant age group during the years fallowing Independence, compared to just over 90 per cent today.\(^{116}\) Currently, more then 9 million children and teenagers are participating in primary education in contrast to less then 500 000 in 1964, although the problems of school-leavers persists as a major source of concern.\(^{117}\) This particular predicament is interrelated with the strong emphasises on the CPE examination,\(^{118}\) a single graduating test in the end of primary school, which determines whether a student gets authorized to apply for secondary education or not. This multiplier-choice test, which is formulated in English, emanates from the conservative academic environment in early twentieth century Cambridge University. Consequently, the CPE examination have been criticised for its narrow academic approach, and because it seems to emphasise repetitive studies and memorisation rather than experience or actual understanding.\(^{119}\) The process of enrolment into tertiary education follows a similar pattern, since students are required to attend a competitive KCE examination,\(^{120}\) which determines whoever gets first in line for university studies.\(^{121}\)

In accordance with the MDGs, primary education became completely free of charges in 2002. However, the occurrence of secondary education is generally dependent on substantial fees in order to function properly. This particular condition has been a major source of concern, since girls and students from socioeconomic underdeveloped regions has been

\(^{117}\) National action plan on education for all 2003, 27. More then 40 % of the enrolled students never finish primary education. Most of these school-leavers are girls.
\(^{118}\) Närman 1995, 166-167.
\(^{119}\) Anderson 1970, 152.
\(^{120}\) Kenyan Certificate of Education.
\(^{121}\) Närman 1995, 170. This constitutes as a major problem because less then 7 % of the population attends tertiary education.
neglected education, due to their parents’ inability to pay for school fees. Consequently, less than 20 per cent of the relevant age group enters secondary education and the rates of school-leavers remains on a disturbingly high level. Great efforts has been made by NGOs, religious organisations and international donors to supply underprivileged teenagers with scholarships and other concessions in order to make secondary education available despite their poverty.\textsuperscript{122}

Another domestic feature of the post-colonial Kenyan educational system is the prevalence of Harambee schools. Harambee was initially a form of political concept, meaning self-reliance, which encouraged private interests, development organisations and other stakeholders to provide and finance social welfare in rural communities, without the interference from central and regional authorities. The construction and staffing of primary and secondary schools, health clinics and local water systems was originally accounted for most of the self-help activities.\textsuperscript{123} These Harambee schools became an important and innovative factor in the Kenyan educational system in the 1960s, especially in the underdeveloped rural and pastoral regions where more then 90 per cent of the pupils attends Harambee schools.\textsuperscript{124}

However, Harambee is presently linked to huge official meetings presided over by some leading politician. Money is collected for some specific project or some general objective, such as all the schools in the district. For the mere political survival it is important to be linked to as many Harambee projects as possible. Consequently, the proliferation of Harambee schools has been an important quantitative supplement to regular government financed education, although political abuse of the concept has inhibited the development of qualitative aspects of education. Harambee schools have therefore a significant lower level of educational standard, record and reputation then ordinary financed schools. This constitutes as a severe problem, since most Harambee students does not qualify for secondary or tertiary education, because of poor results on the CPE and KCE.\textsuperscript{125} This particular predicament persists and aggravates due to the lack of educated English teachers. Consequently, more then half of Kenya’s Harambee schools has to be financially aided by the government in order to meet the qualitative requirements of education stipulated in the national policy documents. The prevalence of Harambee schools has thus exacerbated the already regionally heterogeneous quality of Kenyan education.\textsuperscript{126}

\textsuperscript{122} National action plan on education for all 2003, 28.
\textsuperscript{123} Anderson 1970, 151-153.
\textsuperscript{124} National action plan on education for all 2003, 65.
\textsuperscript{125} Närman 1995, 171-173.
\textsuperscript{126} Eshiwani 1990, 18.
During Kenya’s colonial epoch, education was organised along racial divisions, in order to prepare each specific fraction for their supposedly predestined role in society, and to segregate them from each other. The post-colonial government has therefore been struggling to reform and develop curriculums and other educational policy documents in order to jettison inherent fallacies and to stimulate the growth of a national conscience. Africanisation and nationalisation of education became the key concepts of this process, although rigid curriculums and colonial structures largely remained intact or were changed in a slow pace. The great educational reforms of 1985, that includes the implementation of the 8-4-4 system, were initiated in order to adjust inequity and disparities within the educational structure. The assessment and revaluation of former policy documents changed the very foundations of formal education. Consequently, in order to regulate education to better serve the needs of the national economy, the traditional British emphasis on theoretical knowledge was altering in favour of a perspective that encouraged students to learn technical and vocational skills.

The independent government’s educational policy-making had to face and overcome immense impediments. First, the rapid pace of social change had exacerbated and in some perspectives almost institutionalised inequalities between race, tribe and region. Thus was the quality of education and school facilities altering through the country, and the ambitious expansion of the formal education system left some areas unrecognised. Second, were the economic constraints on educational development. The government lacked the capital, experience and reliable statistics that were needed in order to allocate necessary resources to retarded sectors and locations. The alarming increase in population has been threatening to render the rather successful quantitative extension of primary and secondary education into failure, since the sizes of classes has increased dramatically. Furthermore, the main feature of the post-colonial Kenyan education has been “linear expansion” rather than structural reform of the inherent system. Third, was the cynical exploitation of formal education by some politicians in order to mobilise a dependent platform for the opportunistic purpose of

127 Anderson 1970, 147.
128 Eshiwani 1990, 14-15. Kenyan universities have protested against these measurements, though tertiary education follows British patterns. Kenyan universities is thus separated from the state and accustomed to verify the educational content without any external interference. Traditionally, British universities accentuate theoretical studies rather than vocational skills.
129 Anderson 1970, 146.
130 Närman 1995, 207. More then 80 students in one classroom is ordinary rather then exceptional. The lack of material resources such as books has a constraining effect on the capabilities of the schools, especially in the rural areas of the country.
stimulating support for party electioneering campaigns.\textsuperscript{132} The geographer Anders Närman concludes his assessment of the Kenyan educational system with the following remark:

The conclusion that educational development follows the general socioeconomic trends closely, still stands. A pattern of spatial inequalities, in education, left by the colonial powers has changed marginally during the first decades after Independence. There seems to be no actual government determination to create greater national equality and coherence. Attempts being made to level out some of the most obvious inequalities could be a mere token recognition of a popular pressure from below, or a need to gain political support. It might be in response to an often repeated demand from external donors on Kenya to achieve a more equal spatial balance, as well. In addition to this, when the educational sector needs are put into confrontation with economic realities, schooling will find itself to play second fiddle.\textsuperscript{133}

\textbf{2.2.2.2 Tanzania}

In Tanzania, primary school is seven years long and compulsory, although only 90 per cent of the relevant age group was enrolled 2003. However, Tanzanian primary education has experienced a tremendous quantitative expansion during the last decades, since the adherence to the UPE program in 1974, which assured that primary schools were within walking distances from each household. Thus, the overall enrolment has increased considerably, and now comprehends the vast majority of the population.\textsuperscript{134} In order to attend secondary education, students most receive a certificate of recognition by passing final exams, conceived on the same principles as the Kenyan CFE. Average results on these examinations have been a source of grave concern, since only half of the students pass approvingly.\textsuperscript{135}

Primary education follows by public or private secondary school for four years. This education can be supplied by two years of upper secondary schooling, which is a requirement in order to be co-opted into tertiary education. Less than 10 per cent of the relevant age group attends any form of secondary education, girls constitutes as a particularly underprivileged group in this context.\textsuperscript{136} The length of tertiary education alters between three and five years depending on program and university character. Swahili constitutes as the mandatory

\textsuperscript{132} Anderson 1970, 146.
\textsuperscript{133} Närman 1995, 213.
\textsuperscript{134} The Leap to equality: EFA Global Monitoring Report 2003, 300-301. However, the prevalent problem of school-leavers has increased; between 20-30 \% of the enrolled students never graduate.
\textsuperscript{135} Gender and primary schooling in Tanzania 1997, 169-170. The realisation of these examinations is interrelated with levels of repetition. Teachers tend to spend a significant amount of time on rehearsals and repetition, while regular education is neglected.
\textsuperscript{136} Gender and primary schooling in Tanzania 1997, 18-20.
language of education in primary school, whereas students are obligated to utilise English in secondary and tertiary education.

After Independence in 1961, the government of Tanzania considered education as the most important tool for changing society into a socialist state, independent of foreign aid. Thus was guiding concepts like Ujamma, self-reliance and national unity implemented in curriculums and policy documents. The importance of self-reliance was reinforced by the emphasis on vocational skills and pedagogical concepts such as “learning by doing” rather than conventional academic studies. The immediate policy changes introduced a unified system of education under which all students irrespective of race, colour, religion, ethnicity or geographical origin was able to go to school together.

However, implications of the fiscal crisis during the 1980s somewhat reversed the successful achievements of primary school expansion. Structural adjustment policies suggested by IMF and the World Bank, such as the adoption of fees in primary education and the dismantling of public services exacerbated the decline of Tanzanian education. Great efforts have been made during the last decade to reconstruct the educational system, and to achieve universal primary education.

Demands and petitions from international donors, the World Bank, NGOs and other stakeholders have influenced the central authorities to reform institutions and administrative routines. The ownership and management of schools are no longer the monopoly of the government. In 1986, the government allowed communities, religious organisations and NGOs to start and operate private secondary schools. Consequently, the number of private secondary schools is now exceeding the number of public administrated secondary schools. There are great concerns regarding these circumstances since private schools obtain more pecuniary and physical resources; these measures have thus worsening the inequalities in the educational system.

137 Brock-Utne 2002, 26-27. The adoption and implementation of Swahili as the medium of instruction in primary school was initially a political policy aimed to endorse national unity. President Nyerere saw the academic emphasis on English as a disuniting remain from the colonial past, which could enlarge regional and ethnical diversifications.
139 Lindhe 1999, 70-71.
141 Gender and primary schooling in Tanzania 1997, 147-148. In the 1990s, was also rules regarding the establishment and management of primary schools and teacher educations liberalised. However, these stakeholders must provide education in accordance with the national education policy, and also adhere to established government regulations for operating schools. The perception of some parents that pupils only learn in tuition classes, suggests that a mushrooming of disorganised private primary and secondary schools may occur.
142 Gender and primary schooling in Tanzania 1997, 9.
international and national stakeholders resulted in a revising of earlier curriculums and a new policy program was introduced in 1995. The general aims and objectives of this particular document emphasised vocational training, environmental studies, focus on gender equality and the development of national identity and self-conscience, among others.\textsuperscript{143} Furthermore, Tanzania was encouraged to abolish the prevalence of fees for primary education in 2001, which resulted in an increased enrolment, although the cost of school uniforms and materials persist as a major impediment for higher enrolment rates, since many parents, especially in the rural areas of the country, can’t afford such additional expenditures.\textsuperscript{144}

Great improvements have been accomplished in the educational sector during the last decade, although many problems still persists and exacerbates. The HIV/AIDS pandemic, for instance, has made a far worse impact on Tanzania then any other East African country. There are currently more then one million victims contaminated with either HIV or AIDS. Consequently, children and adolescents are forced to quit school due to infection, and girls are prohibited from attending education, since they are needed at home in order to nurture contaminated relatives.\textsuperscript{145} Furthermore, the quality of education has diminished, due to the overwhelming quantitative extension; children are still leaving primary school completely illiterate and many lessons must be held outdoors, since the prevalent facilities are insufficient.\textsuperscript{146} The immense and widening inequalities in primary and secondary education between urban and rural areas of the country is another major source of concern, although UNICEF and a various NGOs has made great efforts in providing previously discriminated groups, such as girls and poor rural students, with scholarship and financial grants in order to endorse their participation in secondary education.\textsuperscript{147} In addition, depending on the economic stagnation, Tanzanian government spends less then 5 per cent of the national income on education, and more then 90 per cent of the education budget makes up by teacher salaries.\textsuperscript{148}

\textbf{2.2.2.3 Uganda}

It exist no form of compulsory school attendance policies in Uganda and less then 85 per cent of the relevant age group was enrolled in primary education in 2005. However, these numbers are quite remarkably considering the educational deterioration during the 1970s. Uganda has

\textsuperscript{143}Tanzania education and training policy 1995, 3-7.
\textsuperscript{144}Gender and primary schooling in Tanzania 1997, 141.
\textsuperscript{145}Gender and primary schooling in Tanzania 1997, 143.
\textsuperscript{146}Gender and primary schooling in Tanzania 1997, 6.
\textsuperscript{147}Gender and primary schooling in Tanzania 1997, 19.
\textsuperscript{148}Lindhe 1999, 87. In contrast to Kenya, where education constitutes for more then 20 % of government spending.
made significant progress since the adoption of the UPE program in 1997, which encouraged the politicians to eliminate fees for primary education.\textsuperscript{149} In order to get into secondary and tertiary education, students need a certificate of evaluation. As in the case of Kenya and Tanzania, these standardised tests has been a source of grave concern, since many schools, especially in the rural areas of Uganda, lack the necessary resources that is needed in order to prepare children and adolescents for this examinations.\textsuperscript{150}

Primary school last for seven years and is followed by six years of secondary education, where students can specialise in either academic subjects or vocational skills. The Ministry of Education and Sports as well as the educated elite, was in the past tending to treat practical education as a field for the less able students. However, this discriminating point of view has altered during the last decade; resources are now allocated to vocational secondary schools and such educations are increasing in popularity among the students.\textsuperscript{151} Only 15 per cent of students who graduate from primary school get to attend secondary education, although enrolment rates have increased dramatically during the last couple of years, due to rapid quantitative expansion of secondary schools financed by foreign donors. Tertiary education generally last between three and five years depending on program and University character. Only a few percent of secondary school graduates gets co-opted into tertiary education.\textsuperscript{152}

Both primary and secondary education was administrated by religious denominations and voluntary agencies during the years preceding Independence in 1961. Education, except for foreign aided private border schools, came under direct control of the government in 1964, depending on popular measures of nationalism and centralisation. However, since the Obote regime was overthrown in 1986, the prevalence of religiously financed primary and secondary schools has once again been mushrooming; nowadays schools driven by the principles of different denominations contribute as a vital component in the Ugandan educational system.\textsuperscript{153}

There has been a great deal of deliberations during the last couple of years concerning the nature of secondary education, where several severe impediments have to be overcome. First, many secondary schools, independent of character and financing, has experienced problems with student discipline. Insubordination, truancy and even strikes have not been uncommon

\textsuperscript{149} Ssekamwa 1998, 182. Less then 60 % of the relevant age group attended primary education in 1990.
\textsuperscript{150} Ssekamwa, Lugumba (1971) 2001, 61.
\textsuperscript{151} Ssekamwa 1998, 190.
\textsuperscript{152} Murphy 2003, 3.
\textsuperscript{153} Ibid.
phenomena. Second, a majority of the well-educated and qualified labour force chose to leave Uganda and work in other countries where they receive greater appreciation and higher wages. This unfortunate characteristic of a regular brain-drain implicates that teachers, whose academic training has been expensive for the Ugandan government, tends to look for greener pastures abroad, leaving the domestic schools without qualified staffing. Consequently, the Ugandan government has to engage foreign experts to the jobs domestic teachers will not do. However, these expatriates are, by estimate, paid 45 times more then ordinary and just as qualified Ugandan teachers. Thirdly, there has been a severe shortage of white collar jobs for students graduating from secondary schools; an ominous circumstance that has resulted in fewer applications for secondary education as a whole.

However, these particular shortcomings cannot detract the immense achievements of the Ugandan education system during the decades following Amin's violent tenure. The Ugandan government is, at present time, committing approximately 30 per cent of the recurrent budget to the education sector, although most of these expenses are covered by foreign aid in order to achieve the goals set by the UPE program. Furthermore, Uganda has sought to proliferate and improve basic education services by localise and decentralise the process of management and implementation of conventional education. Uganda has, according to international evaluations, successfully conformed to the stipulations set out by the UN, NGOs and foreign contributors by making communities and local stakeholders accountable for the realisation of basic education for all. This has been achieved mainly by allocating appropriated UPE funds directly to communities and local schools, although many districts still lack the capacity, experience and financial resources to manage these funds properly. The government has also been successful in attracting a multitude of stakeholders, such as both national and international NGOs, into the process of reconstructing the educational structure and decentralising the management of schools. A huge obstacle still remaining is the problem of altering quality of education throughout the different regions. Resources and school facilities are completely inadequate in the areas of northern Uganda, where insurgency and warfare still torments the countryside.

154 Tripp 2000, 56. This was, however, not the case during the years of Idi Amin’s violent regime, when insubordination of any kind usually resulted in that “persons found themselves in the back of a car heading down to the river Nile”.
157 Murphy 2003, 4.
158 Murphy 2003, 5-6.
159 Landguiden.se 15/05-2008.
2.2.3 Gender policies

In this passage, we focus mainly on the process of gender policy development in Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda since Independence in the early 1960s. Our main interest is aimed on identifying cultural and parochial structures as well as explicating the measures that has been adopted in order to reinforce gender equality and women’s empowerment in society and education.

2.2.3.1 Kenya

Despite that girls enrolment rates in education has been growing since the 1960s, are great disparities still existing between women and men throughout society, mainly because of customs and old traditions that places females in an inferior position. Inequality in the educational system is a well know problem to Kenyan politicians and has been a topic for public debate since the 1980s, although gender equality has not been a top priority on the political agenda.

Kenyan society was getting aware of the gender inequality problems in the early 1990s when several campaigns was initiated in order to improve girl’s situation. A report by the Kenyan Government, The Development Plan of 1994-1996 declared that:

The overall situation reveals females are disadvantaged at all levels of education in terms of access, participation, completion and performance […] there remains a striking gender gap influenced by bias which exists in the education system in favour of boys.

At present, over 90 per cent of the children in Kenya are participating in primary education, of which almost half are girls. Interesting, from a gender perspective, is statistics which shows that girls have a severe higher drop out rate from primary school than boys. 53 per cent of the girls completed primary school in 2002, compared to over 60 per cent of the boys, the

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160 National Action Plan on Education For All, 2003, 26. Creighton, Yieke, 2006, 149-160. Elizabeth Orchardson-Mazrui has in her study The Impact of Cultural Perceptions on Gender Issues discovered that both ancient and present Kenyan visual images depict females as pregnant or carriers of water and firewood. Her conclusion is that such images has a negatively impact on gender issues. Furthermore, have the Kenyan society inculcated the people that the main part of leadership belongs to men, by nature. This is easily spotted in modern Kenyan politics, when male members of governance are assigned with a higher position; their home communities usually elevate them to the status of elders. The position of elder gives them the right to use traditional symbols of power. This kind of elevation happens rarely to women who have been given a high position.

161 Närman, 1995, 163.

differential rates become even larger in secondary school. According to the Ministry of Education, factors that impact on girls’ drop-out rates from primary school is tantamount to the factors that make them leave secondary education.

Many of these factors are connected to the economic decline; the urbanisation process has increased poverty among the urban slums during the last decades. Girls who live in these areas are in high risk of being contaminated by HIV and children who live in the slum have lost their parents to AIDS. Cultural norms place girls as guardians for younger siblings when parents die in disease, which usually causes the girl to leave school while her brothers, in most cases, continue to attend in school. Despite that primary education is free from fees in Kenya the costs of uniforms and material remains and prevent girls from access primary schooling. Still existing fees that have to be paid in order to gain secondary tuition has been proven to have a severe implications for the numbers of girls who can afford access to education and have also caused more girls than boys to leave secondary school.

There is still an existing belief, within the educational system, that boys should be tough and physical active, while girls are treated as vulnerable beings. Teachers are actively maintaining this discriminating believes. Discriminating treatment of girls is visible in classes were traditional “male topics”, such as physics are taught. Teachers in those topics have expressed gender-stereotypical values in academic investigations.

Despite slow progress towards gender equality, several achievements have been made. The UPE program and the rising interests from NGOs in the educational system have put the Kenyan governments focus on the problem of gender inequality. The government is actively supporting and encouraging domestic and foreign scholars and other stakeholders to investigate gender inequality problems. The Ministry of Education has during the last decade used academic studies in order to identify gender problems and structures within society that causes gender inequality. Micro enterprises are among the most important structural changes for women’s independence in Kenya and other parts of Africa. These small scale companies, which are run by women, have proven to be a successful way out of immediate poverty for many families. Furthermore, micro enterprisers provide women with economic power which they may use in order to change discriminatory structures of society.

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164 Ibid.
165 Gender and Education for All: The Leap to Equality, 2003, 220.
2.2.3.2 Tanzania

Girls in Tanzania are, as in most East African countries, socialised to accept that they are second class citizens, and they are taught from young ages that their future depends more or less entirely on whom they will marry. Thus, are there numerous of factors within society that foment women’s inferior position in society. The constitution that was adopted in 1984 ensured “all people equality before the law”, although there have been no amendments later that explicitly prohibit gender discrimination. There have been several achievements in combating gender disparities since 1995. This year was, for the first time, specific commitments regarding gender equality given by the state in order to strengthen women’s positions in society. Several NGOs have also been encouraged by the state to realise gender equality programs in Tanzania.

The severe economic recession had many negative effects on girls’ enrolments rates in secondary education. School fees and the cost of a proper uniform have prevented girls’ from accessing education. In addition, the removal of primary school fees led to, as stated, that parity between boys and girls was achieved; although boys still outnumbers girls’ in secondary education. Unequal enrolment rates reflect attitudes of parents, particular in rural areas, where women are expected to play a serving role in the household. This belief has led to public under-investment in girls’ education. For example, in 1985 there were 38 boarding schools opened for boys, compared to only 15 for girls. Those numbers are a source of great concern, since girls has proven, in all of Eastern Africa, to perform better in boarding schools.

There are some customs that are related to girls’ puberty that causes girls to either drop out from school, or if they stay, harm their academic achievements severely. Those customs will be refereed to as chagga. When a girl starts menstruating she will experience an initiation procedure that last for a week, the girl will not attend school during this time and it is, in

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168 Peasgood, 1997, XI.
169 Towards Gender Equality in Tanzania, 1999, 21. The laws that deal with gender are not unified and allow unequal treatment of men and women. The main reason seems to be that Tanzania has three different judicial systems; customary law, which emanates from ethnic based traditions. Religious law, which coherence with the Koran. The third system is statutory law, which in theory but not in practice has jurisdiction over customary and religious law. Furthermore, according to SIDA, are discriminatory attitudes towards women widespread in Tanzania. Women have unequal access to the job market, much because of the repulsion of pregnant women and stereotyped expectations about proper gender roles in work places are common among both sexes.
170 Towards Gender Equality in Tanzania, 1999, 5. These commitments was declared at the Fourth Global Conference on Women, which were held in Beijing 1995.
172 Stambach, 2000, One week is the common time for initiation procedures, but there are cases reported when girls are secluded for a year when reaching puberty. During this time are only close female relatives allowed to
some rural areas, rather common that girls do not attend classes during coming menstruations either.173 Chagga traditions were highly respected by President Nyerere and have therefore influenced the Tanzanian school system as an accepted part of education. Tanzania has since 1995 shown a great deal of interest towards gender problems in education. NGOs and other multilateral agencies have put pressure on the government to improve the situation. The UPE program has moved attention from parity to equality, which has revealed the low quality of the educational system in Tanzania. During the last 13 years, several equality programs have been realized in accordance with UPE.

2.2.3.3 Uganda

Women are to a great deal excluded from both political and domestic decision making in Uganda. Administration and politics constitutes as a domain exclusively open for men. Wars and the former misgovernment of the country have led to that woman often associate politics with the military, repression and civil war.174 As in the case of Kenya and Tanzania, Ugandan women face several cultural obstacles that prevent them from participating in public life. Women do not have equal access to administrative authorities, which makes it hard for them to claim their rights if they have been mistreated. Despite women’s legal right to attend and be co-opted into local councils, men usually discriminate and repress women who dare to endeavour a political carrier. The limitations that faces Ugandan women when trying to get into politics or local decision making emanates from a culture of male authority, which is common in Eastern Africa.175

The reign of Idi Amin and the civil war made gender equality in education a low priority question for many years. Adult literacy among women are widespread, in 2000 was only 66 percent of the women able to read, compared to 84 per cent of the male population.176 These numbers are interrelated with the severe decline in quality of education during Amins tenure.177 While parity has been achieved in primary education during the last decade, the gender gap between boys and girls in secondary school has remained constant during the last decades. The existing gender gap will continue to be a problem for several years in Uganda,

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174 Tripp, 2000, 129.
175 Tripp, 2000, 218.
176 Gender and Education for All: The Leap to Equality, 2003, 310.
177 Ssekamwa, 1998, 186.
since the government prioritise immense investments in the extension of primary education. Child labour is another source of concern, since 16 per cent of the girls drop out from school because of this reason. Another circumstance closely connected to poverty is early marriages. Marriages of young girls are a well known strategy among poor families in rural areas, in order to raise their monetary income and to reduce school related costs, though girls usually drop out when married.

The UPE program has put focus on gender inequality problems in the Ugandan educational system. In order to ameliorate facility discriminatory factors grants has been a main priority in the National School Budget and separate water closets for boys and girls that have doors will be constructed. Moreover, efforts have been made by women’s movements and several NGOs, such as FAWE to improve the situation for women in Uganda. Women have during the last decade, due to their exclusion from local councils, developed other ways to claim power. Women have organised themselves through unions and women’s assemblies in order to challenge patriarchal structures in society. Women participating in these movements have been considered as roll-models for adolescent girls.

2.3 Concluding Remarks

Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda’s socioeconomic progression have been manifested quite differently since Independence in the early 1960s, although many severe problems were similar, if not tantamount. These neighbouring countries did not share the same political or economic ideologies, neither where domestic policies commensurable. Tanzania endeavoured to fulfil the principles of African Socialism, while Kenya struggled with market economic policies and Uganda was torn by religious subversion and inter-ethnic conflict. However, in the wake of the immense fiscal crisis during the 1970s, economic and political policies has coalescence in conformity with the advices and regulations conceived by the World Bank, the UN, foreign donors and a multitude of NGOs. The dependency on foreign aid has thus forced these countries to espouse commensurable ideological measures in order to reassess and revitalise the public sphere.

178 Kasante, 2003, 1. Data from the Ministry of Education and Sports shows large regional differences of enrolment rates into primary education, between regions in Uganda. In the Eastern region attend 94 % of the boys and 93 % of the girls, in the north attend 84 % of the boys and 81 % of the girls in primary school. This data shows a clear move towards parity in primary education between boys and girls.
179 Kasante, 2003, 5-8. more boys than girl’s leave school because of monetary costs. 58 % of the boys drop out of this reason compared to 51 % of the girls.
180 Kasante, 2003, 11. Forum for African Women Educationalists provides scholarships to girls from poor household who perform well in primary education, but fail to join secondary school because of poverty.
181 Tripp, 2000, 220-221.
The contextual development of educational- and gender policies follows the same pattern. Since the adoption and implementation of external elaborated policy programs like the EFA, UPE and MDGs, has resembling measures been endorsed in order to allocate resources, reform institutions and eliminate gender disparities in education. Even the development of gender policies has been accentuated more explicit since foreign interests like different UN organs, NGOs, and other stakeholders has influenced the process of policy making. This measures and revitalisation policies have had several implications for these countries. A common process of liberalisation, decentralisation and democratisation is evident, although these particular provisions have not been al good; the tendencies of regional diversifications and inter-ethnic convulsions has, in some cases, been reinforced. However, in spite of the process of conformity to external programs and policies, some national peculiarities still remain, like the Harambee schools in Kenya and the chagga tradition in Tanzania.
3. Discourse Analysis

Our intention is, henceforward, to carry out a discourse analysis of the East African educational policy documents. First, we are going to distinguish and discuss significant concepts on gender equality in the documents. Second, we will analyse how the relations between individual, state and society are manifested in the process of adopting and implementing gender policies. Third, we will discuss how structures of power are manifested in the documents. At last, we will endeavour to distinguish and reconstruct the characteristics of the different discourses in order to compare them with each other.

3.1 Significant Gender Equality Concepts

In this passage, we attempt to distinguish and highlight certain concepts on gender equality that imbues the policy documents. The contextual meaning of these concepts will be analysed and discussed in order to determine the perceptions and ideas on gender embedded in the documents.

3.1.1 Kenya

There are several important gender related concepts within KESSP, among those are access and equity two fundamental notions that seems to pervade the whole document. Due to this fact, this exam will begin with an investigation of what the concepts of access and equity means in relation to gender practises. This investigation will reveal other important gender related concepts which presumably are imbedded in KESSP and that also may have a substantial impact on the development of gender equality in the educational system. As stated, the concept of access is essential in KESSP. The existent of this concept is of great importance due to girl’s low enrolment rates, especially in secondary education. KESSP states that Kenya will: “Enhance access, equity and quality in primary and secondary education through capacity building.”\textsuperscript{182} The quote measures access in terms of numbers. KESSP declares that an expansion of facilities will be carried out; thus telling us nothing about which pupils who eventually will benefit from such an expansion. However, KESSP specifically points out that the expansion of the educational system must be resulting in a development of gender sensitive facilities.\textsuperscript{183}

\textsuperscript{182} Kenya Education Sector Support Programme 2005 – 2010 (2005), IV.
What the concept of *equity* means in this context is quite ambiguous and in need of a further investigation. Equity, as utilised in KESSP, seems to refer to all members of society. The government is obligated to provide all children independent of sex and socioeconomic status access to schooling and the same opportunities to benefit from education. So, access and equity seems to interrelate with equality, which may be considered to be a natural part of equity: “Equal access of girls and boys to primary and secondary education has been identified by the international community as a key measure of progress towards gender equality.”\(^{184}\) This quote expresses the governments view on gender equality in education.

Equality is considered to be an important tool in order to achieve a transformation of social structures in society. In this process of transformation the concept of *science* plays a cardinal role. Science is mentioned 85 times in the policy document, remarkably often is the word interrelated to either gender related issues or formulations that will notify the reader on that an improvement in science topics must include all pupils, independent of gender:

Construction of schools for girls, equipping laboratories to improve girls performance in science and use of school cluster approaches for in-service training of teachers and school managers in child centred and gender responsive teaching, peer education, guidance and counselling and school management.\(^{185}\)

The concept of science will work as a gender breaking mechanism, in order to improve girls’ low performances in mathematics and science. According to the quote, the concept of science is to be regarded as an important part in the struggle towards achieving equal opportunities for girls in science education and to improve their access in the educational system.

The idea of *gender sensitivity* does also pervade KESSP. The development of gender sensitive facilities has already been mentioned. However, the concept of gender sensitivity occurs in several different contexts:

Education and training will, therefore, need to be demand-driven, of high quality, gender sensitive, technologically informed, research supported, democratically managed and globally marketable.\(^{186}\) [And] These include making the learning environment conducive to both boys and girls, promoting gender sensitive curricula, strengthening the capacity of


both parents and education personnel at all levels to address gender issues, and making monitoring and evaluation systems more sensitive to gender issues.\textsuperscript{187}

These two quotes serve as examples on how the concept of gender sensitivity pervades KESSP in different ways. Finally, \textit{self-confidence} has been identified as a significant concept in KESSP. Girls’ self-confidence will be improved through different programs: “Girls empowerment through participation in school management, Tuseme ‘‘Speak out’’ program.”\textsuperscript{188} The concept of self-confidence will, in similarity with the concept of science, function as a gender breaking mechanism in order to enhance girls’ participation in public life and improve their capabilities in education. KESSP states that guidance and counselling of girls will help them to improve their self-confidence and also lowering the drop out rates in both primary and secondary education.\textsuperscript{189}

\textbf{3.1.2 Tanzania}

BEMP states that the Tanzanian education is \textit{universal} and that the educational system should become “\textit{child-friendly}”.\textsuperscript{190} These concepts are desexualised and pervade both BEMP and SEMP. Universal is a word that, in this context, can be defined as referring to all members of society. Tanzania’s policy documents claims that education is universal and they express that schools should include all members of society, boys as well as girls. However, this definition of universal seems to avoid telling us anything about equality in education, it simply says that education should be accessible for all. There is no he or she present in the concepts of universal or in the child-friendly school; although a further exam of the concept child-friendly reveals that there in fact exist a focus on girls embedded in this concept:

\begin{quote}
The child-friendly school] that takes account of the best interest of children particularly, the girl child, will be emphasized in the provision of both formal and non formal education.\textsuperscript{191}
\end{quote}

BEMP and SEMP make some suggestions on what the best interest of the girl child means in this context. We recognize the word \textit{friendly} as a concept that includes both the environment of

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{187} \textit{Kenya Education Sector Support Programme 2005 – 2010} (2005), 250.
\item \textsuperscript{188} \textit{Kenya Education Sector Support Programme 2005 – 2010} (2005), 249.
\item \textsuperscript{189} \textit{Kenya Education Sector Support Programme 2005 – 2010} (2005), 222.
\item \textsuperscript{190} \textit{Basic Education Master Plan}, 2000, 8.
\item \textsuperscript{191} Ibid.
\end{itemize}
facilities as well as the general attitudes in education. In fact, these documents emphasise that the physical conditions of educational facilities is vital:

For any meaningful delivery of education, a conductive environment for learning is a critical factor because the absence of good physical facilities undermines students comfort and leads to loss of attention, as well as frustrating teacher’s performance.\(^{192}\)

Because of girls’ academic underachievements the standards of facilities are of great importance. Some connotations of the concept of friendly seem to be essential if gender parity in secondary education and equality in the educational system will be achieved. If the overall standard of education is to be improved, more girls may attend school. However, the concept of the child-friendly school does also comprise the quality of education, which involves an establishment of guidance and counselling services, particular for adolescent girls. Furthermore, the child-friendly school are intended to mainstream gender in education and improve the pedagogic used by teachers, in order to improve girls’ attendance in school.\(^{193}\) So far, we can determine that two major significant concepts plays a cardinal role in these documents; universal and child-friendly. Essentially, both concepts are desexualized but there is an underlying presence of gender implicated within the concepts.

The word girl occurs 16 times in BEMP and 21 times in SEMP. When girls are mentioned, it is fairly common that the word girl occur in relation with labels such as “marginalized”, “handicapped”, “special needs”, “underachievement” and “worse than boys”. Thus, girls are identified as a group that is in need of special attention from the society and teachers. Marginalized is therefore the third central concept in BEMP and SEMP. As stated, the language used when mentioning girls is rather negative:

These patterns are due, in part, to girls’ under-performance in mathematics and sciencebased subjects which undermine female access to further studies and job opportunities, including science and technology fields.\(^{194}\)

\(^{192}\) *Basic Education Master Plan*, 2000, 31.
\(^{193}\) *Basic Education Master Plan*, 2000, 23.
\(^{194}\) *Secondary Education Master Plan*, 2000, 22.
3.1.3 Uganda

The concepts of access, science and gender equity are the only three significant concepts which pervade ESIP. These three concepts show great similarities to those found in KESSP. We will therefore investigate how these concepts relate to the problems associated with gender issues. According to ESIP, the demand for primary education in Uganda is strong and several impediments for the enrolment of girls are identified. First, the HIV/AIDS pandemic has proven to prevent children’s possibilities to access the educational system, particular in poor rural areas. Second, fees and other school related expenses continue to prevent girls from participating in classes, particular in the northern region of Uganda. Besides economic obstacles, the present lack of classrooms and the standards of facilities constitutes as a major access problem for many girls. However, ESIP guarantees that this particular problem will be dealt with in a near future.

A five-stance block of latrines will complement each classroom built or completed; there will be a separate block for boys and another for girls. One of the stances in each structure will cater for disabled pupils.

The other major concept which pervades ESIP is, as mentioned, the concept of science. This concept focus partly on an improvement of girls’ achievements in science related topics. As in the case of Kenya and Tanzania, ESIP identifies girls’ underperformance in science related topics as a severe problem. However, ESIP suggest several strategies in order “to bridge the rural – urban and gender equity gap in the provision of secondary science education.”

According to ESIP, an improvement of girls’ achievements in science related topics will improve the overall situation for girls and women in Uganda. This improvement will be achieved through an expansion of girls’ schools. Therefore, new laboratories and libraries will be established in girls’ secondary schools. Furthermore, strategic activities will be aimed at informing the girl child, communities and the public on the importance of science skills, in order to change preconceptions about girls and science.

The conceptions of science have been implemented by central and local authorities in order to improve girls’ academic achievements. In addition ESIP express an ambition to change

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195 Education Strategic Investment Plan 2000, 4.
196 Education Strategic Investment Plan 2000, 7-14. There was in 2003 a shortfall of 53 312 classrooms in Uganda. In some schools have class sizes shot beyond the average 100 – 120 pupils.
197 Education Strategic Investment Plan 2000, 11.
198 Education Strategic Investment Plan 2000, 15.
199 Education Strategic Investment Plan 2000, 13.
women’s economic dependence through the conceptions of science. According to ESIP, 90 per cent of the Ugandans are dependent on agriculture as their way of living. The lack in girls schooling prevents them from managing a farm on their own. By improving girls’ skills in science, the Ministry of Education and Sports anticipate to improve women’s access to technology, such as tractors. This form of vocational training will also help them gain pecuniary founds and credits. ESIP states explicitly that: “opening science education for women in rural areas is thus of utmost importance, and promises high returns.”

The concept of science interrelates with the third concept, gender equity. In this context, the concept of gender equity includes a program that will provide adolescent girls with carrier guidance. Counselling on other matters than job guidance will be offered to all girls in secondary school. This counselling will be conducted by Senior Women Guidance Counsellors who are specially trained for this function through participation in a workshop. According to ESIP, the newly employed counsellors will be an important tool in the process of enhancing adolescent girls’ self-confidence, which is needed in order to improve their academic achievements.

Furthermore, ESIP states that the existing preconceptions about girls’ possibilities among pupils and teachers are a major source of concern. Besides the new counselling services, a new co-educational program will be offered to all pupils who are enrolled into primary education. This program is a vocational training program, which will prepare boys and girls for practical work. ESIP states that this program is important in order to achieve gender equity since boys and girls will be educated together.

3.2 The Relations between State, Society and Individual

In this passage, we attempt to analyse how the relations between state, society and individual in the process of adopting and implementing strategies on enhancing gender equality are formulated and manifested in the policy documents. We will also determine how external stakeholders are stipulated to interrelate with the government and communities in this particular process.

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200 Education Strategic Investment Plan 2000, 10.
201 Education Strategic Investment Plan 2000, 12.
202 Basic Education Master Plan 2000, 24-25.
3.2.1 Kenya

KESSP is permeated by formulations that accentuate the various conceptions of the sector wide approach, which embed measures of cooperation with a wide range of stakeholders on an international, national, regional and local level. KESSP is explicit in recognising and describing the characteristics and operations of different stakeholders involved in the implementation and deliberation process of gender policies. In addition, KESSP states that the joint cooperation between the government and other stakeholders are “crucial” if Kenya is to achieve gender equality in education by 2015.\textsuperscript{203} The government is, however, distinct in addressing that it alone is to be held accountable for the content in KESSP and the realisation of the policy framework, although the responsibility of implementation is, to some extend, transferred to local and regional authorities.\textsuperscript{204}

Some of the main impediments for gender equality addressed in KESSP are, in conformation with assessments made by several international stakeholders, the lack of community awareness and the prevalence of misogynist norms and values in some, especially rural, societies. These cultural obstacles are to be resolved by a multitude of arrangements, including advocacy for girls’ education through community social mobilisation campaigns, media and role-modelling. These particular measures will be realised by regional educational authorities or interested NGOs and religious organisations by the assistance of the government, which will provide and allocate the necessary resources.\textsuperscript{205}

KESSP is also focusing on particularly marginalised groups of girls, like those living in nomadic and parochial societies, geographically segregated from the conventional education system. Some selected teachers is therefore to be trained professionally by governmental organisations in order to established mobile schools in these areas, which will guarantee “underprivileged girls” the fundamental right to basic education. The government is also obligated to financially endorse gender sensitisation campaigns in rural communities where the predominance of child labour and early marriages is common.\textsuperscript{206}

The Ministry of Education, Science and Culture has initiated several administrational reforms in order to enhance gender equality at all levels of government. National task forces on gender have therefore been established to eradicate gender biases and promote the empowerment of women among incumbent’s at all governmental institutions at central and

\textsuperscript{204} Kenya Education Sector Support Programme 2005 – 2010 (2005), 30-34.
regional levels.  

The ministry has, furthermore, been assisted by several other organisations including Child rights Clubs, SARA initiative, UN-organs, NGOs, private enterprises and a multitude of stakeholders in order to compile and implement a gender policy framework that will enhance gender equality in education. These strategic interventions are addressing the amelioration of several aspects of unequal gender structures in the education system, and it’s focused on both quantitative and qualitative measures. In order to complete the development of gender and education policies and to disseminate and popularise these policies, KESSP emphasises the following investment strategy:

Within the first two years, forums will be organized to facilitate discussion, development, finalization and dissemination of the policy. Mass media will be used to inform the Kenyan public about the policy and its implications for girls and women’s education. The implementation of the policy will be monitored through Gender audits, with a scorecard produced and disseminated each year to provide feedback to public.

This example manifests the mutual relations that are required between state, society and external organisations in order to enhance a particular aspect of gender inequality in accordance with the overall objectives formulated in KESSP. KESSP also stipulates that the ministries involved in this process will be accountable for the realisation of the strategy, although communications, advocacy and public activities are to be organised by civil society, NGOs and private actors. Generally, these strategies encourage external investments in mobilising the support of communities to address and combat gender inequalities in education.

The Ministry of Education, Science and Culture has the monopoly and responsibility to invest in gender responsive and interactive training among teachers, as well as developing national criteria’s for the production of gender sensitive teaching materials. However, other stakeholders, domestic as well as foreign, are relatively free to adopt and implement gender sensitive programs in public and private education as long as these strategies does not transcend or interfere with the objectives and measures postulated in KESSP.

208 The SARA initiative endeavours to promote the Rights of the Child and support their implementation and realisation with special focus on adolescent female children in Eastern and Southern Africa. The Sara initiative is endorsed by the UN and international donors.
In conclusion, KESSP is explicit in emphasising the importance of cooperation between state and society in order to enhance the possibilities for gender equality in education. KESSP is particularly concerned with the conditions in rural and semi-nomadic areas of the country where biases against women are widespread. There have been several ambitious intervention strategies composed and adopted by the government and a multitude of stakeholders together, including civic society and NGOs. Furthermore, KESSP states that the government is to be held accountable for the realisation of the gender policy programs and to allocate resources to local and regional levels, although KESSP is explicit in encouraging local, national and international stakeholders to affiliate and mobilise communities as well as individuals without the endorsement from central authorities.

3.2.2 Tanzania

The relations between state, society and individual in the process of gender policy implementation are manifested quite similar in BEMP and SEMP. Both documents mentions Tanzania’s obligation to implement and honour international commitments such as the objective to eliminate gender disparities in primary and secondary education by the year 2015. The cooperation in the process of policy development and implementation between the state and other stakeholders, such as foreign donors, non-governmental schools managers, Heads of schools, experts and NGOs is acknowledged in the beginning of both documents. However, these relations are not reflected in the discussion on gender inequalities, where the government seems to have the overall responsibility. The function and contribution of external actors is not even mentioned in this particular context. There are only two actors that are sanctioned to supplement the government and local administrators in realising the program on gender equality, however, these actors are women’s organisations established or financed by the government. In fact, SEMP states explicitly that Tanzania’s long-termed aspiration is to reduce all forms of donor dependency in favour of local communities “shouldering the financing of secondary education in their respective area”. The prevalence of NGOs and foreign donors involved in the national process of developing and implementing gender and education policies is thus ephemeral.

214 The government is, however, admitting that the cooperation with NGOs and other stakeholders are inadequate, but only in sections of the documents that do not involve gender policies.
BEMP and SEMP are quite ambiguous in explicating whom to hold accountable for the realisation of the policy program. The documents accentuate that the planning, management and administration of basic and secondary education are decentralised. The responsibility to realise “the provision of equal opportunities for both girls and boys” in education has therefore been devolved to schools, wards and districts. These actors are thus to be held accountable for the implementation of the policy documents by the government.\footnote{Basic Education Master Plan 2000, 58-60.} However, central authorities provide the policy framework and independent local initiatives or strategies on combating gender inequalities has to be sanctioned by the Ministry of Education and Culture in order to become operationalised. BEMP and SEMP also states that the government has a pivot role in monitoring and supervise the local and regional process of implementing the gender policies stipulated in the documents.\footnote{Ibid.} Moreover, the assignment of head masters and other accountable educational incumbents has to be approved by central or regional authorities.\footnote{Secondary Education Master Plan 2000, 26-27.}

Teachers are to participate in gender sensitivity training provided by governmental organisations. This training attempts to address cultural gender inequities by transmitting norms and values from the state to individuals living in conservative, and particularly rural, societies.\footnote{Basic Education Master Plan 2000, 41.} The teacher is therefore functioning as an intermediary between state and society. One of the main priorities expressed in SEMP is to enhance and further develop the appreciation of national unity, ethics, culture, traditions, and work ethos. However, the document is also emphasising that regional norms and cultural traditions that discriminate girls are to be abolished by the means of education. Teachers, heads of schools and regional educational coordinators is therefore morally obligated by the government to change gender biasing structures in societies in accordance with the norms and policies stipulated by the state.\footnote{Secondary Education Master Plan 2000, 27-28.}

In conclusion, the Tanzanian educational policy documents have few explicit strategies on how to enhance gender equality. The relations between state and society are expressed ambitiously and the documents does not explicate how NGOs, international donors and civic society can contribute and assist the government and local institutions on decreasing gender disparities in education. BEMP and SEMP are explicit in addressing that permanent progress in enhancing gender equality cannot be realised until the overarching objective on
eradicating poverty is fulfilled. Gender equality measures are thus subordinated to the objective on poverty eradication.222

3.2.3 Uganda
ESIP is very explicit in acknowledging that a multitude of UN organs, NGOs, private actors, consultants and other stakeholders has been involved in the process of ameliorate old curriculums. In fact, ESIP is even expressing that recent improvements in the structure of the educational framework has been depending on immense investments and guidance from funding agencies and foreign stakeholders.223 Thus, strategies to enhance gender equality in education have been elaborated together with these stakeholders by the organisation of intermittent councils and committee meetings during the last couple of years.224 Several NGOs and international agencies, which has a pivot role in communicating with the society and realise the policy program, has been given mandate to implement its own strategies on achieving gender equality, among them the FAWE,225 which works for girls’ education exclusively and the ACAFÉ,226 which is helping child mothers who are forced out of school due to early pregnancies.227 Some of these organisations have been selected by the government to conduct impartial studies on gender structures and women’s empowerment in education, which will constitute as empirical premises for ulterior policy making.

The Ministry of Education and Sports has the overall responsibility to coordinate the process of implementing stipulated gender policies, although local, regional and foreign stakeholders are encouraged by the government to quite independently and unsupervised manage schools and addressing gender biases.228 One of the main priorities is to inform families in underprivileged rural societies on the direct implications of the international agreements that the government of Uganda have signed in the past. ESIP emphasise that the long-term process on decentralising educational institutions and decision-making are to be further developed and formalised by the government. ESIP states that:

Local administrators can respond to local demands in local ways. This can avoid rigid responses and untimely delays while central bureaucrats seek to make decisions

222 Basic Education Master Plan 2000, 7-8.
224 Education Strategic Investment Plan 2000, 18.
225 Forum for African Women Educationalists.
226 The Alliance for Community action on Female Education.
227 Education Strategic Investment Plan 2000, 6.
228 Education Strategic Investment Plan 2000, 15.
affecting the whole country. It can also allow local administrators to be creative in seeking solutions to problems that may have local causes and consequences.\textsuperscript{229}

ESIP is thus encouraging local incumbents to deal with gender related issues and implement gender policies in their own way, although the government is obligated to allocate resources to local administrators and assistant NGOs.\textsuperscript{230} The interdependence between state and community is therefore explicitly horizontal rather then vertical and the state rely on external interests to empower communities and enhance gender equality.

Several objectives, strategies and impediments for eliminating gender disparities in education are evolved and deliberated in ESIP. The coeducation of girls and boys are, for example, considered as an important element in modifying conservative and misogynist norms and values. The strategy of learning together is believed to make boys and girls more enable to cooperate later as adults.\textsuperscript{231} ESIP is explicit in addressing the predicaments associated with girls schooled in remote rural areas where cultural preconceptions of women are influential. ESIP is therefore encouraging NGOs and local stakeholders to improve their condition with all means necessary.\textsuperscript{232} The government will also endeavour to conduct workshops and gender sensitive teacher training at district level. District education offices and teachers faculty unions will be held accountable for these activities. Thus, Workshops and gender sensitivity training are measures adopted by the state in order to transmit values from central educational authorities to the grassroots. Teachers are therefore functioning as intermediaries between state and society. Furthermore, these particular activities attempts to amplify the pivot role of communities in achieving gender equality education:

The sensitisation activities will be geared towards encouraging communities to play a key role in monitoring science education activities in girls’ schools, and to play the policing role to ensure that rights of secondary school-going girls are not violated. Selected NGOs, working in collaboration with the MOES, the district Education Offices and the district political leadership will be responsible for implementation of the planned sub-component activities.\textsuperscript{233}

In conclusion, ESIP is ambitious in constructing and stimulating the evolvement of interrelated strategies and channels of communication in order to enhance gender sensitive

\textsuperscript{229} Education Strategic Investment Plan 2000, 3.
\textsuperscript{230} Education Strategic Investment Plan 2000, 27-28.
\textsuperscript{231} Education Strategic Investment Plan 2000, 9.
\textsuperscript{232} Education Strategic Investment Plan 2000, 13.
\textsuperscript{233} Ibid.
awareness at community level. This process includes the participation of a multitude of donor agencies, NGOs, UN organs and other stakeholders. Workshops and gender sensitive training courses with teachers on a district level, and counsels with NGOs and donors on a regional and central level are intended to institutionalise the gender policy program embedded in ESIP.

3.3 Power and Exclusion Mechanisms

In this passage, we will analyse expressions and conceptions of power in accordance with Olsson and Foucaults’ definitions of the concept. Essentially, all power relations that include perspectives on gender are of interest, although focus will be aimed at revealing patriarchal structures and tendencies of girls’ subordination in education or society. Furthermore, eventual exclusion mechanisms embedded in the policy documents will also be highlighted.

3.3.1 Kenya

Several problems related to power that prevents gender equality in education are acknowledged in KESSP. KESSP prescribes that gender equality is to be enhanced in all spheres of education and the government is therefore putting in place measures to redress the existing imbalances between boys and girls. An elimination of all forms of discrimination against women and child labour is also encouraged, in accordance with the EFA program and the Millennium Declaration.

The document determines that the administration of schools constitutes as a fundamental problem in Uganda. The management of both primary and secondary schools is described as poorly, partly because of insufficient training of educational officials and headmasters. The staff recruitment to these positions is currently based merely on seniority or personal contacts; no attention has been paid on professional qualifications at all. According to KESSP, this type of recruitment process has damaged teachers’ morale as well as their performances. Due to this procedure a lack of interest in matters concerning education has emerged among teachers. Teachers feel that they have no incentive to work against gender discrimination, neither in society nor in education. A second concern regarding the management of schools is the unequal and hierarchical system of leadership. This system leads to a concentration of decision making into the hands of a small group of senior male managers. Some measures are recommended by KESSP in order to eliminate these problems. For example, a reformation program is to be implemented, which will focus on changing “traditional” forms of

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leadership. Furthermore, decentralisation measures is recommended in order to improve teachers’ possibilities to participate in direct decision making, which KESSP mean will improve the overall quality of education.\textsuperscript{236}

The realisation of girls’ empowerment through education has been impeded by traditional, cultural and religious attitudes among teachers.\textsuperscript{237} However, strategies have been adopted in order to promote girls right to equal education.\textsuperscript{238} These strategies implicate that gender sensitive facilities will be constructed as well as new boarding schools, which will be open for girls exclusively. KESSP also states that existing campaigns for girls’ empowerment in education will continue to be encouraged by the media. Such campaigns have proven to be an important tool in order to change girls’ subordinated position in education, and are also believed to have a permanent impact on patriarchal structures of society.

Furthermore, KESSP encourage the development of a national sector-wide gender policy, and make some suggestions on the eventual content. The new policy will strengthen legal instruments in order to prevent gender related violence and child abuse, balancing unequal employments rates between female and male teachers and adopt a re-admission program for girls who become pregnant. The need of female role-models and an establishment of Centres of Excellence for Girls are also suggested by KESSP in order to improve the overall situation for girls.\textsuperscript{239} These Centres of Excellence for Girls is anticipated to become institutions where girls self-confidence will be strengthen and where they can find appropriate role-models.

Nevertheless, KESSP pay a great deal of attention to the HIV/AIDS pandemic. The policy documents suggest an adoption of a school-based HIV prevention programme, which will start as early as in primary school. KESSP insist on that this measure is a crucial step towards protecting future generations from containment:

\begin{quote}
In addition, substantial progress has been made in developing capacity among teachers at primary level to implement behaviour change education and to use available resources to support teaching and learning about HIV/AIDS. The challenge now lies in expanding proven initiatives to national scale and in widening implementation into other sub sectors, particularly secondary schools and other kinds of specialised learning institutions which cater for the needs of primary and secondary aged children.\textsuperscript{240}
\end{quote}

\begin{thebibliography}{99}
\bibitem{236} Kenya Education Sector Support Programme 2005 – 2010 (2005, XIII.
\end{thebibliography}
In conclusion, we can identify several exclusion mechanisms in KESSP. For example, KESSP encourages the abolishment of traditional leadership structures, discriminating values among teachers, domestic violence, child abuses and unequal enrolment rates. Furthermore, girls participation in all aspects of society is encouraged in KESSP and several measures are suggested in order to improve girls self confidence and their academic achievements.

3.3.2 Tanzania

There are relatively few statements imbued in BEMP and SEMP that expresses power. According to BEMP, girls who are enrolled into primary education perform badly, regardless of if they live in urban or rural areas. Generally, boys’ academic performances in primary school, particular in urban areas, are better than girls.241 According to SEMP, boys’ schools perform better than girls’ schools, which in turn perform better than co-educational schools. SEMP explain these relations by the fact that the two first categories are boarding schools in which pupils from better off families are enrolled. Co-educational schools, on the other hand, are day schools which enrol economic and academically poorer students than boarding schools.242 The fact that girls’ schools perform worse than boys’ schools despite equal opportunities to academic performances is not discussed neither in BEMP nor SEMP. According to SEMP, this unequal performances harm girls’ possibilities to provide for themselves after graduation. Furthermore, SEMP does not discuss any possible misogynist structures in society which may explain girls’ underperformances. However, SEMP states that a program that will address gender inequalities in education are to be developed, although, this program only points out that:

Policy priority is to increase equity by addressing gender imbalances in enrolment and performance, increasing the enrolment of students from under served areas, increasing the participation of children from poor families, physically and mentally handicapped students by integrating them in the normal schools and improving equity in the distribution of teachers and other related inputs.243

BEMP points out the need to enhance equality in education by an investment in teachers training, which will improve their academic and pedagogical skills. It is also suggested that more teachers shall be employed, a measure which will reduce the urban – rural disparities in

241 Basic Education Master Plan 2000, 8.
242 Secondary Education Master Plan 2000, 16.
gender equality. Furthermore, a ban is suggested on different types of harsh punishments such as “corporal, manual work and physically military like punishments.” The situation for children, especially girls, who are raised in nomadic tribes, is described as distressing. For example, these children do not have access to education due to their way of living. Cultural traditions such as chagga and female genital circumcision are still prevalent in these tribes. SEMP implicates that education has a pivot role in enhancing these girls position within the nomadic tribes. Finally, the lack of knowledge among both parents and children about sexual contacts leads to early pregnancies and marriages among pupils. The lack of knowledge about sex is critical to the HIV pandemic: “Gender mainstreaming and HIV/AIDS Education [...] has remained weak because textbooks are yet to be updated and teachers have to be retrained to be gender sensitive.”

In conclusion, these documents do only reflect few explicit power relations, and patriarchal structures of society are only mirrored in BEMP and SEMP to a limited extent. However, the disappointing academic achievements in girls boarding schools, and the fact that girls are mentioned in the same sentences as physically and mentally handicapped children suggest that their role in education is subordinated to the ones of boys.

3.3.3 Uganda

ESIP states that Uganda has ratified the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW), which prohibits gender discrimination in education. However, ESIP explicitly acknowledge that males’ dominance over girls’ and women still persists. In accordance with CEDAW, the Ugandan educational authorities have taken numerous concrete measures in order to address gender inequalities. Most children are not expected to be enrolled into secondary school. Therefore, a special scheme called the Integrated Production Skill Program (IPS) has been adopted. IPS has been developed in accordance with the UPE program in order to:

[...] equip all the pupils with core practical skills for allowing them to integrate into their environment. Through the acquisition of transversal skills –necessary to undertake a
significant number of productive tasks in most of the jobs and social functions – compulsory schooling ends with most of pupils ready to decide by themselves what they want to do with their lives.251

According to ESIP, the IPS program will strengthen girls’ self-confidence and provide them with knowledge of what they can accomplish in a work place. ESIP does also state that cultural norms and values constitute as severe impediments that prevent the enhancement of gender equality in education. However, the adoption of the IPS program is intended to eliminate these misogynist perceptions. Furthermore, IPS will also be implemented in order to change the future relations between men and women since the program will be co-educational. These measures are aimed at teaching boys and girls how to undertake productive tasks together in the future.252 However, ESIP mentions possible fallacies in the IPS program. For example, there are concerns about child labour in the educational process:

IPS does not intend to use pupils as child labour to produce the lacking equipment of the schools or food for their families. It aims at making pupils learn by doing and always keeping in mind that this process is taking place in a school and therefore it must be educational.253

ESIP identifies some factors that are considered to be of great importance for girls’ participation and attendance in education, particular in science classes. Negative attitudes among teachers towards girls’ possibilities and participation in science classes tend to increase women’s subordinated role in society: “Patriarchal cultures which consider science an exclusive male domain and tend to favour boys’ needs over those of girls”.254

Furthermore, agriculture is vital for Uganda; almost 90 per cent of the population makes their living on smaller farms. In spite of their activity in the agricultural sector, women are still dependent on male leadership, since they are excluded from local councils and loan markets. ESIP claims that this structural exclusion emanates from misogynist believes within the educational system. However, ESIP intend to change this structure by allocating recourses such as trained counsellors to rural and pastoral areas of the country.255

In conclusion, ESIP expresses a great deal of power related issues but few explicit exclusion mechanisms. Furthermore, ESIP accentuate that teachers negative attitudes towards girls

251 Education Strategic Investment Plan 2000, 8.
252 Education Strategic Investment Plan 2000, 8-9.
253 Education Strategic Investment Plan 2000, 8.
254 Education Strategic Investment Plan 2000, 8.
255 Ibid.
participation in science classes is considered to be a grave source of concern, and a multitude of strategies has therefore been adopted in order to alter this development.

### 3.4 Comparison

There are several common concepts embedded in the policy documents of Kenya and Uganda. KESSP and ESIP recognise that science is a vital tool in order to achieve gender equality in education and eradicating discriminating values and norms in society. Tanzanian educational documents differ from KESSP and ESIP in several matters and the concept of science are not pervading the Tanzanian documents to the same extent. However, some structures that pervade all of these documents can be identified. For example, all documents identify girls as in need of extra attention from the educational system. Moreover, all documents emphasise the importance of creating a gender sensitive environment in order to improve girls’ access to education.

KESSP and ESIP do also show similarities in the process of adopting and implementing strategies in order to create affinities between state, society and individuals. However, Tanzanian policy documents do not express any explicit strategies on how to cooperate with NGOs and other external stakeholders in order to reduce gender inequalities. Furthermore, qualitative measures aimed at improving gender equality in education is absent in the Tanzanian policy documents. While workshops, gender sensitive training and councils with NGOs and foreign donors are to be realised in Uganda, Kenya is implementing national task forces on gender. However, Tanzanian policy documents infer that permanent progress towards gender equality in education cannot be realised until poverty is eradicated.

The similarities between polices adopted by KESSP and ESIP is also prevalent when investigating power and exclusion mechanisms in the documents. There are relatively few statements present in the Tanzanian policy documents that express power explicitly, although implicit power relations in these documents acknowledge girls and women’s subordinated in the educational system. KESSP and ESIP are more distinct when describing and addressing these power relations. For example, KESSP identify traditional management of schools as a threat to women’s participation in decision making. Furthermore, there are several common themes and strategies embedded in all of these documents, however, the Tanzanian policy documents are hardly commensurable to KESSP or ESIP.
4. Conclusions

Henceforward, we will present and discuss our main conclusions of this study. First, we are going to distinguish and discuss the gender discourses we perceived in our analysis. Second, we will move out of our original framework and apply our conclusions on a wider global context, in order to discuss how the gender discourses embedded in KESSP, ESIP, BEMP and SEMP is a part of a comprehensive global educational trend.

4.1 Eastern African Gender Discourses

Our analysis of Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda’s policy documents has revealed several interregional and independent gender discourses. A common theme in all of these documents is what we like to entitle, a *decentralisation discourse*. Intrinsically, the *decentralisation discourse* suggest strategies on how the government should enhance local participation in order to make communities directly involved in the process of adopting and implementing gender policies. All policy documents that we have analysed embed an explicit *decentralisation discourse*. However, this discourse is manifested quite differently dependent on which countries these documents derive from. For example, KESSP is explicit in addressing that the central government is to be held accountable for the realisation of gender policies,\(^{256}\) whereas the distribution and transmission of power between central and local authorities codified in BEMP and SEMP is formulated quite ambiguously. However, all documents assume that allocation of power to community level will stimulate local actors to work towards gender equality in school.

There are several disparities in the construction of gender discourses between KESSP and ESIP on the one hand and BEMP and SEMP on the other. KESSP and ESIP are embedding an *Interdependent discourse*, whilst the Tanzanian policy documents express an *Independent/Silent discourse*. The *Interdependent discourse* in Kenya and Uganda’s policy documents accentuate the need of cooperation between the state and foreign donors, organisations and agencies in order to enhance gender equity in school. This discourse implicates that the participation of a multitude of stakeholders in the process of adopting and implementing gender policies in education is considered as crucial. The government has a pivot role in this discourse by creating affinities between state, society and foreign stakeholders. Thus, the realisation of strategies aimed on enhancing gender equity is dependent on the interdependence between various stakeholders. These characteristics is

absent in the gender discourses embedded in Tanzania’s policy documents. In general, BEMP and SEMP do not acknowledge the involvement of local and foreign agencies in the process of adopting and implementing gender policies. In contrast to Kenya and Uganda, few explicit strategies on how to eradicate gender inequalities are suggested in these documents. The gender discourse embedded in BEMP and SEMP could therefore be described as 
Independent/Silent, since there are not many explicit formulations in the documents that explicate how the cooperation between state, society and foreign stakeholders are going to be manifested.

Tanzania’s policy documents do also differ from KESSP and ESIP by embedding a victimisation discourse. This particular gender discourse implicates that the connotations of the word girl or girl child is close in resemblance to underprivileged groups in education and society such as psychically and mentally handicapped children. The victimisation discourse does not include many strategies on how girls and boys are to be considered as equals in the education system. Instead, the victimisation discourse accentuates conceptions of inferiority rather than equality, by implicating that there is an ongoing struggle between boys and girls in order to attain resources. Furthermore, the Tanzanian victimisation discourse implicates that qualitative measures aimed at eradicating gender inequities in education is subordinated to quantitative measures, such as ensuring equal enrolment into primary education.

KESSP and ESIP on the other hand, seem to embed a psychological discourse that essentially implicates that the educational systems reproduce social practises that relegate women to household work, differentiate wages, and maintain the lack of opportunities for girls and women. This discourse includes strategies on how to empower women on an individual and cognitive level in order to make them aware of structural gender inequalities. KESSP and ESIP do also suggest measures on how to stimulate girls’ self-confidence by the involvement of female “role-models” and media in the educational process. Furthermore, the psychological discourse does not only view girls as important and productive members of society, but does also recognise their value as individuals; thus regarding them as citizens rather than a collective biological sex.

The psychological discourse is interrelated with what we like to entitle a science discourse, which is embedded in both KESSP and ESIP. Intrinsically, the science discourse is aimed on altering gender structures in society and empower women by increasing gender plurality in vocational and academic professions, which until now has been considered as male domains.

257 Basic Education Master Plan 2000, 9-12.
258 Basic Education Master Plan 2000, 7-8.
The science discourse implicates that the structural biases and impediments for girls participation in science education is to be eradicated by several different strategies, such as gender sensitive training for teachers and massive investments in girls science labs. KESSP does also emphasise that the science discourse is a vital part in raising girls’ self-confidence,²⁵⁹ while ESIP accentuate that the adoption of the IPS programme will encourage girls and boys to work together in school and society.²⁶⁰ Gender equality in science education is therefore important for the development of society, as well as for the individual in order to challenge traditional gender barriers.

This analysis has concluded that most educational documents examined has adopted several ambitious strategies on how to eradicate gender disparities and enhancing gender equality in education. However, there exist no substantial guarantees that the process of implementation will be successful or even fallow stipulations in the documents. Legal and educational measures alone cannot change cultural norms or established parochial power relations; it entails the participation of the Eastern African community. The prevalence of “hidden curriculums”, which are not uncommon in the African context, can also maintain or reproduce negative attitudes towards the conceptions of gender equality if not dealt with adequately.²⁶¹ One can, of course, question some of the strategies adopted in order to enhance gender equality, like the investments in workshops and the extensions of girls’ lavatories.

Our analysis does also reveal that there is several common interregional gender discourses embedded in the policy documents, although some national differences has been determined. Tanzania’s gender discourses differ to a significant degree from the ones that imbue Kenya and Uganda’s policy documents. This circumstance can be explained by the fact that BEMP and SEMP reproduce gender discourses embedded in the old curricula that was adopted in 1995, before Tanzania signed the Millennium Declaration and was obligated to implement gender policies in interrelation with UN agencies, NGOs and other stakeholders. In addition, our contextual reconstruction does also implicate that Tanzania has been somewhat reluctant in adjusting domestic policy making in accordance with international recommendations in the past. However, the explicit interdependence discourses embedded in KESSP and ESIP raises the question if the adoption and implementation of educational policies in cooperation with multilateral agencies and international stakeholders fosters independence or contributes to an ongoing relationship of dependency on the international donors who provide many of the

²⁶⁰ *Education Strategic Investment Plan* 2000, 15.
resources for expanding schooling in the region. This pertinent problem is to be discussed further in the final chapter of this study.

4.2 The Process of Structural Conformation

This study has emphasised that Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda’s strategies on adopting and implementing gender policies in education has conformed to the ordinations expressed by external stakeholders such as the UN and foreign donors, although a few disparate conceptions in the discourses manifest some national differences in the region. Our sociocultural reconstruction has illustrated that tendencies of globalisation and foreign dependence increased in the wake of the fiscal crisis during the early 1980s. These structural changes commenced the processes of economic, political and institutional liberalisation that was advocated by external actors, mainly the World Bank and IMF. The process of educational conformation to international norms and values in Eastern Africa has, as mentioned, escalated since the adoption of the EFA, UPE and MDG programmes, which suggests that external organisations, agencies and donors should have substantial influence in the process of educational policy making and policy implementation. Foreign donors have contributed with significant funds in order to stimulate and encourage the process of structural change in these countries. The diffusion and acceptance of the ideas behind gender equality in education has, for instance, been codified in the policy documents in order to conform to international standards.

We do not mean to say that the UN and other multinational agencies overtly force nations in the third world to think in the same way about schooling. However, our study implicates that it persist a widespread understanding of education communicated across national demarcations. This process has resulted in a common acceptance of ideas, which leads to standardisation and a universal structural consensus. Education is an institution that may be differing from nation to nation and even from region to region within a nation, but that at a deeper level is strongly fixed to global norms and rules about what education is and how schools should operate. Furthermore, we understand that institutional change can be initiated by either external or endogenous factors. Studies have shown that smaller, economically peripheral countries such as Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda have been increasingly dependent on multilateral agencies and foreign funds in order to ameliorate institutional change during

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the last decade. This means that external interests has a major influence over national policy making and that endogenous actors are reduced to play a subordinate role in this process.\footnote{Women and education in Sub-Saharan Africa 1998, 18-19.}

We do not intend to state whether these structural changes in Eastern African policy making is going to have good or bad implications for the future of schooling. It is quite impossible to draw such excessive conclusions when this process has only just begun. However, we can discuss some possible implications and scenarios of this process. Our analysis has determined that a common interregional decentralisation discourse is embedded in all policy documents. This discourse is a part of a wider global educational structure of policy making, which emphasise that management of schools and accountability for the implementation of educational policies should be transmitted from central to local authorities in order to enhance institutional democratisation and community participation.\footnote{Baker, LeTendre 2005, 134-135.}

The process of nation-building that was initiated in Eastern Africa during the years falling Independence was, as have been illustrated in our contextual reconstruction, embedded with conceptions of centralisation, etatism and self-reliance. However, these concepts has been jettisoned from the discourses of national policy making during the last decades and other ideas such as decentralisation and the devolution of public services has emerged in conformity with international norms and regulations. This internationally encouraged measures to stimulate the development of local participation and community empowerment in education is thus reducing the African states formerly pivot roll in this process into merely a monitoring and coordinating function.

It is, once again, infeasible to assess accurate which implications this global discourse on the devolution of public services is going to have in the East African context. However, there are concerns that this process of decentralisation will reinforce symptoms of regional particularism and socioeconomic diversification. One has to remember that recent years socioeconomic reforms and conformity to international policies has amplified interethnic convulsions and interregional disparities in Eastern Africa. These implications raises the question if a global isomorphic educational structure can conform relatively heterogeneous national and regional educational discourses to international standards without causing subversive implications on Eastern African societies. Our conclusion is therefore, that the intertwined policies and processes that devolve more power and administrative responsibility to local governments can, in fact, have prejudicial implications on Eastern African societies, since it hardly exist any representative bodies and institutions that can create affinities.
between state and periphery, and thereby undermine regionalism. Furthermore, one has to consider the fact that apologists of decentralisation policies expect that these measures will have a remarkably impact on the strengthening of democracy, however, all the same promises was made four decades ago about the wonders of more centralised authority over education.  

It also appears as if the comprehensive discourse on decentralisation can cause impediments for the implementation of strategies on enhancing gender equality that has been adopted in several of the policy documents. The institutionalisation and allocation of power to local authorities make communities accountable for the management of schools and the realisation of national policies on education and gender. However, both our sociocultural reconstruction and most of the policy documents suggests that gender inequalities are most common in rural and pastoral areas in Eastern Africa. It seems therefore to be evident that decentralisation of power may reinforce and reproduce misogynist values and norms towards women instead of enhancing gender equality. Ambitious and detailed strategies on how to eradicate gender inequities codified in educational policy document does not mean per se that local authorities will endeavour to realise them. Alex Wiseman, professor of education, accentuates that:

Even partial devolution of authority means that work roles among school administrators and teachers will significantly change. Since these work roles often have elements idiosyncratic to the nation, there can be significant resistance to change. For example, in countries where the top school administrator is a “head teacher” the prospect of a more administrative work role may appear more odious than liberating or empowering.

The globalisation of gender and educational policies has, as mentioned, meant significant change in the process of how school and society should challenge gender inequalities and parochial power relations. The putative interaction and distribution of power between state, society and multinational agencies may raise some questions on how successful the process of implementation will be carried out in reality. However, most of the analysed educational policy documents are explicit in suggesting profound and long-termed strategies on how to eradicate gender inequities. These policy documents do acknowledge that investment in unprejudiced education of girls may well be the highest-return investment available in the developing world.

Summary

We have conducted a discourse analysis in order to investigate how gender is reflected in several Eastern African educational policy documents. A majority of countries in the underdeveloped world has signed the Millennium Declaration and adopted the EPA programme, which has meant significant change for the future of schooling in these regions. For instance, all signatory states have agreed to implement several strategies on how to achieve universal enrolment in primary schooling and eradicate gender disparities in education. Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda, which this study is going to be focused on, has been encouraged to adopt and implement provisional educational policy documents in interrelation with UN agencies, NGOs and foreign donors. Our aim for this study is therefore to analyse and compare different aspects of gender equality that appear in these newly developed educational policy documents. Focus is aimed on the interrelationship between ideas of gender, education, state, and society within the different discourses and how these affect the distribution of power. In order to fulfil these purposes; a discourse analysis regarding gender equality in Eastern African educational policy documents have been carried out. The discourse theory that has been utilised in this study can be described as an amalgam of critical discourse analysis and pedagogical discourse theory. We have also reconstructed a sociocultural context in order to determine differences and similarities in Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda’s socioeconomic development, as well as common and diverging interregional themes in gender and educational policies. The contextual reconstruction has acted as an empirical basis for our analysis.

Our analysis has determined that there are a few common interregional discourses embedded in the educational policy documents, since the gender discourses in Tanzania’s policy documents generally differ from those distinguished in Kenya and Uganda’s documents to a significant extent. The Tanzanian documents does not, in contrast to Kenya and Uganda, include explicit strategies on how to enhance gender equality in education or how to cooperate with international agencies, NGOs and other stakeholders in the process of implementation. Kenya and Uganda’s policy documents embeds some gender discourses that are aimed to stimulate girls self-confidence and social empowerment; implying that girls are considered as valuable individual members of society rather then a subordinated biological collective. Our study does also suggest that the globalisation of gender and educational policies has conformed Eastern African gender discourses to international standards and regulations.
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