The Local Meanings of Educating All, and the Process of Adopting EFA Development Goals in Kenya, Tanzania, and Ethiopia

Edited by Shoko Yamada

with contributions from:
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GRIPS Development Forum

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Foreword

The papers collected in this volume are the outcomes of a comparative study conducted in three east African countries: Kenya, Tanzania, and Ethiopia. In February 2005 I visited these countries with a short research proposal to meet with academic researchers in each country and to assemble a team to investigate the process by which educational policies were developed, especially in relation to the Education for All (EFA) Development Goals. The fundamental goal of this project was to find out to what extent national educational changes represent local responses to the global economic and political factors—including internationally-shared policy agendas like EFA—, and to what extent these changes are determined by local conditions such as historically-rooted local views and systems of education and the political, social, and economic conditions at the time of policy development. The negotiation between endogenous and exogenous motives for policy changes influences whether the introduced policy will be applied successfully and take root or become an empty slogan. However, too often, this policy process is considered to be a field of practitioners and is not examined critically. Therefore, this research intended to shed light on what is happening, who is involved in the process of policy-making, and how those involved see the situation.

To investigate these issues, involving qualified local research partners was crucial. Because I planned to use a qualitative interview-based approach, it was important to find people with the skills to conduct interviews in a sensitive context and analyze the data generated. As some of the country teams later found, interviews with high-profile policy-makers on a hot issue like EFA can be very sensitive; people sometimes become cautious or try to avoid disclosing their personal opinions. Although I did not realize the magnitude of this difficulty at the time the team was forming, I knew that this research would depend largely on the capability of my local partners and teamwork. As a foreigner, I would not be able to interview the respondents myself because they might find talking to me threatening or restrictive. Therefore, my roles were mostly in establishing the basis for compar-

ing the three country cases to ensure they went in the same direction and then in analyzing the results.

The authors of the country papers that follow (Chapters 2–4) are people with whom I got along well. Two and a half years after this project began, I look back and see that this team worked wonderfully. We have diverse academic backgrounds. While Ayalew has long been in the field of educational policy studies, another leader of the Ethiopian group, Yacob, has published extensively regarding communal activities of minority populations in southern Ethiopia. Bhalalusesa of Tanzania is a specialist in adult literacy education who had consistent zeal for research throughout the challenging times. As for the Kenyan group, Chege is an excellent qualitative researcher on girls' education, while Karega belongs to a sociology department working with many rural populations. Regardless of this diversity, we shared an interest in knowing the things happening in the educational policy process. We gathered as a team twice: in Dar es Salaam in 2005 and in Nairobi in 2006. In Dar es Salaam, we developed the common research framework and list of questions (Appendix I) which were to be followed in interviews and data analysis. We also reconfirmed the core ideas behind the constructivist approach of discourse analysis as a basis for each country group to train research assistants. After the data collection and preliminary analysis, we gathered again in Nairobi. This time, our purpose was to comment on each other's papers to improve the quality and make sure that the synthesis by myself and three country analyses were written on the common ground developed in Dar es Salaam.

Here we are happy to present the outcomes of our extensive work. We hope that this will contribute to the educational policy studies in Africa and other parts of the world. We believe that the unique approach of this research—deconstructing the discourse on EFA from the perspective of countries which adopt that agenda instead of seeing it in the global arena— will provide insights to other developing countries which are experiencing similar policy processes.

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Overview and Synthesis

Shoko Yamada

1　Introduction

In 1990, the World Conference on Education for All was held in Jomtien, Thailand. Six development goals were agreed upon and aggregately came to be called Education for All (EFA). Their aim was to achieve universal access to primary education of acceptable quality for all school-aged children, without fees charged, in tandem with elimination of gender disparities therein. The EFA's aims also included the expansion of early childhood care, adult education, and improvement of the adult literacy rate. These EFA goals were not achieved but were endorsed again in 2000 by officials gathered in Dakar representing major bilateral and multilateral donors, as well as the governments of developing countries. Meanwhile, two of the EFA goals, namely, achieving universal primary education (UPE) and eliminating gender disparities in primary and secondary education, were integrated into the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) for social and economic development.

UNESCO, the World Bank, and UNICEF—three agencies which led the move towards EFA, had different organizational cultures and mandates (for example, see Jones, 1999; Heyneman, 2003; Mundy, 1999). However, they shared the short-term need to secure resources for educational programmes, a purpose for which WCEFA was very successful (Mundy, 1999). Chabbott argues that the ideas presented at the WCEFA were invoked from earlier conventions and declarations—with which participants were already familiar—and the WCEFA's format was an imitation of other earlier

conferences (1998). Even so, heavy mutual referencing among documents produced gave declarations such as the EFA a weightiness that acts as normative pressure on both aid-providing and assisted governments. Later on, respective governments would be required to develop national plans of action outlining their intended means to achieve EFA goals, a systemic change which operated to further anchor the adoption of EFA goals within national policy.

The effect that this global discourse has had on standardizing the outline and delivery of EFA has itself given rise to an academic debate over the issue of cross-national transfers of educational ideas. The motivation for countries to both lend and borrow educational policies and models amongst themselves has been a driving force behind the development of comparative education as an academic field from its beginning in the early nineteenth century (Arnove, 1999; Noah & Eckstein, 1969). At first, such transfers had been based on one-to-one relationships established between individual nation-states. However, starting from the late colonial period, the transfers became globalised, which resulted in the spread of singular educational models to multiple sites at once (Yamada, 2003). Following suit with earlier styles of multi-site adaptation, the current discourse on EFA can be seen as a form of educational transfer in the era of globalisation.

Many scholars (for example, Benavot, Cha, Kamens, Meyer & Wong, 1991; Chabbott, 1998; Samoff, 1999) have pointed to this standardizing effect of the global discourse on EFA. At the same time, various reports show that while such standardization may take shape in international and national political arena, it may not produce substantial changes in the field (Astiz et al., 2002, 86; McGinn, 1997, 44-45) nor even its intended results (Mayer, Nagel, & Conrad W. Snyder, 1993; Nagel & Conrad W. Snyder, 1989). The process of reinterpreting external terms and ideas to local contexts and value systems accompanies adaptation. In this process, the hybridisation of differing ideas—indigenous and exogenous, old and new—occurs (Carnoy & Rhoten, 2002; Dale & Robertson, 2002).

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In fact, our research evidences that popularized slogans associated with EFA policy are most likely not even new to countries that have committed themselves to EFA goals. It is true that the current package of six EFA goals was adopted at an international conference and thereupon brought, from the outside, to each signing country. That is indisputable. The three countries which we have focused on in this study—Kenya, Tanzania, and Ethiopia—have been signatories to a variety of regional and global proclamations and declarations, all which were in one way or another related to education, starting with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights as adopted by the United Nations in 1948. This Declaration asserted that 'everyone has a right to education', a commitment re-affirmed by subsequent international conferences as well as normative texts, and as such has continually been recognized as a mission to be achieved. These countries also took part in all the Regional UNESCO conferences held at Addis Ababa, Karachi, Santiago and Tripoli in the early 1960s; the International Seminar on Campaigning for Literacy in Udaipur in 1982; and the World Summit for Children and the Convention on the Rights of Children in 1989.

Further, in addition to such international agreements, all three countries have a long history with initiatives generated by the national government for the promotion of education. Tanzania is known for 'Education for Self-Reliance', promoted by its first president Mwalimu Nyerere. Kenya has a tradition of Harambee schools, which trace their origin back to a popular movement of the 1920s, which aimed to establish truly local (non-missionary) schools in opposition to control exercised by European colonizers. Ethiopia, on the other hand, hosted the first African regional conference on education, co-organized by UNESCO and the U.N. Economic Commission of Africa in 1961 (Addis Ababa Conference). In each of these three countries, the public demand for education has always been high. Accordingly, each respective government has demonstrated its commitment to education. In all honesty, the level of commitment was not consistent over time, and demonstrated ebbs and flows; furthermore, resurgences towards educational expansion were just as often politically motivated, for such purposes as to increase popularity or spread propagandistic ideology, as they were pursued out of sincerely educational concerns. But even so, the idea

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of educating the country's people has been there. It may not be possible to 'educate all' but, at the very least, the people were familiar with the constantly resurging government campaigns geared towards the provision of educational opportunities to as broad a range of the populace as possible.

However, it is also an irrefutable fact that the governments of Kenya, Tanzania, and Ethiopia have focused far more resources into the education sector now than ever before and indicators show rapid expansion, especially at the primary education level, over the last few years. Then, to what extent is this growth driven by external forces and to what extent does it stem from the domestic initiative of each country's own government—albeit simultaneously in different countries? Donors and their consultants have placed an abundance of effort into tracking the course of educational reforms and evaluating the degree to which they fulfil set indicators for EFA achievement. However, their work rarely goes deep enough to sufficiently probe into the policies underlying these initiatives and the policy-making process. On the other hand, academic work addressing EFA discourse looks mostly at international fora and institutional actors, but not much at the domestic processes of negotiating ideas that were developed at such fora so as to adopt them into national policy. This paper intends to fill that gap by focusing on local responses to global discourse, as is made evident over the course of EFA adoption. Teams set up in each country interviewed key ministry officials, aid officials, NGO representatives, and academics involved in policy-making processes pertaining to education. Based on analyses of the interview data, this paper will attempt to answer some questions about the processes of policy-making and negotiation. Some key issues discussed will be: 1) How, if at all, were EFA goals mainstreamed into each country's education policy; 2) What kind of decision-making mechanisms are in place; 3) Who holds the most power and influence in the policy-making process; and 4) Who are most conversant with regard to sets of EFA goals?

Another major point of interest is the opportunity research provides to shed light on characteristics distinguishing EFA goals, signed in Jomtien and Dakar, from the broader general concept of 'educating all'. Too often,

EFA goals are equated solely with universal primary education and ensuring gender equity in primary schooling—only two guidelines from a total of six EFA goals. In reality, the broadly-applied concept of 'education' can include any act wherein a person learns something (i.e. academic study, life skills, vocational skills, basic literacy, human interactions in society, etc.). 'All' could very well mean every living person on the planet. Upon noting the vast territory contained by the concept of 'educating all' in contrast with the narrow focus of EFA, the current research team came to wonder exactly how these words were defined and what rationale could exist to explain any interpretive gaps. Are such gaps not recognized or are people consciously and selectively limiting their definitions? To investigate this matter, all respondents were requested to define 'education', 'all', and 'education for all' in their own terms. In addition, respondents were asked about official areas of focus from within the range of EFA goals. By posing a series of questions on specific definitions, the research team directed its efforts towards illuminating the ways in which official priority is similar to, or differs from, what individual respondents perceive Education for All to be.

Interviews with educational policy-makers, aid officials, NGO staff, and academics were conducted in Ethiopia, Kenya, and Tanzania. These were used as primary data for the discourse analysis to understand how people in different social and institutional positions conceptualize EFA. For the comparative study to be successful, it was critical that an analytical common ground be established. Therefore, a two-day workshop was held for discussing and agreeing on a common list of questions, after which each country's team became responsible for assuring that all interviewers knew to follow this one list, especially since the interviews themselves would be conducted in an unstructured and flexible manner. Although the interviews were the primary source for analysis, documentary analysis was also conducted in order to support interview analysis findings as well as examine programmatic patterns and financial distribution among educational subsectors over the years.

2 The Influences of Global Forces on National Education Policy

2.1 Education for all development goals and global donor discourse

The World Conference on Education for All, held in Jomtien, Thailand in 1990, marked the beginning of a new era of global agreements in the field of educational development, where the commitment to achieving a set of development goals came to be shared broadly by a multitude of organizations and countries. Seeing as these goals had not yet been achieved ten years after their inception, vows to meet these goals were made anew at the Dakar Conference with new target years. The development goals agreed upon at the Jomtien and Dakar conferences, later referred to as the Education for All (EFA) goals, consisted of six key elements: (1) Expansion of early childhood care, (2) Universal free compulsory primary education by 2015, (3) Expanded access to adult education, (4) 50 percent increase in the adult literacy rate by 2015, (5) Eliminating gender disparities by 2005, and (6) Improvements in the quality of education.

When the top administrative branches of the leading donors, such as the World Bank, UNESCO, and UNICEF, agreed to organize the Jomtien Conference, their primary concern was to attract greater degrees of political and financial commitment to the education sector from national governments that fund multilateral development organizations. Unlike the health sector, which had succeeded in building a consensus agreement at the World Conference on Primary Health Care, the education sector lacked similarly internationally-agreed priority areas. The governments of assisting countries, along with donor organizations, were often reluctant to invest in activities in the educational field owing in part to the fact that there was no clear professional or intellectual consensus about the priority in this field (Chabbott, 1998). The collaboration of these multilateral international organizations looked for a breakthrough in circumstances that had long obstructed funding in education. UNESCO's involvement lent technical and intellectual legitimacy to the conference owing to its formal man-

date over, and experience in, overseeing UN education initiatives. UNICEF had the success of the Health for All campaign under its belt. And the World Bank controlled the most financial resources (Heyneman, 2003). All three of these organizations agreed on the necessity of a normative framework for the field of education, as well as illustrative plans of action therein and the Jomtien and Dakar Conferences proved to be successful in serving that objective (Chabbott, 1998; Mundy, 1999).

The World Bank, UNESCO, and UNICEF, however, each brought in different focuses. UNICEF, by its mandate, is more concerned about education provided to children, in both formal and non-formal structures. UNESCO, on the other hand heavily stresses inclusiveness for all people. Its long commitment to adult literacy education was predication for its strong push to ensure minimum levels of literacy for *All*, including children and youth, both enrolled and out-of-school, as well as adults. The World Bank, for that matter, emphasized *Education* for all while envisioning schooling, and especially children's formal primary schooling, over non-formal training in non-diploma courses. These differences in interest among multilateral organizations were ultimately ensconced in the six EFA goals which broadly spanned early childhood care and adult literacy while giving equal attention to both sexes. However, with time, the emphases have been demonstratively narrowed down so that they apply to fewer activities.

In 2000, the same year as Dakar Conference, a meeting was held at the United Nations headquarters wherein which representatives from member countries agreed to the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) for achieving the "ultimate eradication of poverty" (United Nations 2006). Two of the EFA goals—universal free compulsory primary education by 2015 and eliminating gender disparities by 2005—were integrated into the MDGs, which are themselves composed of eight goals: (1) to reduce by half the proportion of people who suffer from hunger; (2) to achieve universal primary education; (3) to promote gender equity and empower women (including equity in schooling); (4) to reduce child mortality; (5) to improve maternal health; (6) to combat HIV/AIDS, malaria and other diseases; (7) to ensure environmental sustainability; and (8) to develop a global partnership for

development. Having been adopted as MDGs at the dawn of the new millennium, these two EFA goals were assigned a special place within the global discourse on social development for poverty reduction. It meant that these goals, especially universal primary education, would be elevated to a level of higher strategic and financial priority than the other EFA goals owing to this underscoring of their ability to contribute to poverty reduction. Success indicators were developed for each MDG and these were used to measure the level of effort achieved in each developing country. Evaluation with regard to how well such indicators were being met may be used to determine whether developing countries would be rewarded with additional funding pledges, or sanctioned by the suspension of funds.

The Fast Track Initiative (FTI) is a telling example of how global forces influenced government policy and practice to converge over a notably narrowed focus in developing countries. The FTI was launched in 2002, under the auspices of the World Bank and UNESCO, as a platform for delivering targeted assistance with the specific purpose of achieving universal access to primary education (UPE) by the year 2015. The FTI functions as one common focal ground, shared between 30 bilateral and multilateral donors and developing countries, that serves to accelerate UPE fundraising and the flow of these funds to countries that have been endorsed after satisfying set conditions. So far, 45 developing countries have had their education sector plan endorsed, and 20 countries have already received FTI catalytic funds for programmes. Ethiopia and Kenya are among the latter. The focus on primary schooling, which grew more apparent in the last few years, from among EFA goals can be, at least, partially explained by the dependence of donor organizations and the developing countries on the financial and intellectual resources of the World Bank. While resource reliance is a significant factor in educational initiatives' gravitation towards UPE, normative factors also contributed to the convergence of donor assistance within developing countries. Basic (primary and lower secondary) education is an educational sub-sector that is more likely to be subject to a consensus agreement on its importance than would other educational sub-sectors. The widely shared assumption suggests that school-based basic education has been the backbone of development in industrialized countries, and

therefore it must stand as a precondition for modernization (Astiz, Wiseman, & Baker, 2002; Carnoy & Rhoten, 2002; Mundy, 1999). Furthermore, access to basic education has been articulated in various conventions and declarations concerning children's rights and education time and time again since the adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1948, which itself embodied normative pressure on donors and governments by insisting that the failure to effectively work towards achieving this goal could be judged as a neglect of human rights (Chabbott, 1998). Such repetition of fundamental terms outlining universal basic education in official documents, as well as publicization of progress towards its achievement, has acted as a normative coercive force which has bound both donors and government involved in international discourse. Thus, 1) the interrelationship among groups of institutions in developing and assisting countries, 2) the normative pressures created and reinforced among them, and 3) added pressures created by financial dependence on limited sources, are factors that have effectively resulted in the convergence of policy and action for educational development over the standardization of EFA goals—and more specifically towards universal primary education.

2.2   Internationally accepted models brought to local contexts

In each developing country, groups of donor organizations and the government have institutionalized a variety of fora for negotiation, such as sector/sub-sector technical working groups, regular donor-government coordination meetings, and annual review meetings for education sector programmes, among others. Such arrangements for inter-party consultation have had greater sway since the late-1990s, when internationally-held consensus aimed that the relationship between assisting and the assisted countries should not be coercive or compelled but rather an equal 'partnership' encouraging the development of policy 'ownership' by the assisted party. That's why donor organizations now call themselves 'development partners.' Furthermore, governments are encouraged to establish domestic channels for more 'democratic' decision-making and 'partnership' with civil society organizations as well. Thus, it is not unusual in this day and age to

see representatives from NGOs—often times from national advocacy NGOs and NGO federations—taking part in important meetings and sector coordinating bodies. 'Partnership', therefore, is broad and multifaceted, inasmuch as it is applied to the government's relationships with donors, NGOs, and other external stakeholders, while, at the same time, it also signifies intra-governmental relationships kept among ministries, departments, and divisions.

Another term in vogue at this time is 'ownership.' With recent international commitments to fostering the 'ownership' of assisted countries, donor organizations have began pressuring one another to terminate conventional forms of projects, i.e. those implemented directly by consultants hired by the donor and managed under a steering committee independent of the Education Ministry. Newer mainstream perspectives, made known by recent donor discourse strongly led by the European donors and the World Bank, direct that supporting governmental budgets, rather than running projects, is the more advanced model for providing assistance to developing countries. Budget support is a modality of assistance invented to encourage the autonomy of the developing countries and their governments in policy development. While reflecting on negotiation, donors may elect to endorse national or sector development policies and action plans developed by the government after which financial support would be provided; this is expected to replace the conventional model where donors push the planning and implementation of parochial projects without coordinating with the assisted government or other donors. As will be discussed, there are several ways of allocating budget support, for example, by requiring sector-level or government-wide earmark that support for use in a specific sector or field of activities, or by even allowing for the disbursement of unconditional budget support. But these are all commonly based on the ideals of 'partnership' and 'ownership.' The multitude of meetings held between donors and governments are considered important channels for consensus building, especially since donors are now expected to be less involved in the implementation of development activities. Donors, therefore, are careful to ensure through the consultation process that the government's programme goes along with their advice—not unlike highhanded

orders, in some cases, consciously taking advantage of the donor's financial and political power. Though many bilateral donors, UN bodies, and NGOs still implement hands-on projects for assisted countries instead of providing budget support, it has become more and more important as a pre-condition that they do so only as part of a 'partnership' process, wherein they may exercise influence over policy-making and convince third parties of the value of their 'projects'.

It is understandable that as donor organizations have shifted to the provision of budget support, their in-country staff then try to control the flow and outcomes of such assistance; this is because in-country staff themselves are under pressure to follow the donor's organizational mandate while simultaneously demonstrating the assisted government's progress towards targets. Among donors that provide assistance to developing countries in line with the government's development plans, it is not uncommon that the success of these governmental plans, and thus the efficacy of the donor's own investment, be measured based on agreed indicators. This close tie between assessing government performance and donor effectiveness often tempts the donor's staff in the field to individually attempt to control policy processes in assisted countries, regardless of widely-accepted norms of 'partnership' and 'ownership.'

In the late 1990s, the World Bank and the IMF started to require that Heavily Indebted Poor Countries (HIPCs) prepare Poverty Reduction Strategic Paper (PRSPs) in order that these countries be qualified for relief from debt accumulated through donor loans. This HIPC debt relief initiative symbolized a major shift away from structural adjustment, as previously favored by Bretton Woods institutions, and it possessed a heavy focus on improving macro-economic performance in developing countries while minimizing the function of governments, including offices in social sectors. However, the World Bank and IMF gave up on this structural adjustment scheme after witnessing unsatisfactory improvement in macro-economic indicators coupled with growing inequality in target countries. They concluded that heavily-indebted countries caught in negative debt cycles—meaning that payments only covered interest on debt but not the loan capital—would never

be able to rightly launch their economies unless relief from debt was delivered. Also, since domestic inequality grew across the board during the structural adjustment era as a result of cuts in social services, the new agenda was to reduce poverty while giving special priority to the social service sectors, particularly in basic education and primary health care. The Millennium Development Goals adopted at the U.N. general assembly in 2000 follow the same line of reasoning: poverty reduction. Poverty Reduction Strategic Papers, which are basically national development plans, must be prepared by HIPC governments under their own initiative ('ownership'), but are only approved by the World Bank/IMF when compliant with a specified framework. The existence of this tacit framework has contributed to vast similarities in the PRSPs of varying HIPCs. Among these tacit conditions was the need to give priority to basic education when allocating resources and strategic emphasis.

Aid modalities such as PRSP, debt relief, and budget support based on sector development plans are all closely linked to MDGs since MDGs act as the benchmark for assessing the performance of national governments and their sector ministries. Aid modalities are also linked to donors' shared initiatives like the FTI. For example, out of the 20 countries whose education sector plans have been endorsed by the FTI secretariat and now are qualified to receive catalytic funds, 13 are HIPCs and, moreover, 10 of them are concentrated in Africa. The enforcement of two EFA goals adopted as MDGs, namely, universal free compulsory primary education and eliminating gender disparities, in addition to the conditionalities and modalities thereby put into effect for development assistance, have resulted in bringing both the attention of the international assistance community, and the policies of developing countries structured under strong donor influence, to rest on a narrower target of increasing access to and gender equity in basic, especially primary, education from among the six original EFA goals.

2.3   Patterns visible in statistical and financial data

Table 1-1 shows trends in two kinds of aid dependence indicators. Among Ethiopia, Kenya, and Tanzania, Kenya is consistently the least aid depend-

ent in terms of both *Aid per capita* and *Aid as percentage of GNI*, while Tanzania and Ethiopia are both highly aid dependent. Whereas the average figure for aid as a percentage of GNI in the sub-Saharan Africa region is 5.3, these two countries exceed it by three to four times. However, in terms of the actual dollars of aid inflow (aid per capita), Tanzania receives the largest amount. Though Ethiopia receives less than half of what Tanzania receives in aid from donors, its GNI per capita, far lower than that of Tanzania or Kenya, is the reason why its proportion of aid against GNI statistically balloons. It is difficult to estimate from the overall inflow of aid alone the exact amount of foreign assistance directed to the education sector. This is especially so because of the great extent to which resources from outside which are not counted in the governmental budget (off-budget assistance) flow into the sector. However, since the PRSPs of these three countries unitarily indicate education as a priority sector, it would be safe to conclude that general patterns in the development of relations with external assistance also apply to the education sector.

In this vein, Kenya is an interesting outlier. Even though it is least dependent on external assistance, it has devoted a greater proportion of public expenditures to education than the other two countries. The education sector makes up a quarter to more than a third of public expenditures, which is surprisingly high assuming that the data is reliable. Educational expenditures consist of a high proportion against the GDP as well—consistently around 6 percent of the total GDP or, at times, closer to 7 percent. According to a regional comparison of UNDP data, it is among the highest in sub-Sahara Africa, following only Zimbabwe and Lesotho, which allocated 10.4 percent and 10.0 percent of their GDP respectively to the education sector during the period from 1999 to 2001 (UNDP, 2004).

Table 1-1   Trends of aid dependence

	GNI per capita (US$)	Aid per captia ($)				Aid as % of GNI			
		2001	2002	2003	2004	2001	2002	2003	2004
Kenya	480	15	13	15	19	4	3.2	3.4	4
Tanzania	320	36	35	47	46	13.3	13.2	16.3	16.2
Ethiopia	110	16	19	22	26	17.5	21.7	22.8	23

Note: From World Development Indicators, 2003-2006, World Bank.

Kenya's pattern of allocating resources among sub-sectors in education also differs slightly when compared to Ethiopia and Tanzania. Kenya allocates less to primary education and more to TVET and secondary education (see Figure 1-1). This pattern may indicate the kind of choices in the education sector a government would make when there is less external interference. It also suggests that Education for All in Kenya may have different operational priorities than in the other two countries. In interviews conducted in Kenya, respondents tended to talk more about reaching out to vulnerable populations or seeing that diverse educational needs, including special education, are met. This contrasts, for example, respondents in Ethiopia who repeatedly pointed out that providing even the minimum of access to basic education for the majority of school-aged children is a big challenge. The high proportion of resources allocated to education in Kenya can be seen as a sign of the government's commitment to educating its people, and this stands pretty independent of international trends. Probably as a result of this strong political will (together with other economic and social factors), Kenya had maintained a fairly high primary gross enrolment—only a little less than 90 percent—before it grew to more than 100 percent achieved with the additional resources invested in this educational sub-sector at the dawn of the new millennium (see Figure 1-2). In regard to its place on the continuum of achieving Education for All, one may say that Kenya has now nearly completed the stage of quantitatively expanding primary education and soon aims to include the population which has been difficult to be reached into the system or further improve the quality of education.

Figure 1-1   Share of recurrent expenditure by subsector
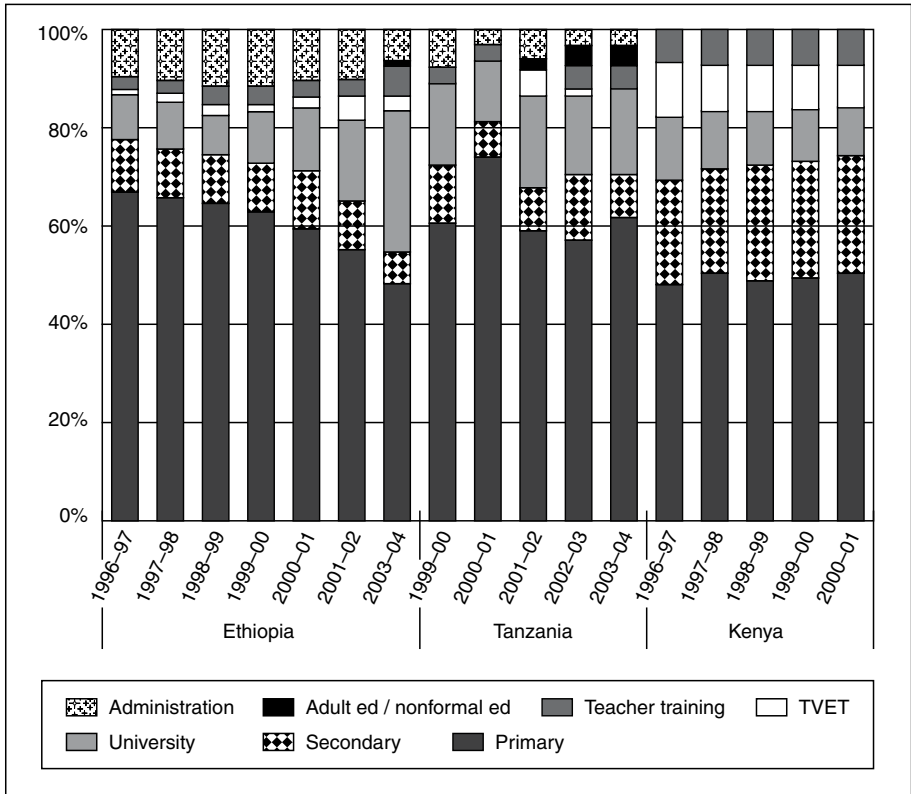
Note: Ethiopia
  • For the years 1997/97-2001/02: "Ethiopia focusing public expenditures on poverty reduction," by the World Bank, 2001c.
  • For the year 2003/04: "Education sector development program III (ESDP III) 2005/2006 – 2010/2011 Program Action Plan," Ministry of Education, The Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia, 2005.
  Tanzania
  • For the years 1999/00-2000/01: "Tanzania public expenditure review FY 03," by the World Bank, 2004.
  • For the years 2001/02-2003/04: "The United Republic of Tanzania: Education sector public expenditure review 2005," by Altair Asesores S.L., 2005
  Kenya
  • For the years 1996/97-1999/00: "Public expenditure review 2003," by the Republic of Kenya, 2003.
  • For the year 2000/01: "Education Sector Development Programme (ESDP): Consolidated National Performance Report, 2002/3," by the Ministry of Education, Ethiopia, 2004a.

Figure 1-2   Trends of gross enrolment rates in three countries

In terms of primary gross enrolment rate, Tanzania is second to Kenya. Not unlike Kenya, its GERs have numbered high and remained pretty consistent, yet it did not reach Kenya's ranks until last few years. On the other hand, GERs in Ethiopia increased steeply from 20.5 percent in 1993/94 to nearly 80 percent (79.2 percent) in 2004/05. Tanzania's first president after independence, Mwalimu Nyerere, was very committed to education. Ethiopian political leaders of Nyerere's generation were no less serious about education, as attested by the fact that the country hosted the first international education conference in the region in 1961. As the author will demonstrate later, the commitments of the government to education may have fluctuated, but never disappeared in any of the three countries. However, Ethiopia was relatively less successful in its educational endeavours, probably due to factors such as its vast territory, diversity in population, the onslaught of natural disasters, and political turmoil.

Table 1-2 shows that both Tanzania and Ethiopia have been increasing public expenditure on education seen as a percentage of its GDP over the past

few years. In Ethiopia's case, education has also gained an increasing share of total public expenditure, which means that the education sector is growing at the cost of other public sectors. In contrast, spending on education in Tanzania has grown at the same pace as other sectors, but its proportion to total public expenditure is consistently around 16-17 percent. Of all three countries, Tanzania receives the largest amount of aid and the financial resources of its government are growing larger than ever before. That is why public expenditure (including education) is increasing when measured against GDP. However, so far as financial data tell, even though primary education held priority status in the Tanzanian PRSP, the bargaining power of the Ministry of Education relative to other ministries may not be very strong when it comes to budgeting.

In Tanzania and Ethiopia, priority within the education sector has been basically given to primary education, where roughly 60 percent of the total educational budget goes. Allocations to primary education once increased in Tanzania to 74.7 percent in 2000/01, but the next year it was reduced and since then has been maintained at a level of around 60 percent (Altair Asesores S.L., 2005).[1] Ethiopia also allocates a large portion of its funds to primary education. The difference however between Ethiopia and Tanzania

Table 1-2   Trends of educational expenditure

	Educational expenditure (as % of public expenditure)	Educational expenditure (as % of GDP)	Educational expenditure (as % of public expenditure)	Educational expenditure (as % of GDP)	Educational expenditure (as % of public expenditure)	Educational expenditure (as % of GDP)
	Kenya		Tanzania		Ethiopia	
1998	36.90				11.50	3.5
1999	37.10	6.2			9.60	3.2
2000	29.10	5.8			13.90	4
2001	31.70	6	16.96	2.8	17.00	5
2002	28.70	6.8	17.23	3.41		
2003			16.14	3.53		
2004			16.33	4.25		

Note: From "Public expenditure review 2003," by Republic of Kenya, 2003; "Tanzania public expenditure review FY 03," by the World Bank, 2004; "Joint review of the primary education development plan (PEDP): Final report," by United Republic of Tanzania, 2003; "The United republic of Tanzania: Education sector public expenditure review 2005," by Altair Asesores S.L., 2005; and "Ethiopia focusing public expenditures on poverty reduction," by the World Bank, 2001.

is that Ethiopia has recently increased its allocations to tertiary education and TVET, while at the same time reducing allocations to primary education year by year; primary education comprised 66.7 percent of the total educational budget in 1996/97 and 48 percent in 2003/04. The Ethiopian government has shown that it possesses a strong will to promote both TVET and tertiary education, though it has had to face rather strong opposition from the World Bank and other donors (World Bank, 2001). Indeed, the fact that the Ethiopian government has domestically achieved such rapid expansion of popular access to primary education, on the one hand, while not necessarily concentrating its limited resources on primary education alone, is amazing. Even though percentages representing the proportion of money channelled from the educational budget to primary education have shown a decrease, the actual monetary amount of funds allocated has increased. Also, Ethiopia's educational system seems to depend largely on community contributions as well as assistance derived from donors, NGOs, and other resources outside of the governmental budget (off-budget support). According to the financial plan for the Education Sector Development Program (ESDP), community contributions are estimated to cover more than 10 percent of the total programme cost (Ministry of Education, 2005, 72). All the same, even when considering these factors, it is still not clear how the government of Ethiopia manages its huge budget deficit so as to achieve universal primary education (Yamada, 2007).

Aid dependence is a significant factor determinant of resource allocation patterns and strategic prioritization in educational sub-sectors. Tanzania, the quickest of the three to increase reliance on foreign financial assistance, has been seen by donors as a showcase of new aid modalities; it has been more accommodative to 'partner's advice' than the other two countries studied. Ethiopia, which is said to show strong 'ownership' of its policies and does not easily succumb to external pressure, depends less on foreign assistance than does Tanzania. The irony here is that although the international aid community says that it welcomes expressions of 'ownership' by recipient countries, when taken literally, a government's expression of 'ownership' may mean non-compliance with the prescriptions of funders. Kenya's unique pattern of resource allocation can be partly explained by its

low aid dependence. In fact, it has been said that donors were reluctant to commit to Kenya financially in past decades because of persistent and widespread practices of corruption. In sum, aid dependence reflects quite well the magnitude of external influence, which in turn affects recipient governments' policy decision regarding Education for All. At the same time, external actors do not exercise their influences in a vacuum. They often negotiate terms with the government, while advocating selected points so as to make sure policy will focus on specific areas. The variety of meetings and other mechanisms of 'partnership' are useful channels for such negotiation. However, after all is said and done, it is the government who enacts the policy and implements it. Therefore, unless the government demonstrates the commitment and will to carry out terms as agreed, priorities dictated by the donors may gradually be forgone, as visible when the Ethiopian government gradually shifted its budget away from primary education to the tertiary and TVET sub-sectors. Therefore, the attitudes of domestic actors—not only government officials at the Ministry of Education, but also officials at other ministries and agencies, and stakeholders from NGOs, academics, media, and the general public—would be important determinants in the process of adopting and localizing EFA goals hailing from the outside. These domestic stakeholders act based on their knowledge of and experience in the existing educational system, national political culture, educational development history, and other socio-political and institutional factors. Here then, it is quite important to understand the cultural, historical, political, and organizational contexts in order to make sense of interactions relating to the process of policy-making.

3   Shifting Foci in Educational Policies—An Historical Perspective

In this section, the author will present a brief historical review of the global discourse on educational needs in developing countries as well as subsequent prioritizations in policy as had affected each of our three case countries since the 1960s (and after independence in the cases of Kenya and Tanzania). Just as in the current EFA-era, policy enhancing the develop-

ment of national education systems in each country has been, throughout their histories, influenced by global discourse on education in developing countries. The international community has been dominated by a few fanciful educational ideas which are brought under limelight one after another at the interval of a decade or so. These include ideas of educational adaptation, or education for manpower development. In the time that an idea is dominant, many donor organizations along with the governments of developing countries tend to align their priorities in terms of strategy and resources to the trend. After a while, some drawbacks or less-than-satisfactory results to interventions arise and stakeholders will start to think of modifying their guiding principles. In this way, the focus of educational policy, as determined internationally, will swing like a pendulum from one arena to another. This section will herein present a timeline of some of the major educational ideas which framed policies and programmes developed by donors and governments. History tells us that policy-makers, even when they work for unique and charismatic leaders like Nyerere, cannot be kept fully independent of external influence. In the case of Nyerere, one may claim that his philosophies of self-reliance and adult literacy influenced international discourse, and not the other way round. This statement holds true because of how ideas are cross-fertilized as policy-makers learn from and replicate the good practices of others. But even including such cases, where reciprocal relationships entail the borrowing and lending of policies, a country cannot be free from the influence of others. When accompanied by technical and financial assistance, advice from donors may bring about rather abrupt change in policy without a clear designation of any underlying contextual necessity. Such policy changes often contributed to the discontinuance of certain educational policies or practices where, as a result, the priority programmes of earlier times would be abandoned while still incomplete, before their goals were ever achieved. As the author will discuss later, drops in primary school enrolment in Kenya and Tanzania in the early 1980s can be explained by this sudden shift in focus stemming, at least partially, from external factors.

In other cases, however, domestic circumstances were more responsible for discontinuity in policy than external factors. As some interviewees crit-

ically explained, especially in Ethiopia, policy-makers have a tendency to want to negate the ventures of earlier regimes, even those that drew positive results, and are in need of continuous governmental intervention to maintain/further the effect or, as was observed in all three countries, politicians may pledge increased commitment to educational expansion, no matter how limited governmental resources are, in response to public pressure. Local factors—whether they are socio-political, cultural, or economic, among others—are, therefore, just as influential in the policy process as external ones. Therefore, the second part of this section will review changes in the orientation of each country's policy since the 1960s. By longitudinally reviewing the trajectory of global trends along with their related national contexts, one can see the ways in which external and local factors determined the direction and formation of policy and the overall extent of their impact in each of the three countries respectively.

3.1   External policy agendas commonly affecting the three countries

Many European colonies in Africa gained their independence in the late 1950s and early 1960s. Prior to this, and after the Second World War, European colonizers had shifted their focus in colonial policy from maintaining rule over African subjects to enhancing processes that would instill African self-government as a path to independence. In this connection, education was considered a means of training African leaders for replacing Europeans in key positions in both the public and private sectors. To fill the gap existent between the demand for highly educated white collar workers and the actual number of such workers available and qualified, the European administrations, alongside newly established international organizations such as UNESCO and the World Bank, made the development of general secondary and higher education in emerging states a priority. It was during this time that many universities were established in Africa, some of which were reconstructed post-secondary educational institutions, while others were newly established. Makerere University in Uganda is an example of the former and Nairobi University in Kenya is an example of the latter (Lulat, 2005, 228-230; Otiende et al., 1992, 97). During this period, an inter-

national consensus on the need to direct urgent attention to the development of skilled and professional manpower had taken hold, wherein the strive towards UPE was marked desirable as a long-term goal.

As time passed, greater weight came to be placed on more vocationally- or technically-oriented education rather than general education, although donor organizations were still mainly concerned with schooling at the secondary and tertiary levels. For example, between 1964 and 1969, secondary-level vocational education was the second largest area recipient to World Bank educational loans. During this period, total Bank lending to vocational type of education (conducted across different sub-sectors such as secondary, post-secondary, non-formal, and teacher education) reached 51 percent, while primary education gained only 6 percent (Jones, 1992, 182). This policy angle, centering on developing manpower at middle- and high-level posts, dominated discourse until the entry of the 1980s.

Together with the theory of manpower development, the theory of "basic human needs" arose in the international aid community. BHN is the idea that all people should have access to the physical materials necessary for survival (i.e. food and shelter) as well as the skills for living self-reliantly. In this line of thought, the advantage of adapting education to students' learning needs and local contexts was emphasized. During this period, Ethiopia, Kenya, and Tanzania all enhanced their commitment to primary education. Community schools established solely by the work of communities increased in number, whereby donors provided support for improving the quality of education to better meet local needs at these schools (Buchert, 1994, 123-143).

Somewhere along the same line as BHN, lifelong learning and adult literacy education also gained strong ideological support, mainly from UNESCO. Because of UNESCO's rather weak financial capacity, its influence over other donors was limited. Even so, many governments in developing countries devoted a great deal of effort to developing curricula, training teachers, and extending the opportunities of adult literacy education to the masses. All three countries studied here, especially Tanzania and Ethiopia, were

among the most enthusiastic in this regard. At the time, post-colonial states in Africa, Latin America, and Asia were keen to learn from each other, and adult education was among a number of activities that these countries preferred to adopt. Julius Nyerere, the first president of independent Tanzania, was an influential figure with his philosophy of "Education for Self-help." Some African countries that had taken the path to socialism—Guinea and Congo, for example—announced education policies similar to Tanzania's. Adult literacy education was a major component of Nyerere's education policy (Mulenga, 2001). Here, an important matter to point out is that external influence may just very well be from multiple sources, and mutual learning among countries that believe they share commonalities (such as African neighbours or post-colonial states) often provides a strong drive for policy-making.

A clear break in the orientation of policy happened in the early 1980s, when structural adjustment programmes (SAP) were introduced by the World Bank/IMF to many developing countries which displayed weak macroeconomic performance. A guiding principle of SAP was minimizing the role of the public sector so as to encourage the free and active engagement in business activities by the private sector. Social services like education were seriously hurt by this policy, because the number of government officials, including teachers, was reduced and parents were expected to share the cost of schooling their children. The education sector as a whole received far less attention than it had during the earlier period, although it did not affect as badly people who could afford the cost of schooling and thus have better access to education higher than primary. Criticism echoed from a variety of directions asserting that social disparities had widened because of the SAP. In many African countries, including Kenya and Tanzania, primary enrolment dropped after peaking at the beginning of the 1980s. A common explanation for this widespread phenomenon of decreasing enrolment rates suggested that it was rooted in Sub-Saharan Africa's economic recession and the reduction of governmental budgets administered as a result of it. However, the World Bank admits that in 18 of the African countries that adopted SAPs, various macroeconomic indicators took a turn for the worse (World Bank, 1993), which implies that the SAPs were at least a

part of causes of the economic slump in this region, rather than the bad economy hampered SAPs and educational provision.

Widening poverty and growing social disparity were lasting ramifications of the SAPs, and by such the international aid community was presented with an open invitation for self-reflection; the pendulum swung here again towards the alleviation of poverty. In the education sector, primary education made it back to the limelight once more. This is how EFA goals emerged within the overall framework of the poverty reduction paradigm. EFA goals then, when put in an historical context, are one part of an extended paradigm shift, and in discussions on the topic echoes with the past, theory of Basic Human Needs often abound.

3.2   Educational development in Ethiopia, Kenya, and Tanzania since the 1960s

This section will review the history of educational development in each country. The purpose herein is to see how local and external factors both worked in the process of policy-making and how different mixes of these factors led to different outlooks on education systems. The author will use gross enrolment in primary education as a yardstick for overall trends. Indicators for enrolment and the state of school facilities quite accurately reflect how the government has committed itself to education since these areas show change soon after policy decisions are made, in contrast to the lag in such evident change when measuring quality, efficiency, and student performance. It is well known that gross enrolment rates tend to drop almost immediately where the government has not continued investing its energy and resources in the educational sub-sector. Therefore, when gross enrolment shows a downward trend, one may assume that the government directed its emphasis to an educational sub-sector other than primary—such as secondary, tertiary, technical & vocational, or adult literacy—or to altogether different public sectors—such as industry, agriculture, or health, among others. In other words, observing gross enrolment rates can allow one to check whether priority changes in documented policy have brought about changes in practice. Using primary enrolment as a yardstick to gauge

such changes also serves an additional purpose—allowing UPE's current global agenda to be located within its greater historical context. If increases in enrolment coincide with points where UPE policies were introduced, one may assume that the recent impact of UPE/EFA policy was significant. However, if enrolment trends show patterns not easily distinguishable, then there should be other factors, either local or external, which have affected policy-making.

Kenya

In Kenya under British rule, the education system was segregated along racial lines and educational opportunities for Africans at governmental and government-aided schools were limited. At the time of independence in 1963, the net enrolment rate of Africans was 34.7 percent, compared to 77.5 percent, 74.6 percent, and 35.8 percent for Asian, European, and Arab school-aged populations respectively (Otiende et al., 1992, 75). Africans were resentful of being subject to such discrimination, especially since education was seen as a channel to white collar jobs with cash income. It was in this environment that the independent school movement emerged in the early 20th century from among the Kikuyu people. Independent schools mushroomed and became a major channel of education for the rural African population. Traditionally, they were fully funded by contributions from the masses and, as such, enjoyed a high degree of autonomy, although the quality of education was generally low.

Reconstructing the education system for an independent Kenya consisted of merging the racially segregated school systems into a singular non-segregated one, but the rural masses, as before, largely depended on the former independent schools. Because of this, the Kenyan education system faced the peculiar difficulty of having to balance a tradition of local autonomy with a demand for central control over school administration and standardization. At the same time, the tradition of independent schools succeeded in allowing local educational authorities to operate with less financial dependence on the central government. Local communities were ready to share the cost in one way or another. Centralization of the system, as desired by Kenya's independent government, has meant an increase in

financial burdens the government must bear (Cowan, 1970).

Also, as the history of independent schools shows, public awareness of the economic and social value of education was high. Constant pressure for more and better education obliged the government to increase its commitment to education, especially at the lower rungs of the system. In their campaign for the 1963 election, the Kenya African National Union (KANU) promised to bring free universal primary education making this issue a hot topic of debate between KANU and Kenya People's Union (KPU), the opposition party. Financially, the gap between what was available and what was needed made the actualization of free universal primary education (fUPE) seem quite unrealistic. Also, in Kenya, because teachers' unions stood as a strong pressure group, it was not possible to fire teachers or reduce their salaries, and a majority of the recurrent budget was spent on teachers' salaries.[2] Education's share in total government expenditure increased from 14.5 percent in 1969/70 to 23.5 percent in 1987/88, out of which, the share of development budget had not increased and consistently stayed at around 4-6 percent. On the other hand, the share of the recurrent budget increased from 17.7 percent to 33.04 percent over the same time (Otiende et al., 1992, 127). Regardless of financial difficulty, politically Kenya did not have the option of withdrawing from its promise of fUPE. After much hesitation, the Kenyan government abolished primary school fees in 1974, and this policy lasted until a cost-sharing policy was introduced under the SAP in the early 1980s.[3]

Owing to the government's strong will to achieve UPE in conjunction with the abolition of school fees, the gross primary enrolment rate reached as high as 120 percent in 1980, but from then on, it embarked on a long downward trend until 2000. One major cause of this sudden decrease is the adoption of the SAP. Until 1980, educational trends in Kenya showed that the country developed with little external influence. Rather, local political factors governed matters to a large extent. The acceptance of the World Bank's structural adjustment loan opened the way to donor funding for Kenya. Between the 1980 and 1988, the amount of net ODA received from all donors more than doubled from US $397 million to US $836 million

Figure 1-3   Trends of gross enrolment rates in Kenya, 1970–2002
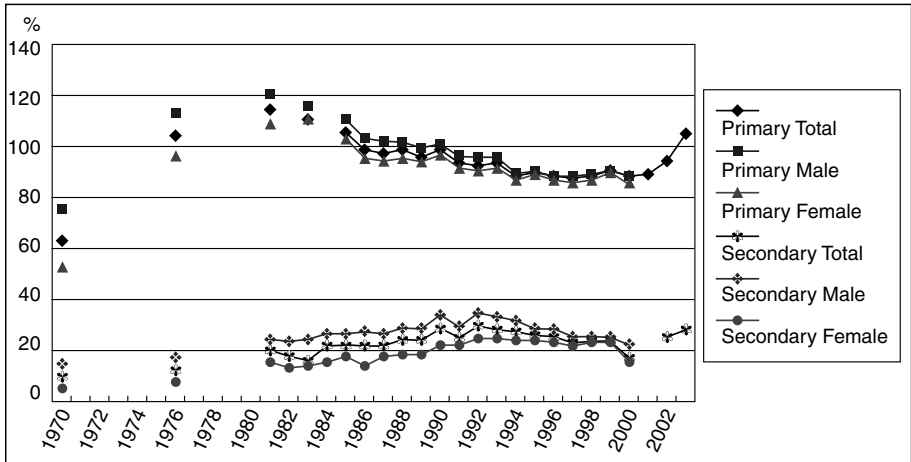
Note: Data on primary education – World Bank (2001) and Ministry of Education, Science and Technology, cited in Bedi et al. (2002)
Data on secondary education – World Bank (2001) and Ministry of Education, cited in Legovini (2002)

(World Bank, 2001, 293).[4]   Up until this time, the Kenyan education system was mostly financed by local sources, regardless of difficulties they may have had in securing funds. However, by the time EFA goals were brought in during the 1990s, the system had become far more aid-dependent than before. The same holds true for Tanzania and Ethiopia to an even greater extent (see Table 1-1 for aid dependency in the 2000s).

Tanzania

Tanzania achieved its independence from the British in 1961. Similar to Kenya, Tanzania's racially segregated education system, developed during the colonial period, was unified soon after national independence. Tanzania's approach to development was inward-looking, based on the unique ideas promoted by their first president Nyerere, who adapted socialism to the African traditional philosophy of *Ujamaa*. This approach towards national development was quite different from Kenya, which had opened itself to the market economy, or Ethiopia with its imperial regime. The government nationalized private enterprises and the salary levels of modern sector employees were adjusted in accordance with rural incomes of the

peasantry. The communal production mechanism of Ujamaa villages was developed so as to replace individual farming. In doing so, *Ujamaa* pushed for communal solidarity and liberation from inequalities brought by the colonists.

The philosophy of *Ujamaa* required social transformation along with a reorientation of the people's consciousness. Education was expected to play a major role in this process and the educational philosophy in alignment with *Ujamaa* was called 'Education for Self-Reliance.' To spread the ideas of *Ujamaa*, the government devoted much of its energy and resources to enhancing various modes of education from formal to non-formal, for all populations including school-aged children and adults. But the area for which President Nyerere was best known in the world was adult non-formal education. The fact that Nyerere was awarded a UNESCO international award for his contribution to education tells us much about the widely-accepted importance of his work, not only in Tanzania, but also across the globe (Mulenga, 2001). Education for Self-Reliance (ESR) was a clear break from the British policy of manpower development, which focused mostly on the middle- and high-levels of education. Under the ESR philosophy, teaching and learning materials were made relevant to village life, and both the school and students together were expected to take part in production and social activities of the village.

By far, the larger share of the Tanzanian government's recurrent revenues was generated through taxation, which accounted for 82-88 percent of its total revenues during 1961-1980. Development expenditures were partly financed by foreign assistance, but this share was inconsistent and fluctuated anywhere between 90 percent and 24 percent throughout the 1960s, ultimately rising again to 75 percent in 1978. An overall budgetary deficit did exist from the early 1970s, and this had doubled by the 1980s. Of social services, education always consumed a greater portion due to manpower needs and its prioritization by the government. The share of educational expenditure measured against GDP shows an increase from 2.7 percent to 5.7 percent during 1962/63–1975/76, which was largely retained in 1980/81 at 5.3 percent, although as a proportion of total government expenditure it

was in decline (Buchert, 1994, 98-107).

Just as in Kenya, the government's ability to maintain political stability was contingent on its will to provide educational opportunities, a major means of satisfying public demand. Therefore, even though its budgetary deficit was extremely indicative of its limited capacity to expand education, politically, the government had no choice but to keep reaffirming its commitment to do so.

According to ESR policy, adult illiteracy was to be eliminated by 1975 and UPE was to be achieved by 1977. As far as education for the masses was concerned, there was a steep increase in primary school enrolment from below 40 percent up to nearly 100 percent between 1970 and 1980. The provision of adult education courses succeeded in reducing the number of illiterates in the general population from 90 percent to 20 percent between the years 1962-1981 (Buchert, 1994, 112).

As was the case with Kenya, in Tanzania the introduction of the SAP in 1982 caused a drop in primary enrolment. The basic concern of education policy was redirected to academic quality in post-primary education, from its previous focus on access, equity, and curricular relevance at the primary level. In both Kenya and Tanzania, the dominant vernacular is Kiswahili. During the Education for Self-Reliance period, Kiswahili was used as the language of instruction throughout Tanzania, unlike the educational system of Kenya which utilized English from the upper-primary level. However, new education policy under the SAP recognized English as the official language of instruction at the post-primary level. This case is evidence of how curricula that were "Africanized," or adapted to local needs, just prior to the SAP were returned to a more abstract and universal academic format. Here again, the SAP and its accompanying increases in external funding had a standardizing effect on education policy, bringing it in line with the global consensus, whereby Tanzania's own development of unique educational policies became less likely in this shifting environment.

Figure 1-4　Trends of gross enrolment rates in Tanzania, 1970–2000
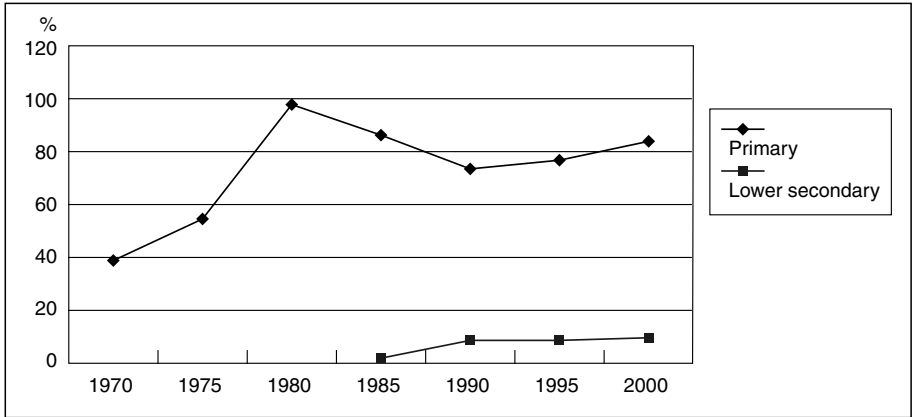
Ethiopia

In the 1960s, reflecting the atmosphere of a new Africa eager to develop skilled manpower for rapid economic development, Ethiopian education policy gave precedence to establishing technical training schools while expanding academic education. This policy declared, for the first time in Ethiopia's history, universal primary education to be a long-range objective. Between 1961 and 1971, the government expanded the public school system more than fourfold. Even with this increase, however, enrolment at primary and secondary schools was marginal with around 600,000 pupils in only 1,300 schools in 1971 (Library of Congress, 2006) compared to 12,309,375 enrolled in 17,219 schools for grade 1–10 (Primary up to the second year of secondary) in 2004/05 (Ministry of Education, 2005a). In the period between the overthrow of the imperial government in 1974 and the rise of the military government in 1977, enrolment growth had stagnated. However, the setback proved to be only temporary and enrolment at all levels grew by 20 percent the following year (World Bank, 2004, 22)(see Figure 1-5).

Figure 1-5   Trends of gross enrolment in Ethiopia, 1967–2002
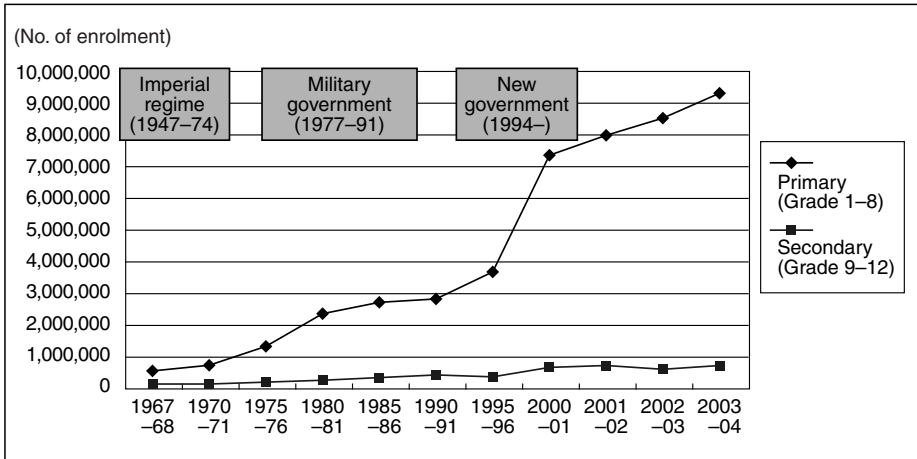
Note: reproduced from World Bank 2004:22

Consistently throughout Ethiopia's history of educational development, each government administration has involved the communities in school construction. During its rule, the military regime proactively utilized community resources as per its policy and spawned an increase in the number of primary schools, from 3,196 in 1974/75 to 7,900 in 1985/86 (Library of Congress, 2006). Although the earlier governments succeeded in making noteworthy improvements in primary and secondary education in its own right, when the current government took office in 1994, prospects for universal education in the near future did not seem bright. In that first year, following continuous efforts to expand education, the gross enrolment was only a meagre 34 percent.

As is evidenced by the enrolment trends shown in Figure 1-5, efforts toward universal primary education were strengthened with the entry of each new government. This trend implies the political significance of education within government cunning to gain public confidence and establish the legitimacy of its rule. The installation of social outreach services, such as health posts and schools, is highly visible at the grassroots level as a form of government-provided benefits. Therefore, not only in Ethiopia but also in many African countries, it is common practice for contending or newly

incepted factions to promise the expansion of education in their pursuit of political power. In addition, withdrawal of the regime's word, once committed and spread to the villages, becomes difficult due to fears that public expectations will be upset and the basis of its rule would be weakened thereby. One case in point would be the Ethiopian general election campaign in May 2005. Both the ruling (Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front) and opposition (Coalition for Unity and Democracy) parties promised stronger commitment to education and health services in their manifestos - promises, which were propagated widely via mass-media and personal contacts.

Such examples show that politicians often use education as a means to induce the general public to support the legitimacy of their rule, as was also the case in Kenya. The rationale that education is a right that every child is guaranteed is often brandished in political debates together with utilitarian justification naming it as a form of investment in national development. However, in many cases, politicians' commitment to education, a sector which requires a large portion of the limited national budget, is motivated more by political circumstance than idealistic convictions to the guarantee of human rights.

In relation to the politics of education, the author would also like to mention the National Literacy Campaign implemented by the military regime between 1975 and 1990. It was introduced along with a massive amalgamate of social mobilization programmes. While condemning social injustices perpetrated by the imperial regime, the military government pledged to redistribute property and empower the rural masses. It began with the deliverance of more than 60,000 students and teachers all over the country for two-year terms of service. According to government sources, about 1.5 million people eventually worked in the campaign, including students, civil servants, teachers, military personnel, housewives, and members of religious groups. According to the government figures, the literacy rate grew from not even 10 percent during the imperial regime to about 63 percent in 1984. Other sources, however, estimated the latter figure at around 37 percent. Whichever the case, the skyrocketing growth in adult literacy

achieved during the literacy campaign was not sustained for long. According to UNESCO data, the adult literacy rate in Ethiopia was 28.6 percent in 1990 and 39.1 percent in 2000 (UNESCO, 2005). Ethiopia's experience relating to this powerful, yet ultimately unsustainable, mass literacy campaign has spurred scepticism among some Ethiopian intellectuals of the current government's achievements in increasing enrolment at primary and secondary schools.

However, educational development in Ethiopia has been a little more uncustomary in nature, when compared to Kenya and Tanzania, since domestic political factors have clearly delivered greater influence over progress than paradigm shifts in the international community have. Introduction of the SAP did not even stir any great changes in gross enrolment rates as it had in Kenya and Tanzania. Ethiopia was also less affected by economic factors. Despite the fact that it is heavily aid dependent and serious gaps exist between available financial resources and the estimated amounts necessary for realization of UPE, somehow Ethiopia continues to advance steadily forward in achieving higher enrolment year by year. As the author has demonstrated elsewhere (Yamada, 2007), the government is heavily dependant on communities and parents for financial support and the tradition of one-party autocracy has solidified a structure reinforcing the obedience of the masses by the flow of socio-political pressure from the top down.

3.3   Policy framework

As reviewed earlier, the dominant discourse on aid modalities from the 1990s has been based on the philosophy of encouraging developing countries to recognize their own subjective commitments ('ownership') in policy-making, alongside which donors may act as 'partners' but do not interfere excessively. Within such a structure, dialoguing on policy receives more and more emphasis. The logic behind these new modalities, such as budget support, is that once donors and the government have spent enough time discussing matters, and both parties find the finalized policy satisfactory, then will the donors trust governments with implementation of these

policies enough to release the agreed supporting funds. The aim is to eliminate donors' past practices of picking up parochial areas of interest and single-handedly implementing projects without making the proper local alignments to government structure and administrative procedures. At the national level, policy framework within the newer system of 'partnership' is based on the Poverty Reduction Strategic Paper (PRSP). Then, at the sectoral level, a sector-wide program (SWAP) based on the sector development plan is developed in partnership with donors and other stakeholders (e.g. NGOs).

The coordination arrangement and relationships among 'partners' under sector programmes change quickly and the situation of the year before can be very different from what one would observe now. In this paper, the descriptions of sectoral policy environment in three countries provided below are based on the information updated between July and September 2006.

Kenya

In 2005, the Kenyan Ministry of Education, Science and Technology (MOEST) started the Kenya Education Sector Support Program (KESSP), developed in collaboration with donors. Even though the shift toward SWAP has proceeded at a slower pace than in Tanzania and Ethiopia, education has been given top priority in Kenya, too. The Free Primary Education program, which was enacted in January 2003, preceded KESSP as a transitional arrangement.

In Kenya, where the gross enrolment consistently hovered at around 90 percent from the early 1990s and has exceeded 100 percent over the last couple of years, many are concerned with reaching populations that need focused assistance such as those that reside in urban slums, Arid and Semi Arid Lands (ASAL) and pockets of poverty, in order to better enable their schooling and thereby achieve EFA goals. The need to support education for women and girls has also been clearly identified in order to achieve gender parity.

23 sub-programmes are kept under KESSP, although only a few of them have been brought to functioning order as of August 2006. Active programmes include teachers' in-service training (INSET) and access improvement for ASAL and urban slums. Four donors—CIDA, the World Bank, UNICEF, and the U.K. Department for International Development (DfID)—have signed a joint financial agreement for the INSET programme and also established a pooled fund. The INSET programme brings together the experiences of different donors in operating teacher in-service training. In doing so, the programme contributes to harmonizing INSET activities funded by different donors so as to reduce duplication and conflict.

World Bank and the DfID are leading other donors in the development of the SWAP in Kenya's education sector. Because of corruption, donors have generally been reluctant to commit to general budget support in Kenya, and even the WB and the DfID—who are fundamentally oriented towards disbursing budget support—do not expect a fast transition. Therefore, most foreign assistance in Kenya's education sector comes in the form of projects. More than 90 percent of MOEST's development budget in 2002 (approx. 8500,000 Ksh) was assistance in the form of projects. Donors active in the education sector include the World Bank, World Food Programme (WFP), U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID), Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC), UNICEF, DfID, Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA), EC, Belgium, African Development Bank (AfDB), SIDA, CIDA, Italy, and Deutsche Gesellschaft fur Technische Zusammenarbeit (GTZ: German technical cooperation agency). JICA has a successful secondary-level in-service teacher training project (SMASSE: Strengthening Math and Science in Secondary Education) in Kenya, and a large presence in the region. It has been co-chairing a donor meeting together with the DfID.

Tanzania

The second phase of the Primary Education Development Program (PEDP II, 2001-2006) is about to reach its conclusion in Tanzania. This programme is a sub-sectoral SWAP, which has followed a sub-sector five-year development plan. Its goals are to improve access to, and the quality of, primary

education as well as to strengthen the capacity of the Ministry of Education and Culture (MOEC) to plan, manage, and provide educational services.

Much like a showcase of donors' newest schemes, Tanzania adopted a variety of public sector reforms and modalities introduced by the assisting organizations. The Tanzanian government took rather seriously the cause of SWAP-approach, which was to minimize time and administrative burdens on assisted parties by harmonizing the funding procedures of PEDP II donors. Groups of donors working in the field of education also invested a lot of time and energy into the approach with the hope of opening paths to providing better aid. At the height of this zeal towards new modalities, the term 'donor coordination' was almost synonymous with the harmonization of funding procedures. It was not just a matter of collaborative attitude, but more importantly, it demanded the participating donors to unify the rules of disbursement, monitoring & evaluation, and so on. Six donors signed the Memorandum of Agreement with the Tanzanian government so as to pool donor funds in to one common bank account erected to serve the agreed objective of teacher education. Although the funding was specified to be used for teacher education, the overall scheme was considered as an exercise towards harmonizing the different regulations and funding modalities utilized by each donor. Formal parties who participated in this pooled fund were: the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA), the Netherlands, Norwegian Agency for Development Cooperation (NORAD), Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (SIDA), Finland, and Belgium. The DfID's position is that by providing direct budget support to the Ministry of Finance, it supports PRSP priority areas including basic education remotely. The rather acute attempts of some donors and the Tanzanian government to shift aid from coming in the form of projects to that of budget support have at times resulted in problems with foreign assistance whose procedures are judged non-harmonious. Similarly, organizations that provide assistance in the form of stand-alone projects or thematic initiatives (e.g., the United Nations Children's Fund's, or UNICEF's, global initiative for girls' education) tended to be viewed as uncooperative. Also, donors who joined the pooled fund found that actually harmonizing funding procedures was more difficult than anticipated and it was not long before

complications compounded because some donors were unable to release funds due to certain conditions not met by the government (e.g. lacking or inappropriate information included in reports; governmental failure to complete activities within their scheduled timeframe). In the end, at least during the 5-years of PEDP-II, the pooled funding system seemed not have succeeded to reduce time and energy for interaction (transaction cost) and, rather, both increased such costs and exhausted stakeholders in the process. As a result, donors have become far less zealous to continue committing to the primary education sub-sector; it is still unclear how many will remain involved after the termination of PEDP-II and how the government will attempt to financially sustain the already expanded primary education system.

Another sub-sector programme—the Secondary Education Development Program (SEDP)—began in 2004. This programme has also been led by the World Bank and the DfID. Other donors have not been keen to follow suit at any point since, and the government itself has not placed much priority on secondary education as far as resource allocation and implementation are concerned. Therefore, nearly two years from its inception, SEDP has still not shown much progress in practice.

Ethiopia

In contrast to Tanzania's sub-sector programmes (PEDP and SEDP), Ethiopia's Education Sector Development Program (ESDP) has covered the whole education sector. The first phase of this programme began in 1997, before Tanzania's border conflict with Eritrea (1998-2000). However, during the conflict, many donors withdrew their assistance. In 2002, as these donors came back, ESDP was re-launched. The Ethiopian government and its officials are notorious for their tenaciousness in negotiations. In a way, their tough manner has been interpreted as a sign of the Ethiopian government's strong sense of 'ownership' over its policy making. However, in the informal conversations with the author in Ethiopia, donor staff often complained about government officials' stubbornness and unwillingness to listen to recommendations. The World Bank's review of the ESDP also reports cases of difficulty in negotiations (World Bank, 2001).

Ethiopia's ESDP emphasizes technical and vocational education and training (TVET) and tertiary education, which is in marked contrast to Tanzania, whose main sub-sector programme (PEDP) focuses exclusively on basic education. Although the international aid community has set the benchmark for the allocation of public funds to the primary sub-sector, as suggested for qualifying for FTI assistance, at 67 percent of the total education budget, in Ethiopia the percentage of resources allocated to primary education has been in decline since the beginning of the ESDP. (However, the actual monetary amount of budget resources disbursed to the primary sub-sector has been increasing—the proportional decline is the result of even greater funding increases to the education sector as a whole). Generally, investments in TVET are costly, and it is difficult for the public educational programmes to catch up with changes in the labour market. Furthermore, it is unclear whether Ethiopia's focus on TVET and tertiary education is factually based on analysis confirming the absorptive capacity of the labour market. This is one of the reasons behind the reluctance displayed by the World Bank and some other donors in supporting TVET policy. As a matter of fact, this question also underlies the arduous nature of negotiations between the Ethiopian government and its donors.

Ethiopia's ESDP accepts foreign assistance through three channels. The first channel is the Ministry of Finance and Economic Development (MOFED), which accepts both earmarked and non-earmarked funds. The second channel is through the line ministries (including the Ministry of Education). Assistance through this channel does not go through the budgeting process of the MOFED. The third category is assistance in the form of projects whose funds are appropriated as part of the government's development budget but which are handled by independent project implementation bodies. In addition to assistance through these official channels, there are projects run by NGOs whose budgets are not included in the government budget (thus termed as 'off-budget projects'). According to one source at the Oromia Regional Education Bureau, aside from bilateral and multilateral donors, more than 60 NGOs run independent projects in the region outside of any governmental structure (Interview in September 2004). In December 2004, the Ethiopian government (MOFED and MOE) signed

together with a group of donors (the Netherlands, Ireland, Belgium, SIDA, Finland, and the DfID) a memorandum of understanding concerning a pooled fund for teacher education. However, this pooled fund had not yet been operationalized by July 2006. Nevertheless, such pooled funds, when they function, are an example of support through the first channel.

4   Events in the Process of Adopting EFA Goals — A Synthesis of Findings from the Three Country Studises

In the above sections, the author has shown that global mechanisms such as international conferences and foreign assistance have a clear standardizing effect on education policies as a result of imbalances in financial, diplomatic, and/or political power between donors and the governments of developing countries. Also, analyses of power negotiations held among key donor organizations in the international assistance community—such as UNESCO, UNICEF, and the World Bank—revealed that the increasing incorporation of EFA goals into policy frameworks shared globally over the last decade or so was not purely for the cause of education. Furthermore, the heavy focus unitarily given to universal primary education and, to a lesser extent, the reduction of gender disparity is also explained by analysis of trends in the global discourse. Although there are six EFA goals, only the two goals given above were integrated into the Millennium Development Goals, partly because they comprised a minimum common ground between the mandates, areas of interest, and experiences held by influential donors. Also, the World Bank, with its strong financial base, has played an influential role in the process of narrowing the focus of the global agenda to the expansion of school-based education, a field more readily measured statistically than other educational sub-sectors. These global factors affect developing countries whose governments have signed the EFA Declaration and are thereby committed to its achievement. Terms regarding policy framework and operational prioritization, all negotiated in the global arena, are applied indiscriminately to each of these countries who, by signing declarations on not only EFA but also rights of the child, basic human

needs, and poverty reduction, among others, are unquestionably bound by normative pressures to fulfil their responsibility in guaranteeing education to the public as both a human right and a means to reduce poverty. And now, there is another global factor which affects the decision-making process set into motion when adopting internationally-agreed EFA goals into domestic contexts. Over the last few years donors have brought a set of aid modalities to developing countries which place more emphasis on the donors' participation in sectoral policy-making, with the aim of avoiding the implementation of separate projects neither coordinated among each other nor aligned to government policy. The idea is to increase efficiency in and the effectiveness of aid provided by donors. But mechanisms introduced to ensure the participation of donors and other stakeholders in decision making are used by some to influence the government to incorporate their areas of interest into policy. The normative forces of international declarations, the impact of new aid modalities and the political and economic powers of external actors like donors are all closely bound to each other and cumulatively, in effect, become a strong external force capable of standardizing education policies in different countries to specific areas prioritized in MDG/EFA paradigms. These external factors have worked, to a large extent, to similar ends in the three countries studied.

At the same time, each country has its own unique educational system and history. Each has also developed relationships with donors and other stakeholders in a different way. Out of consideration for these fundamental truths, the author first reviewed the financial and statistical data relating to these countries in order to detect patterns in the allocation of educational resources, financial relations with donors, and the degree to which educational services reach their beneficiaries. Kenya's consistently low figures for aid dependence seem to explain its unique pattern of educational financing, where a considerably large proportion of resources are allocated to both secondary and technical/vocational education. In comparison to Kenya, Tanzania and Ethiopia are highly aid dependent. 23 percent of Ethiopia's GNI and 16.7 percent of Tanzania's for the year 2004 consisted of foreign assistance. In terms of the actual dollar amount of aid inflow, Tanzania exceeds Ethiopia by 150 percent to 170 percent (Table 1-1). Keeping

pace with the increase in aid dependence, resource allocations to the education sector have also increased in both countries (Table 1-2). Tanzania allots about 60 percent of its educational funds to the primary sub-sector, whereas Ethiopia shows a clear interest in reducing resources for primary education and increasing those for tertiary education. Given their aid dependence, both countries are potential disadvantaged when negotiating with donors. But most likely owing to the Ethiopian government's tenacious manner in pushing forward its own priorities in policy, it has managed to direct resource allocation towards its preferred area—tertiary and technical/vocational. Compared to that, Tanzania, not unlike a showcase of donors' new approaches, has constantly given high priority to the primary sub-sector just as the donor community has emphasized to the greatest degree. As such, the level of a country's aid dependence discernibly stands as one explanatory factor behind its choices in policy prioritization.

An historical review of education policies demonstrates that in Ethiopia, Kenya, and Tanzania, both the policies and their guiding philosophies were unique and rooted in local needs and contexts in the times before structural adjustment, which had either positive or negative consequences. Kenya had a long tradition of independent schools voluntarily established by communities and key to widening the basis of primary education. Independent schools generally provided low quality education and teachers tended to be sub-standard. The public's resoluteness in demanding greater access to higher quality education in addition to strong pressure from teachers' unions left the government in a constant state of budgetary deficit. However, while acknowledging that such difficulties and financial constraints had their own impact, one may still argue that the field of primary education was covered quite well in Kenya and grew at a good pace until 1980. Prior to the 1970s, Kenya's education system was financed primarily by domestically generated funds. Although Kenya is the least aid-dependent of the three, the amount of its aid inflow more than doubled during the 1980s, which ultimately resulted in a magnification of external influence. Tanzania's first president Nyerere is internationally known for his educational philosophy 'Education for Self-Reliance.' Under his African socialism, *Ujamaa*, Nyerere expected education to play a significant role in spreading the

idea of returning to the traditional African value of communal living, and, with that in mind, he attempted to adapt the education system to village life. The lower rungs of the educational structure, especially the primary and adult literacy levels, were given special emphasis in his policy of egalitarianism and localization. Just as with Ethiopia and Kenya, popular demand for education was constantly high. Therefore, Nyerere's ESR was advanced by great demand and itself directly led to dramatic improvements in access to education. Between 1975 and 1980, the gross primary enrolment rate doubled and reached 100 percent, higher than it ever was in the 1990s. Ethiopia, on the other hand, hosted the first international education conference attended by representatives from numerous African states in 1961—the Addis Ababa Conference. Not only did it host the conference, but the imperial government of Ethiopia committed itself resolutely to education. Following the conference, Ethiopia underwent a few changes in governmental regimes, but the political will to the expand education system has always been there, even if only sporadically.

History tells us that, even though the government's commitment may have fluctuated, the fundamental will to promote education had remained the same. In all of the countries studied, matters pertaining to educational expansion were often political in nature given the consistency of high public demand. Governments, whether or not it was financially feasible, repeatedly affirmed their commitment to primary education often as a tool for maintaining political stability. The down side, however, was the difficulty faced when attempting to allocate governmental resources in a more balanced way, because, as in Kenya's case, primary education comprised such a large portion. Anyhow, the expansion of education prior to the 1980s was largely driven by domestic factors meaning that each country necessarily discovered its own unique approach. However, structural adjustment in the 1980s heralded the beginning of a new era in which donors more consciously coordinated aid under one singular framework and applied similar prescriptions to different countries. Systematic and wide-spread standardization, coupled with massive amounts of financial assistance, started during this time, and it levelled the ground for the next PRSP-era. At the same time, no government would be able to adopt and operationalize EFAs with-

in domestic policy unless they made sense locally. The process of introducing EFA policies is, therefore, an act of domesticating newly introduced concepts in accordance with national histories, diverse social conditions, and the organizational cultures of the Ministry of Education and other stakeholders. What is not well known is the way in which policy-makers strike a balance between exogenous and endogenous factors, or how they in actuality perceive this process.

The focus of this section then is to analyse what happens when local educational systems meet with policies developed at the confluence of local and global forces, the latter directs education policy to EFA goals and especially to universal primary education and gender parity. The analysis herein is predominantly based on interview data taken from the three case countries. At the time of the interviews (from the middle of 2005 to early 2006), each of the three countries was in the midst of different political situations, thereby limiting the scope and exact content of data that the teams were able to collect through interviews. In Ethiopia, the May 2005 national elections for parliamentary representatives complicated research. The leading party, intending to maintain its authoritarian control, both overtly and covertly suppressed the opposition parties. Although the election itself was concluded without any apparent major turmoil, many political leaders of opposition parties were placed in jail and numerous complaints of the leading party manipulating votes were heard. Violent uprisings of opposition supporters in Addis Ababa and other large cities even took place in November, half a year after the election. Within this sensitive political environment, the government of Ethiopia became very sceptical of research on issues relating to what the government is doing. Moreover, mistrust has long existed between the government and academia. For these reasons, it was extremely difficult to secure interviews with government officials, and, additionally, the unwillingness of government officials to take part tended to negatively impact the openness and general candid nature of participating respondents, thereby broadly affecting the kind of information the team could acquire. In Tanzania, as well, an election had taken place and research was interrupted briefly as a result. Also, as in Ethiopia, some key officials had been transferred to other positions. At the beginning of 2006,

a conflict arose between a prime advocacy NGO called Hakielim and the government. Hakielim publicized a critical analysis relating to the government's primary education program (PEDP) and the government reacted by ordering school principals to not allow the use of textbooks produced by Hakielim. Government officials also decided to exclude Hakielim and the representative of an NGO coalition, TENMET, from appearing at the annual sector review conference, which is the largest forum attended by donors, government officials, NGOs, and other stakeholders. University academics openly voiced disapproval of the government's action for non-democratically negating Hakielim's freedom of expression, and this disagreement itself led to a rift in relations between the government and academics. This series of events made it suddenly difficult for the team to interview officials. However, the strong personal network researchers have maintained with education officials and donor staff helped to overcome this situation. The Kenyan team, on the other hand, had very good connections with NGOs, and Kenya itself has been a very interesting case for the fact that NGO staff feel that they can influence, and have influenced, the government's making of educational policy. In deep contrast to this, many respondents accused the Ethiopian government of failing to turn their ear to the voices of academics and NGOs. According to interviews with some university professors, the mutual mistrust palpably existent between the government and universities in Ethiopia developed historically over time. Universities had always vocally criticized the authoritarian governments and were, more often than not, at the very centre of political agitation. The governments, as a result, became suspicious of anything coming from the universities or other non-governmental bodies. Tanzania is also, perhaps because of its history of rule by a single party socialist regime similar to Ethiopia, less accustomed than Kenya to the participation of civil society in policy process. Kenya itself was long governed under the authoritarian leadership of former presidents Jomo Kenyatta and Daniel Moi. But its economy was always open capitalism. Our current study cannot provide concrete evidence attesting to whether historical, political, and economic systems have had any decisive influence on the government's openness to domestic stakeholders. Nevertheless, findings from Kenya do provide insight into NGO perspectives on educational policy processes, so often

dominated by government administrations and donors in many other countries. NGO perspectives follow their specializations within the field of education, such as those concerning refugees, girls, and adult literacy to name a few, and give insight into a diversity of issues which EFA goals touch upon. The fact that a considerable number of NGO interviewees believed that they have succeeded in positively influencing government policy is rather impressive, as it would indicate that the government has successfully adapted decision-making mechanisms for democratic 'partnerships' to its functional structure. The fact that so diverse educational issues were raised by interviewees may be partly attributed to the common understanding that since Kenya has nearly completed outreach to school-aged children in ordinary settings, the issue now is how to reach the disadvantaged (i.e. the last 5 percent of the population)—including residents of remote areas and urban slums, refugees, and the disabled, among others—and input regarding the way to approach diverse groups of population is far more crucial than when the government could simply focus on providing facilities and teachers.

The whole research group—three country teams and the author, who coordinated this comparative study—met twice before finalizing this paper: the first time in June 2005 in Dar es Salaam, and then in Nairobi in July 2006. The main purpose of the Dar es Salaam workshop was to develop a single common research framework before beginning with the main body of research, namely, interviews with key government officials, academics, and staff at donor and civil society organizations. On this occasion, all participants agreed on use of the following research questions to similarly guide research undertaken by the three country teams.

(1) How have actors involved in policy-making in each of the countries, such as politicians, officials at MOE and other ministries, NGOs, and donor staff, conceptualized "Education for All"?

(2) Which parties are more conversant of EFA goals and what makes them so?

(3) Which EFA goals are official areas of focus? In what sense are they close to or different from what individual respondents perceive "Education for All" to be?

(4) How have external factors influenced the historical development of concepts of "Education for All" in each country?

(5) What has actually happened in the process of adopting EFA goals into educational policies of respective countries?

This research holds an interest in reconstructing what EFA goals mean from a local perspective and thereby illustrate what has happened or is currently taking place as EFA goals are built into national education policy. In other words, this study looks at the influence of human agencies—both individual and group interests—on domestic policy process and structure at the juncture where the historical development of educational systems, domestic and international politics, culture, and institutional power relations all intersect. National discourse on EFA has not involved Ministry of Education officials and other stakeholders evenly. Certain groups of people have become more conversant regarding EFA goals than others. Also, depending on their field of work or position, some persons have acquired deeper knowledge of a few specific EFA goals while knowing little about others. The first three research questions are, therefore, meant to determine individual interpretations of what EFA is about and how these interpretations may match or stray from the government's official position. The remaining two questions were designed for uncovering more information on institutionalized structural factors affecting policy process. Based on these five research questions, the researchers also developed a single interview guide which was again used commonly in all three countries (see Appendix I). The Dar es Salaam workshop in 2005 was important for the whole team as it allowed the establishment of a consensus on fundamentals for inter-national comparison and shared interests to be pursued through research. The whole team gathered again in Nairobi in 2006, following completion of all interviews, as well as their subsequent transcription and analysis. Three country papers and one synthesis paper were shared

among all members, upon which comments were exchanged for improvement.

The analysis presented below is based on the transcribed interviews from Ethiopia, Kenya, and Tanzania. It makes use of the same data found in three country papers following this chapter, but its content derives from an independent analysis specifically directed at finding overarching issues linked internationally regardless of the differences in local context. The reader may therefore find it interesting to compare the general analysis found in this chapter of factors affecting EFA adoption with the detailed analysis of emerging issues as found in each country paper. Specific common issues emergent from interview analyses, which the author will discuss, are: (1) interviewees' conceptualization of Education for All and its relation to official areas of focus; (2) the issue of operationalizing policies negotiated at high-levels in the central ministry; and (3) issues related to 'partnership' whereby each stakeholder tries to influence the policy-making processes and make sure their mandates are mainstreamed.

4.1   Conceptualization of Education for All and its relation to official focus areas

The first issue here, interviewees' grasp on the concept of Education for All and its relation to official areas of focus, relates directly to the first research question. Since this was the first question presented to interviewees, all had responded with their views. Many responses have been quoted in the following country papers. Therefore, in this chapter, details concerning respondents' conceptions will not be discussed. Overall, when asked to define Education for All as a general term, people responded that it literally means education for everybody of all age, regardless of sex, location, religion, ethnicity, and physical condition. Most people also said that it is not restricted to school-based education, but also non-formal education, adult literacy programmes, and workplace education. However, several respondents articulated an express distinction between the ideals and the practical application of the term. The EFA coordinator of the Ministry of Education in one country claimed that their national conception of EFA

is narrower in scope than international ones:

> Education for All [means] educating all people, including school-age children, adults and youth. This is the definition of Education for All according to the international concept. But according to [our country's] context, the priority is given to education for all *school-age children*. That is how we define Education for All according to the priority of the government, in consideration of school-age children. (Author's emphasis)

Conscious narrowing of the scope of Education for All at the national level, as given in the example above, happens largely as a result of concerns for resource limitation.

> Well, [availability of] budgets is, I think, the difficulty. One cannot say that we have enough budgeting [in] any sector. But balancing, reallocating, [and] prioritizing is what we can think of. And also, there are huge demands and these huge demands have made pressure on the existing budget. And also, in the long experience of this country, the security issue and the humanitarian issue, disaster, the natural disasters, the conflicts and these are the issues which are making pressure on the country's budget, so in this situation it is very difficult to say that enough budget is allocated to education. (Director of an Ethiopian NGO)

Prioritization of fields within Education for All may be also carried out in accordance with the interest of influential stakeholders in the policy process. The EFA coordinator of one country was also concurrently the director of a sub-sector other than basic education. Upon being asked why this sub-sector had not received enough attention in the Ministry regardless of his position as the EFA coordinator, he responded:

> It was not prioritized. Because… all funds were released by World Bank. World Bank had their priority—universal primary

> education and that any component which will complement the
> universal primary education …also gets the priority.

Facing the reality of resource limitation and power politics, therefore, many respondents shared with researchers the de facto, practical version of Education for All, although they invariably confirmed that "all" is an inclusive term. On the other hand, there were individuals who argued that the reduction of applicable focus in policy is problematic and that the government must create and enforce holistic policies. A chief education officer at one Ministry of Education said:

> As a matter of fact, when we are talking of EFA, it [should be]
> the entire education system. It is not only primary education…
> We also need trained teachers to teach in the increased num-
> ber of primary schools as well [as] secondary schools.

Here is one dilemma: On the one hand, people realize the moral and developmental value of ensuring access to education for all segments of population. They also know that for the holistic development of the education system, policy needs to be balanced without giving disproportionate weight to primary education. On the other hand, resources are limited and the goal of achieving universal primary education by 2015 alone is far too heavy a burden for governments to shoulder with their limited capacity.

Also, in relation to this, the tug-of-war between MDGs and EFA goals often causes confusion in the policy-making of developing countries. As quoted above, the World Bank and other major donors concentrate their resources in primary education, as it is the area which was prioritized in the MDGs. However, the EFA touches upon wider educational areas than MDGs, and governments develop their EFA action plans according to the broad policy framework agreed upon in 2000 at the Dakar Conference. Here is where the twist occurs, while the government talks of all-inclusive and broadly-stretched education plans in their documentation, the international push has pinpointed itself atop the two EFA goals included in MDGs. As one staff member of an advocacy NGO in Kenya mentioned, the EFA lost its

momentum largely because of a financial push.

> At least, the international community is trying to put much
> more focus on MDGs at the expense of EFA and I think we
> want to blame UNESCO… UNESCO left some kind of vacuum,
> then UNDP and World Bank came over, and now it is talking
> about MDGs. Little is being talked about in terms of EFA and
> [the fact that EFA is] losing momentum would mean focus and
> progress will be lost… For us, the EFA provides some much
> broader framework than the MDGs, and we cannot [simply]
> ignore EFA…and begin to focus on MDGs. MDGs are impor-
> tant because they also provide a platform through which we
> can focus on other issues which affect education like trade, aid,
> debt, poverty environment and international partnerships.
> Those are very core issues affecting education, but we must
> work on MDGs within the EFA platform as education cam-
> paigners.

As this interviewee aptly pointed out, EFA is an important campaign plat-
form and can serve as a normative reference point. For this purpose, its
synoptic and comprehensive nature is expedient because it justifies com-
mitments in almost all educational sub-sectors. For all practical reasons,
however, MDGs set the tone of discourse and practice. Many interviewees
explained that the concept of Education for All is itself not new, but the
mechanisms for setting a global agenda, by selecting clear targets, a time-
frame, and the means to measure progress are new. Establishing a force to
monitor implementation itself requires building the capacity to do so
among Ministry staff, which cannot be done without augmenting the
resource basis. Therefore, what is being perceived as new within EFA is, in
fact, the wholesale mechanism for achieving MDGs. Because of EFA's lack
of momentum, the post of EFA coordinator, assigned to officials within
each EFA signatory country, has little real decision-making power and is
often sidelined. Nevertheless, as a few interviewees had mentioned, EFA
brought about the sense of duty as a member of the global society and it
widened the perspectives of policy-makers. The flip side is that the coun-

tries are now compared to one another and must compete according to indicators that estimate quantitative progress towards unified goals. Such standardized comparison is convenient for the purpose of establishing and modifying global agenda, but the true meaning of set standards rarely stems from local contexts. Yet, this standardization is an influential factor over the course of guiding policy, a circumstance that did not exist in earlier times when government would develop policy almost exclusively based on local conditions.

4.2   Operationalizing EFA policies

The next issue of importance to emerge from the interview is concerns regarding strategy for operationalizing EFA-related policies. Referring to the EFA in policy documents is one thing, but connecting it to practice is another. And, in order to operationalize, the government must have a strategy with actual programmes, activities, staff-in-charge, and resources. As stated below by the acting director of the Department of Policy and Planning in a Ministry of Education, whether or not the government has a separate policy for achieving EFA will not be an issue so far as the right elements are included in the country's policy. However, programmes must be developed in order to adapt EFA principles into the specific context of any given country:

> There is one thing I think I have to point out: When issues of EFA have been talked about internationally, [it] is just a framework [according to] the way I see it. And because it's a framework every country has its own way of taking that framework [into] implementation. You see though, there has been [a] tendency of some people trying to ask; "where is now the EFA national plan? Where is EFA national strategic plan?" I think these people misconceive EFA issues. They are taking things as if they are different. But, as I said, this is just a framework. For us, our educational policy tries to point out measures, which could be taken in order to effectively ensure education delivery for the people of [our country]. So within the policy,

elements of EFA are there. But a policy is a policy. It needs to be translated. We don't just leave it, you translate it and in that case that's why the government … came up with the education sector [programme] in order to translate some of the intentions which are within that policy.

The aim is now to put into operation or to translate the policy statements. … That's why within the umbrella of [sector programme] we have come up with a *primary education development programme, that is the programme which is taking care of EFA goals*, that is the programme which is translating EFA goals into concrete activities. ... You see, that is the style of our country. In fact, I become surprised when people start asking where is EFA? … No, No, No, it's a misconception. (Author's emphasis)

Meanwhile, some of the areas which are also included in EFA goals and are mentioned in policy documents are not operationally programmed as primary education. The acting director quoted above slipped into argument as if under the assumption that, by having a primary education development programme, the country is then fully operationalizing EFA. However, persons concerned with educational areas other than primary school education have expressed their own concern about the lack of, or insufficiencies in, an operational plan. A locally-hired education specialist for a European donor said:

So, when a government has an education sector development programme like [this country] has, I will say they have a schooling sector development programme, not education. And [there is] very little talk…action, and commitment about formal and non-formal education, about adult education… In the policy document, in the five years plan, there is some reference but there is no strategy, there is no [implementation] plan… there are no resources particularly allocated to this at the federal level. So, education now means, for most people, schooling…school education, I am afraid. There is no discus-

sion the government took here about education outside of
school.

Here one can see the loop created by the focus on primary education for
school-aged children within MDGs, subsequent resource concentration to
this sub-sector, and the resultant lack of funding, strategic commitment,
and practice in other sub-sectors. Therefore, within the Ministries of Edu-
cation, while some people do experience major changes in policy-making
for education and structural operations after the introduction of EFA, oth-
ers do not at all because they belong to sections in charge of areas other
than those included in the MDG-focus. These individuals are not often
involved in up-to-date discussions on EFA and may tend to see references
to EFA in policy documents as simply lip service.

When discussing the implementation of EFA-related policies, the govern-
ment's lack of capacity is also raised as a concern. Resources flowing into
the primary education sub-sector have been growing at a remarkable rate
and so, in order to effectively run the system, the government must develop
various kinds of administrative, managerial, and technical capacities at all
levels, from central to regional, district, and school. Areas in need of
capacity building include planning, monitoring and evaluation, budgeting,
fund management, procurement, curriculum development, assessment,
pedagogy, and school management, just to mention a few. If one of these
were lacking at any level of the system, trouble in delivering efficient and
effective service would result relative to the resources managed therein.
Therefore, donors try to grasp the threshold at which the government can
utilize financial assistance, given its institutional and staff capacities, which
they call "absorptive capacity." As the local education specialist for a Euro-
pean donor explains below, donors want to see results coming from their
assistance, but the government's lack of capacity often hampers the
achievement of objectives:

> I don't know if…individual governments signed these EFA
> agreements with full knowledge of their capacities, both finan-
> cial and human. …There is…not enough money from the inter-

national community [to achieve these goals]. Second point [is that] if you go to the countryside…the capacity [is not enough]. There is also a question that if money is available, can the sector absorb it? It is the absorbing capacity, the implementation capacity of the government. That is an international question, a donor-wide question. It is also a question I have to answer to [the headquarters]. If we give you our money, [then we will ask], "…Are you sure that this money will be used — utilized properly?" So, the capacity issue runs through the federal level, regional level, [district] and school. We know this. We go and look at schools. We go and discuss with [district education offices], we go and discuss with regional education bureaus. There is a tremendous, huge capacity problem in the nation.

Also, because of the decentralization that accompanies the adoption of PRSP framework in most developing countries, planning and budgeting are theoretically becoming administrative fields that operate from the bottom up, while schools and district offices are empowered to make plans based on their own localized knowledge and needs analysis. However, in reality, national education plans are often criticized for being abstract and not accurately reflecting the diversity of needs seen in the field, a problem most likely rooted in the lack of capacity at lower levels of the government structure and the long-lasting tradition of top-down decision-making. Therefore, another point of contention often raised by the interviewees involves the lack of capacity to handle research and identify the needs of the people before plans are made. For example, an education and training team leader at one Ministry of Education said:

You know, this is a challenge in problem solving, [which] has to be related with capacity… First of all, we have to scrutinize and, at the same time, we have to see [what the issues are] before we…launch [any programme]. And at the same time we have to have a vision, not projection. So, to make it empirically the vision, first of all [you have to] identify the problems, of course, you have to identity the actors starting from the com-

munity, bringing the community first, before you [apply] the programme into the activity, you have to consult the community, because they are the basis for their day-to-day problems and they know their strengths and they know their weaknesses. So that kind of assignment was not done. Because of that, many challenges have been faced.

In regard to understanding the needs and realities demonstrated in the field, NGOs—especially those working in advocacy—seem to feel that they can and have been playing important roles as purveyors of information from the field for policy process. The following is a quote from an interview with the director of an NGO who explained how they try to link their field experience and knowledge of people's needs with policy-making:

[We influence policy-making] through dialogue where we are working among the community in the grass root. We know the realities of those communities and we are part of the community. We do have policies of the country which are sometimes drafted centrally, but discussed and shaped [in a] participat[ory] manner so in those discussions we express the knowledge we have on the ground, so that grass-root interests are addressed by the policy. The policy gives space for the grass roots [to raise their voices], not just working on something that we think is good for the grass roots. They do also know what is good for them, and we take these interests to the policy-makers. We use the forums and the opportunities given in the discussion on these policy issues and we make mainly dialogues and influence in that way. And that is done positively because the policy is drafted or formulated to serve the people.

4.3   Exerting influence over the policy-making process — Partnership with stakeholders

To what extent and by which means do external stakeholders—donors, civil society organizations (NGOs) and academics—exert influence over

policy-making? What do contemporarily popularized concepts of 'partnership' and 'ownership' mean when set in the context of actual interactions between government and stakeholders? A variety of meetings and task-forces, all which provide donors and civil society organizations (NGOs) with regular fora for actively taking part in the policy-making process, have been organized over time as new aid modalities gained currency. Democratization is another global normative force which has set international system convergence in motion. In recent decades, the governments of many developing countries have introduced a number of mechanisms meant to encourage the participation of stakeholders. For example, domestic NGOs have historically been given very limited opportunity to express their opinions for integration and use in the policy process. Yet today, Ethiopia, Kenya, and Tanzania have each set up regular consulting committees for education sector development, in which a couple of seats are specifically reserved for NGO representatives. As a result, many of the NGO staff that we interviewed expressed feeling that they now have more influence over policy-making than before, although several did simultaneously complain that, though their voices are reflected in sub-sectors of government policy like adult literacy or special education, these areas neither receive enough funding nor strategic priority at operational levels. One characteristic of recent development among NGOs in these countries is the growth and sophistication among organizations specializing in advocacy and in NGO federations as well. Although wider civil participation is encouraged under the oft-touted norms of 'democratization' and 'participation', practically, it has not been deemed feasible to let all civil society organizations participate equally in the policy process. Therefore, an NGO federation in each country has been entrusted with the responsibility of appointing one or two representatives from among its member NGOs. In a system such as this, NGOs and individuals who are more adept at speaking with government officials and donor staff using common jargon with eloquence become more influential than those who might be more skilled in the implementation of effective work in the field but are not good at making appeals for it publicly. Therefore, some advocacy NGOs in Ethiopia, Kenya, and Tanzania that were either small or even not in existence ten years ago, are now becoming very powerful. Whereas the global standard dictates taking

NGOs' firsthand knowledge and incorporating it into committee activities, governments are not always comfortable with or used to handling what they perceive as open criticism from these domestic bodies. Their aversion to what may constitute critical input was well demonstrated in a 2006 incident in Tanzania, where the government ordered school heads not to use textbooks produced by Hakierim, a prime advocacy NGO, and banned NGO representatives from attending the annual sector review meeting. Also, in Ethiopia, the government consistently shows mistrust for non-governmental bodies and universities. Therefore, even though NGO representatives are present in committees and meetings, many of them feel that they are not being heard:

> [The] education donor group insists that the NGO sector should be represented [in the education sector development committee], because [they think that] in other countries' education sector, the NGO sector plays an important role. So the ministry of education accepted [us] as members and invited us to attend meetings. But every time we go to those meetings, we are very disappointed because they not only don't give any attention to our situations, but they usually try to play down the contribution of NGOs. … Instead of coming together and trying to learn from each other, they usually try to, in fact, pretend as if you don't exist. But the donors, they know and usually they mediate. They say, "Never mind about the government. … We know that you are contributing." (An NGO representative in Ethiopia)

It is noteworthy that donors always want NGOs present in decision-making fora so as to make it, at least superficially, 'democratic' though the government's willingness to actually integrate input into action is dubious. This is just one example of how the recent aid modalities have produced results other that what was originally intended, that is, to harmonize assistance given by several donors' to certain sector programmes and ensure that the government has greater autonomy in planning and implementing development activities. Harmonized assistance, especially budget support, often

contributes to strengthening the power of central government, and especially ministries and sections in charge of finance, budget, planning, and policy-making. The operational aspects of governmental function has been losing relative power yet, at the same time, the development models of 'democratization' and 'decentralization' require the government to widen the basis of consultation input for developing policy so as to make the process bottom-up.

Some staff at NGOs consider the government's negative attitude towards their work to be an expression of jealousy or rivalry since NGOs have their own connections with international NGO networks from where they may directly attract funds. From the point of view of the government, such independent fund raising by NGOs create a parallel system, while the government expects to capture all fund inflow into the country under annual resource management and sector development plans. An NGO representative in Ethiopia describes the situation as follows:

> For [the government officials], getting their hands on fluid cash is more important than what [NGOs] do and show, because we do not give money directly to the government. We get money from donors, and we implement it. We show them what we have done but they are always after their big donors who can bring in cash, ready cash. (An NGO representative in Ethiopia)

The fact that the donor community is not unified, wherein some donors preach the virtues of budget support while others continue with their conventional manner of project-based assistance, sends a conflicting message to governments and NGOs and consequently becomes a source of mistrust. Also, issue-based funding—such as the UN's global funds for HIV/AIDS prevention or girls' education—or global campaigns run by international NGOs do not always fit recent trends in unifying funding channels.

As much as negative or soured elements within relationships between NGOs and governments may exist, for all practical reasons, when it comes to actually implementing plans on the ground, the government may be com-

plemented by NGO involvement in operating projects in areas where the government itself is not focused on or does not have the necessary resources for. In fact, in some areas, after officially admitting to limited capability, the government would invited NGOs and communities to play complementary roles. For example, the Ethiopian government admitted to having only limited capacity to handle expansion of education and thereby left the construction and operation of non-formal schools in the hands of NGOs and communities. The government limited its own role to that of providing guidelines in and a policy-framework for this same field. The huge financial gap, among other issues, that the government is facing in its venture to achieve Universal Primary Education came into play in this case in Ethiopia (Yamada, 2007). However, some people consider this to be a positive step towards greater government-NGO collaboration in a country where the government has not turned a ear to insight from the public for a long time. In interviews in Kenya, a greater number of NGO staff positively assessed the relationship between the government and NGOs in their respective fields of operation. This may be partly because more NGO staff were interviewed in Kenya. But it can be also said that more NGOs in Kenya have more experience and are more deeply involved in advocacy and policy dialogue than those from Tanzania or Ethiopia.

Partnership between the government and donors is another issue. Democratic participation in the policy-making process would allow for the expression of a diverse range of ideas, which may delay or convolute settlement on certain decisions. Every stakeholder, whether a donor or an NGO, has its own mandate and is meant to promote its area of specialization. On the other hand, as the author discussed earlier, education policies are being standardized on a global scale and this would not be happening if decisions were made based on the equal participation of a variety of stakeholders. Some parties may possess greater weight, or be more vocal, or have better strategies than others. Donors, especially the ones with stronger financial power, tend to have larger vocal power. However, donors do not want people to view their involvement as interfering in a nation's domestic sovereignty, or as a tactic for imposing their own agenda. Under the principles of 'partnership' and 'government ownership', donors try to make sure that

their main concerns will be reflected in government policy. Given the international community's consensus dictating that donors should intervene less in the independent activities of governments, the relative importance of negotiations when making policy has increased. As a staff member of UNICEF pointed out, this is part of an effort to 'leverage' resources to their mandated areas:

> We think UNICEF should not just try to get money for itself. It should even look at the money which government has in its coffers and, through its partnership, encourage governments to leverage that money to areas where our mandate is.
>
> It can be [through] persuasion, it can also be through negotiation, bargaining… That usually happens through education sector planning because there will be meetings, where they will decide where the money is going… Through those negotiations, we need to find ways of putting forward very tangible proposals by showing that, from what we are doing on the ground, if you invest this amount of money which is in your coffers, [there will be] returns. So it also needs a lot of [background] research, persuasion and even lobbying. [Leveraging] implies advocacy, lobbying, persuasion, and marketing, to ensure that money is really pushed.

Donors utilize an assortment of means in order to effectively 'leverage' their influence. One form of this would be in offering the knowledge and technical assistance for a government to develop policy. A national representative working under the World Bank said, the Bank "acts like a knowledge bank, not only lending money but also providing expertise." He continued:

> We try to engage with government in policy dialogue and we also share with the government experiences of other countries, practices from other countries. And we offer the government materials, or knowledge, and ideas for the government to use. But the decision to do this or that, to take this strategy and

leave the other strategy is left to the government.

Therefore, the provision of knowledge and expertise accumulated in other parts of the world would help donors to enrich the research-based foundation for areas they promote, and indirectly allows them to influence the direction of policy in their dialogue with the government.

Advocacy is another form of providing knowledge. It is different from technical assistance, though, in the sense that information is compiled by advocates themselves, and governments are not encouraged per se to research and accumulate information on their own. For example, UNICEF is an advocate of girls' education, HIV/AIDS issues and non-formal education for out-of-school children. UNHCR is concerned about education provided for children in refugee camps and the communities around them. Some donors are deeply involved in teacher's education or technical and vocational education. There are NGOs active in the area of adult literacy education. All of these stakeholders advocate, to varying degrees, the importance of their area of concentration within education. National NGOs, with little financial or technical advantages over the government, mostly utilize advocacy as a major means towards influencing policy-making, based on their own experience in field operations or critical study on the effectiveness and efficiency of the government's educational work.

Further, donors play the role of "watchdog"—as one staff member of UNICEF articulated—which means keeping an eye on the government by monitoring and evaluating its work based on indicators agreed on in the early stages of policy implementation. The assessment of certain measurements plays a significant role in judging the efficiency and effectiveness of government policy implementation, which many respondents point out as a new phenomenon in the EFA-era. Donors monitor progress by measuring developments through the use of indicators and set the timeframe for achieving specific goals. When progress is not satisfactory, donors may suspend the disbursement of pledged funds. The suspension or delay of funds is a very powerful and oft-used way of ensuring that the donor has influence. The following excerpt is taken from an interview with a high offi-

cial in the Policy and Planning Department of a Ministry of Education, and illustrates such tactics as commonly employed by the donors:

> Sometimes you get money from DP's (Development Partners = donors) in a style of a carrot [and a stick in] that "[if] you do this, [then] I give you this," or "if you don't do this, I don't give you this!" The government can't be run in that way... A mechanism as we do have now [is to measure the] performance [according to] indicators at the macro level to cross check if the money which have been given to the government has been utilized effectively. What I don't like is to be given assistance with a threat and that is what has been happening.

The suspension of funds happens not only as a means to pressure governments, however, but also in power plays that arise among donors. The harmonization of funding and other support of priority areas among donors on a country-by-country basis has been easier said than done, particularly since donors are to satisfy their own organizational mandates that uniformly bridge all offices in different countries. Donors' country offices are, as the government is, in a position to adapt the globally-accepted, but non-specific, norms of EFA in a way fitting for local contexts. Donors' overall agenda are set within the political environment of their home country as well as by diplomatic concerns that arise via the global discourse on EFA. In a nutshell, all donors and governments are talking about EFA. However, priorities within, or means to approach, the issues often differ among them. Thus, the dilemma faced by donors' country staff is as follows. On the one hand, it is their job to make sure that their organizations' area of focus will be pushed forward (mainstreamed) in the government's policy. On the other hand, they face a reality which is unique to the country's political, economic, and developmental contexts within a specific time. Given these conditions, the harmonization of efforts and resources among donors, and alignment with the government's policy, sometimes becomes a highly political issue. Taking the example of the budget support, there are several steps from where the governmental sector policy and operational plans are endorsed to where the money is actually disbursed to the Ministry of

Finance's account. Even though policy is always endorsed by the education sector development committee, and the committee meetings are attended by NGOs and major donors in the education sector, each donor signs the memorandum of agreement with the government separately on its own individual terms. This means that when it comes to the disbursement of funds, donors can still apply their own rules and judge whether the government is in fact ready to receive their funds according to their own criteria. In Tanzania in 2004 and 2005, pooled funding for teacher education was amassed but not fully released because several donors employed such tactics. Similar things can happen in different countries too. While it is a form of pressure that can be applied by donors to the government itself, elements of donor rivalry also come into play so that, if some donors are not happy with the direction of the government's policy as influenced by other donors, or they just no longer want things to proceed, they can apply the brakes. With all factors considered, one cannot simply say that the concepts of 'partnership' and 'ownership' have brought about positive changes for the government. Partnership has meant that even the government is not allowed a free hand in consensus-building with domestic and international partners, which can curtail its ownership of policies.

The last issue which the author would like to point out with regard to partnership pertains to intra-governmental relationships. General budget support has empowered the Ministry of Finance relative to line ministries, including the Ministry of Education. Donor funds in the form of general budget support are managed centrally by the Ministry of Finance, and the amount of resources each ministry can get from the overall governmental budget largely depends on the persuasiveness of its budget proposal as submitted to the MOF. At the same time, the education sector receives a large sum of funds that have been earmarked for and flow mostly into the primary education sub-sector. These earmarked funds help the MOE to exert bargaining power within the government. This differentiation of power exists within the MOE, as well. The departments of primary education, policy and planning, and budgeting carry more influence than others. When it comes to achieving EFA goals, though, the involvement of various sections of the government is vital. The goals touch upon more than primary educa-

tion alone. As many respondents pointed out, adult literacy education, teacher education, secondary education, and other educational sub-sectors all relate to primary education. In fact, to achieve qualitatively and quantitatively balanced development within primary education, partnerships across offices and departments in the MOE is essential. It has been agreed globally that a sector-wide perspective in planning, policy-making, and operation should be the basis for educational administration. However, the way in which both resources and strategic foci have been prioritized creates a hierarchy among educational sub-sectors. As the author mentioned earlier, after the Dakar conference on EFA, some governments established internally the post of EFA coordinator. However, in one of the countries we studied, even the MOE high officials did not really recognize the responsibility of the EFA coordinator, although they would see the coordinator in sector consultative meetings. Some respondents from this MOE said that the director of primary education is in the focal position regarding EFA-related matters instead of EFA coordinator. EFA as its own field and commitment has not carried much momentum partly because of difficulties in securing financial backing for areas other than primary education, and partly because of a lack of leadership in top administration at either the Ministry of Education or within the government as a whole.

5   Conclusion

In this paper, the responses of three East African countries—Kenya, Tanzania, and Ethiopia—to EFA development goals were addressed so as to locate the EFA development goals within the context of each country's historical development of education, as well as in relation to specific political and socio-economic environments. While the global agenda has been quite influential in determining the direction of policy in these countries, most interviewees stated their belief that the concept of Education for All itself is not new. Each government's commitment to expanding education, as well as public demands for that expansion, have been there since even before independence in Kenya and Tanzania, and during Ethiopia's imperial era. In earlier times, drives for educational development were more rooted

within each country than from the outside. However, structural adjustment in the 1980s triggered the formation of a new international environment in which there is less diversity of policies across countries, especially among developing countries receiving a large sum of foreign assistance. Such systematic and wide-spread standardization, coupled with the massive amounts of financial assistance available during this time, set the stage for EFA goals embedded in the Poverty Reduction framework. Therefore, as some respondents had mentioned, EFA goals are new in the sense that they came with indicators and measured assessments, which are yardsticks for evaluating how far certain governments had progressed towards achieving EFA goals compared with others.

The author has used in-depth interviews conducted in each of the three countries with key government officials, staff from donor organizations and NGOs, and academics to illustrate what is happening and how people perceive the process of EFA goal adoption. As a general term, Education for All has meant for most people education given to all people of all ages, regardless of sex, locale, religion, ethnicity, etc. It also includes different forms of education from school-based to non-formal or social education. However, when it comes to the EFA goals, many people have more or less narrowed their definitions specifically to school-based education for children: some did so unconsciously, others did so knowingly as part of a practical judgment, and still others were critical about the disparity between the original meaning of the term and the widespread usage of it.

Achieving 'universal primary education by 2015' has been given priority over other aspects of the six EFA goals owing to a combination of different factors. One factor is international in origin. While the globally shared norm dictates that education is a basic human right which should be guaranteed to everybody, funding provided by donors is largely focused on only the two EFA goals that were additionally incorporated into the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs): universal primary education and gender equity. While government policy covers the all educational areas raised in EFA goals, the government can only expect substantial sums of foreign assistance in a limited range of areas. Many respondents specifically took issue

with the lack of operational strategies meant for corresponding to broadened government policy. Governments have not developed detailed operational plans for sub-sectors in which they have not secured the resources, despite the fact that they have talked of effecting growth in all educational fields. The concentration of resources in certain sectors has served to reinforce a skewing of the government's focus, and vice versa, wherein the gap between prioritized and non-prioritized areas is consistently growing.

Decentralization is another matter contained in the global agenda, which has been brought to the attention of many developing countries. Primary education is one field among many that are most influenced by this change because of the assumption that schools at the primary level, as opposed to those at the higher levels of education, are best run locally so that they may be more sensitive and responsive to diverse community realities. However, many interviewees expressed concern about the lack of government capacity, especially at the local levels. Some respondents said that this lack, in conjunction with insufficient understanding of realities in the field, has had visible impact on planning and policy-making enforced by the central government despite the fact that the guiding principle is often trumpeted as being decision-making executed from the bottom-up.

This study has also illuminated the frailty of the concepts of 'partnership' and 'ownership'. The rise of new aid modalities has resulted in an increase of varying channels, prepared by the governments of many developing countries, for donors and NGOs to participate in policy-making. Even with internationally and nationally devised mechanisms, every stakeholder does not have equal say, and some power imbalances exist. The author has pointed out that while NGOs were encouraged to participate as a form of 'democratic' 'partnership', governments are, at the same time, not often comfortable with receiving potentially critical input, and may end up ironically suppressing NGO voices. Also, the government itself is not free from outside pressure to act in 'partnership' meaning that it cannot make formal decisions on its own policy without the agreement of 'development partners', or, its donors. Further close examination of discourse shows that there is no single 'donor communities' and 'governments', and within these

groupings issues of power relations and partnership exist.

To what extent is the EFA local or global? This question is not easy to answer. In each of the countries researched for this paper, the desire for and commitment to education has long been around. In that sense, education is locally-rooted. Even though EFA goals themselves were brought in over the last ten to fifteen years, the process of domesticating these externally constructed concepts has been unique in each country. One thing that should be noted, however, is that at each level of the decision-making process, foreign actors have used their influence so as to ensure that their agenda will be reflected in policy. Many developing countries, including Ethiopia, Kenya, and Tanzania, foresee considerable gaps between available and necessary resources for achieving universal primary education, even after counting for the massive inflow of foreign assistance. Whether the government should have put such policies into effect is a matter that should be considered in the context of each country. The author will conclude with a quote taken from an interview with an Assistant Minister of Education, who pointed to the importance of true national ownership of policy, in no ambiguous terms:

> We need to see [the EFA] much more as something that comes from the indigenous countries themselves, you know, from the African countries themselves. Usually, these goals are decided by international organizations and foreign governments and then we are called to meetings to discuss them. So that when we have African governments get to these meetings…they are actually discussing ideas that are based on other people's resources. Sometimes [these are] idea[s] that come out of plans and designs of other countries. So, that is a problem. I think we should look at EFA and millennium goals, based on our own resources, based on our own designs and those designs should be [based on] what is…possible, given…the time and resource constraints, and our own unique experiences.

Notes

1) Tanzania's sub-sectoral distribution of educational expenditures differs widely according to the source. If one follows the data from the World Bank's Tanzania public expenditure review of 2003, primary education's share has stood at more than 70 percent since 2000/01 (World Bank 2004).
2) The tendency towards allocating high salaries to teachers still exists in present-day Kenya. According to the World Bank (2002), teachers' salaries tripled between 1995 and 2000 and teachers in Kenya enjoy the highest salary among all public servants.
3) At the secondary level too, the government faced difficulties in meeting the financial costs of taking over the voluntary (Harambee) schools. Mwiria demonstrates that the governmental pledge to increase support to community-constructed schools caused an explosive increase in the number of Harambee schools. Contrary to the original plan of reducing education costs by encouraging communities to establish schools, expenditures in education increased significantly. However, the government could not withdraw from its pledge out of fear of losing public support (Mwiria, 1990).
4) All three countries studied experienced a dramatic increase in aid inflow during this period. Ethiopia received US$ 212 million in 1980, which increased to US $963 million in 1988. Tanzania received US $679 million and $1 billion respectively.

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The Case of Tanzania

Eustella P. Bhalalusesa

1   Introduction

1.1   Background to the study

The National Graduate Institute for Policy Studies (GRIPS)-Japan has been conducting a comparative study on the process of adopting Education for All (EFA) Millennium Development Goals in three African countries, namely, Kenya, Ethiopia and Tanzania. In February 2005, one of the GRIPS researchers visited the aforementioned collaborating countries in order to discuss modalities for undertaking the study. Among other things, it was agreed that each country should conduct a preliminary study so as to shape interview questions and establish common ground for proceeding with a comparative study. Findings from the preliminary studies were presented in a two-day (22nd June-23rd June 2006) workshop that involved all researchers from the participating countries, as well as those from Japan. The preliminary studies revealed a number of elements that may possibly hinder progress in achieving the comparative study's intended ultimate purposes, but also revealed conceivable means to overcoming these same potential problems. It also lent direction to the main study upon which the present paper is based.

1.2   Research questions

The research referenced herein focuses on the process by which actors, each with varying intents and motivations, negotiate concepts relating to

Education for All thereby creating a hybridised version reflecting the introduction of sector-wide approaches and other aid modalities. The following research questions have been addressed in the study:

(1) How do actors involved in national policy-making, such as politicians, officials at MOE and other ministries, NGO workers, and donor staff, conceptualise Education for All?

(2) Who are more conversant in EFA goals and what makes them so?

(3) What EFA goals are officially recognized as areas of focus? In what sense do they resemble or differ from how individual respondents actually perceive the agenda for Education for All?

(4) How did specific external factors influence concepts of Education for All as they historically developed in each country?

(5) What actually happened as EFA goals were adopted within each country's educational policies?

1.3   Methodology

This study was designed to assure that data would be collected through documentary analysis and interviews. However, the report herein is based primarily on information gathered from in-depth interviews. The main purpose of the interviews is to discern perceptions concerning EFA development goals that current educational policy-makers, aid officials, and civil society advocates have. Approaches taken in this study are based in discourse analysis to understand how people in different social and institutional positions conceptualise EFA. Questions asked during the interviews included how individual respondent's conceptualised Education for All, as well as how they became conversant in international EFA agenda and to what degree they became conversant in the goals. Other questions narrowed in on the official areas of focus from among EFA goals, which was then compared and contrasted to foci perceived by individual respondents. Interviews also aimed to draw out information on external and internal factors and how they historically influenced development of Education for All concepts. Furthermore, respondents were given additional questions per-

taining to what actually happened as EFA goals were adopted into the local context.

As a way of grasping the shift taking place in government and donor emphasis in the education sector, researchers examined programmes funded and supported under the umbrella of Education for All, while also looking at the funding modalities and how these programmes actually align with EFA goals. Even though the focus of the research lies on policy-making processes rather than on operations, analyses of trends in programming and financing did indeed provide researchers with an idea of how EFA policies, hammered out in line with multiple parties' concerns, were translated into practice.

1.4   The research process

This study was intended to draw certain information from specific parties, particularly those involved in decision-making and policy-making processes. For this reason, purposive sampling was used to select key informants. We, as researchers, proceeded with caution and a keen eye in selecting our sample. We selected to our utmost ability cases that were illustrative of certain features or processes in which we were interested. We also had to be critical in selecting parties who are conversant in educational matters and play key roles in decision-making and policy-making processes. For these reasons, we had to limit the scope and coverage of the study, therefore concentrating on the Dar es Salaam region only (almost all ministries and international NGOs are based in Dar es Salaam). We identified a number of key players within the Ministry of Education and Culture (now the Ministry of Education and Vocational Training), some international NGOs operating with direct relation to issues of educational access and quality. We managed to contact a number of individuals involved in policy-making and the implementation of EFA goals in order to inform them of study aims and request their participation in interviews. We did not encounter any individuals unwilling to participate in the study, although scheduling times suitable for both the researchers and individual interviewees proved to be problematic.

We managed to conduct twenty interviews as agreed at the June 2005 workshop with the following distribution:

Ministry of Education officials	10
Donor Staff	6
NGOs	4
TOTAL	**20**

As many interviews as possible were tape-recorded and transcribed. Tape-recording was essential because an analysis of people's values and perceptions would have been difficult from field notes alone. As people tend to avoid speaking overtly about their values, or are not even aware of what they hold to be true deep inside, their perceptions and values may only be found by interpreting their spoken words.

1.5   Data analysis

In summary, the following steps were taken to analyse data.

Each recorded interview was dated, transcribed, and labelled according to when it was collected. The transcripts were read over carefully and all grammatical errors were corrected to get a sense of the totality of the data.

The second phase of the analysis involved establishing categories and sorting out units of data accordingly. The research questions were used as an appropriate guide to creating a categorical framework. Each interview transcript was then read carefully so as to pinpoint general statements illustrating relationships among the categories. The exercise was carried out separately for each research informant, while necessarily using different sets of interview guides. This preliminary stage of data analysis was divided into three levels. Interviews with ministry officials were analysed before moving on to those with donor staff, and finally on to NGO respondents. This facilitated systematic progress and avoided confusion.

During data processing, new ideas and themes emerged. Writing these ideas down and then deciding on which data in what form should be referred to

in order to best justify ideas or possible conclusions was helpful in analysing the findings.

2   Emerging Themes

2.1   Conceptualisation of Education for All: Definitional issues

The first question presented to all individuals taking part in this study was how they conceptualise "Education for All" in their own terms. The general impression that emerged from the interviews was that no universal or standardized definition of the term existed. Each individual had his or her own way of defining Education for All. Some conceived of Education for All as: 1) an education fundamental to one's life that more or less resembles life-long learning, and also, 2) as a right. Others took it as inclusive, basic education that must be made available to specific groups, such as, most notably, children eligible for primary school, persons who never entered or completed primary education and illiterate adults. It was also interesting to note that each individual would personally emphasize key aspects within the definition as important depending on her or his own field of work and responsibilities. Individual respondents from NGOs, for example, conceptualised Education for All with a rights-based approach in mind. This was not surprising given the fact that most NGOs play advocacy and activist roles. Emphases made by government officials seemed to differ according to the department of employment. The Director of Primary Education, for example, placed emphasis on school age children, whereas officials from the adult education section visualised the term in the context of life-long education, with a particular stress on the provision of opportunities for adults.

The following interview extracts are a sampling of different conceptualisations.

> Education for All for me means provision of education for all persons, especially children of school age who have to attend

primary education. Included in this group are also children above seven years who missed the opportunity to join primary education at the right age, that is seven years. (Director of Primary Education)

Every child who is supposed to enrol in primary education should enrol and receive and complete primary education. So, for Tanzania, they have been focusing on that primary education based on whatever curriculum they have and so forth. But, of course, when you go to other places now, they would kind of define it very broadly in terms of including so many things in, but, as I said, I would just stick to what I understand about Tanzania and for primary education, which is seven years of age. (World Bank Official)

It means education for life [meaning] that all people at their different stages should have their education needs met, [that] the government policies should ensure that there are plans which aim at meeting the learning needs of every person, from the time of childhood to the adulthood until when they die. (Official from Adult Education Unit)

Education for All refers to the situation whereby education is taken as a right. You consider the various levels right from early childhood. You are also talking of pre-school, primary or basic and adult literacy. So these are the groups, or the levels of focus for the groups, which are expected to have access to education as a right. It does not exclude anybody. (Action-Aid Tanzania)

2.2 Common features within the conceptualisation of Education for All

Despite the wide variety of ways in which Education for All was conceptualised, common features characterising the overall idea behind Education for All became evident, particularly in regard to the relativity between the

words EDUCATION and ALL. All respondents referred to the term 'ALL' as wholly inclusive, even those who limited the field of their definition to particular levels like primary education.

> All includes the disabled, those who cannot pay school fees, those who are from hunting and gathering areas—which are usually overlooked, for girls and everyone in society, and not just those children of school-going age. ALL here should include even those that are disabled, as they have a right to contribute and benefit from the process of education in their nation. (CARE-Tanzania)

> Yes, as I said before, it includes all the children starting from those in the day-care centres, going through to those who are in the formal system. I mean pre-primary, primary and secondary age cohorts, which I already mentioned. But also those who are not in school, like the COBET programme and, of course, the adults. (Education Desk Officer: UNICEF)

> Here, we are really talking of children of ages 2-4 and also Early Childhood Development (ECD) of ages 5-6, and again school ages 15-17 and 18+. Since we are talking of the right, we need to differentiate UPE and EFA. (Education Advisor: Action Aid)

> Then, 'all' to me is inclusive. If you talk about education, actually we tend to forget some groups of the population. As a matter of fact, when you say education for all, you're reflecting the young children, but what about the adults and their education, what about the non-formal system? Is a person 50 years old not supposed to have an education? To me the term 'all' is inclusive in terms of ages because I have never experienced a country which has no adults; the adults need education so to me this could also be taken into consideration, although there are internationally agreed standards… (Ministry of Education Official)

2.3   Education for All versus Basic Education

There was also a consensus in the conceptualisation of education as a process wherein one acquires knowledge, skills and values that are useful for sustainable development. However, it was also observed that implicitly education, especially in the context of Education for All, was taken to mean basic education. This was unmistakeable even when respondents were trying to define the term 'ALL'. They mentioned different categories of people, while at the same time referring to the term 'basic education'.

> For a lot of people, they think EFA to be non-formal… EFA should have been defined as equal to basic education. (Retired Ministry Official from Adult Education Unit)

> As I said before, for us in Tanzania, the way we interpret Education for All, we really zero in basic education. That is why I have been saying that other levels do not fit in our definition of education for all. But, on the other side, if you consider adult education, there are aspects of functional literacy because basic education includes also functional literacy. We believe that in order to fight poverty every person must have the functional literacy skills. (Ministry of Education Official from Primary Education Department)

In real terms, basic education is both broad in scope and relative. As a response to the Jomtien Conference on Education for All in 1990, for example, UNESCO conceived of basic education as being education that aimed to meet people's basic learning needs. These needs include both essential tools (such as literacy, oral expression, numeracy, and problem-solving skills) as well as elements of basic learning (such as knowledge, skills, values, and attitude) needed by human beings for survival, personal life development, informed decision-making, and the continuation of learning. It should not be confined to only formal schooling because knowledge, skills and values can be obtained just as well informally and from outside of the school system. Nonetheless, in the context of this study, and for a majority

of respondents, basic education was narrowly taken to mean primary education and/or basic literacy skills for adults; hence, it was deemed justifiable to include all children and adults who never had the opportunity to go to school.

> So education for all means a kind of education that can reach those who go to school, but can reach also those who are usually trying to go and seek education, and we see them and try to make them come to school. But also, we have to take into consideration the issue of access to education of even those who are living in different difficult conditions, like the disabled…
>
> In my mind, basic education is that primary education that is within a particular timeframe, say either 10 years or 7 years, and can be provided to everyone i.e. all people in our society. (CARE-Tanzania Desk Officer)

> You know, when we talk of Education for All, the word 'basic education' is very relative. basic education for us Tanzanians practically ends with standard seven, but for others they go even up to secondary education, although practically this is not right. So when you talk of education for all in our context, secondary education is not included. So I think it is contextual since in other context even secondary education is basic education. It depends on how one conceptualises. (Ministry of Education Official from Primary Education Department)

> Maybe, as a matter of fact, every country could have its own way of defining 'basic education'. I am saying this because it goes with EFA and, in most cases, there are international definitions of basic education, but sometimes we differ country to country on how we should tackle these things. My experience when talking to donors about basic education, they will pin you to that end and all their efforts and their strength of funding they will argue, "We are funding basic education," and when we look at it, its primary education. So I was asking myself, "Is primary education the end of itself? If we don't open chances, are we going to have a society which has got education for all quot-

ing that definition of basic education, i.e. a society of primary school leavers?" So to me it doesn't make sense. Even now we sometimes don't understand each other with donors, and we keep on telling them in this reform there are five elements: That is, pre-primary, primary, secondary, adult and non-formal and teacher education. This is what is basic to us. You will have pre-primary which goes to primary, and these people will need to open the door to secondary education. But we have teacher education here because they are servicing the primary education and at the same time they are also servicing part of secondary education that's why we are including them. Adult is also important. It is crucial element. It is basic... Adults need basic 3Rs and so on. The functional literacy to us is also basic. So this is the way we see it. (Official from the Institute of Adult Education)

2.4   Education for All: An agenda to improve education in poor countries?

As basic education is conceived of as relating to primary education and adult literacy, many also possessed a sense that EFA comprises a powerful agenda for the improvement of education in developing countries and that its impact at the national level has also been very beneficial. EFA's most significant accomplishment, for example, has been to expand among parties involved in education the awareness that all children and young people have the right to benefit from basic education. This, in turn, has strongly affected recognition of the plight of groups that are disadvantaged or at risk in some way or another. Today, there is at the very least a growing recognition that formal education systems do not yet reach all children and that, thus, non-formal education systems must be adjusted to specific local and family circumstances. Thus, complementarity and, to some extent, equivalence are increasingly regarded as essential in the EFA context. Numerous circles are progressively recognizing that learning environments ought to be responsive to children with special learning needs, and also be gender-friendly.

Further analysis of the findings point to the fact that financiers of programmes initiated under the umbrella of EFA, to some extent, influenced the conception of Education for All. The establishment of the Primary Education Development Programme (PEDP) in Tanzania, for example, was heavily financed by the World Bank and what they thought Education for All meant or should give priority to. Other programmes which receive outside support, like the Complimentary Basic Education in Tanzania (COBET), are taken as representative of efforts towards accomplishing the installment of a universal primary education system.

> Maybe, as a matter of fact, every country could have its own way of defining basic education. I am saying this because it goes with EFA and, in most cases, there are international definitions of basic education, but sometimes we differ country to country on how we should tackle these things. To others, when you say basic education they are only touching primary education, and in it they will touch pre-primary education or childhood education. My experience when talking to donors about basic education they will pin you to that primary education and direct all their efforts and their strength of funding to that end. They will argue that they are funding basic education and when you look critically, it is actually primary education. (Ministry of Education Official)

Deriving from the above discussion, one can say that in principle Education for All is an inclusive term that covers the provision of educational opportunity and, in particular, the availability of basic education to every person regardless of sex, status, age and geographical location. When viewed in its broader manifestations, and as defined by the World Conference on Education for All, 'basic education' will vary according to the context in which it is applied. This common, central conceptualization is agreeable to everybody. However, in practical terms, education in the context of EFA is equivalent to basic education and ought to be provided to all children, at least up to the primary school level of education. Most developed countries have already achieved this. Hence, the argument that Education for All may

realistically be conceived of as a global movement particularly geared to assist developing countries achieve universal primary education.

2.5 Knowledge of the internationally agreed EFA goals: Who knows what and why?

Apart from investigating how Education for All was conceptually viewed by respondents, this study was also interested in determining individuals' personal ability to discuss the following internationally agreed EFA goals as stipulated in the Dakar Framework For Action.

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1. Expanding and improving comprehensive early childhood care and education, especially for the most vulnerable and disadvantaged children.
2. Ensuring that by 2015 all children particularly girls, children in difficult circumstances and those belonging to ethnic minorities, have access to and complete free and compulsory primary education of good quality.
3. Ensuring that the learning needs of all young people and adults are met through equitable access to appropriate learning and life skills programmes.
4. Achieving a 50 percent improvement in levels of adult literacy by 2015, especially for women, and equitable access to appropriate learning and life skills programme.
5. Eliminating gender disparities in primary and secondary education by 2005, and achieving gender equality in education by 2015, with a focus on ensuring girls' full and equal access to and achievement in basic education of good quality.
6. Improving all aspects of the quality of education and ensuring excellence of all so that recognized and measurable learning.

Note: From EFA Global Monitoring Report, Summary Report (2003) p. 5.

The general impression imparted by the different interviewees is that they all knew that a plurality of internationally agreed EFA goals existed. Some, especially those working with NGOs and their development partners, were able to give the exact number and list them one by one. These individuals had hard copies of the list of goals either kept in files or posted on the wall, and in some cases these parties even volunteered to provide a list of the goals to the researcher, as evidenced in the following interview extracts.

> These are six; you can read them from my notice board. (TEN-MET)

> Yes, as I told you before, they are six dealing with issues of universal primary education, gender equality, quality education, equity issues, and early childhood development as well as adult literacy. In fact, I have a document which has a list of all the six goals, and I shall give it to you when we finish this interview. (ACTION-AID)

> Free access to at least primary education, that is, basic education for all. The other goals stress that those who are enrolled should be given good service (quality education). Then we have literacy training to adults and younger people who drop out from school. One of the goals of course is eradication of illiteracy, but I don't know exactly the target. But I can check from the document where they are listed. (Developing Partner)

> It's not just a matter of thinking what the goals are. The EFA goals are six. They are known and we are not "cooking" them (The interviewee mentions the goals chronologically and demonstrates knowledge of them). (UNESCO Country Coordinator)

However, there were also a good number of interviewees, especially Ministry of Education officials and their development partners, who were unsure of the total number of goals and could only remember some of them in a random order. The following examples illustrate this observation.

I might not remember all the goals, but I understand every child who is supposed to go to school has to go to school. The goals are many, I wouldn't remember them all, but we all talk about EFA goals; the goals are intended to provide education which will be useful to that particular individual. The goals are supposed to enable those who are getting education to fit into the society into the changing world. The goals are part and parcel of trying also to fight poverty. (Ministry of Education Official)

The internationally agreed goals of EFA focus on childcare (silence), I remember gender equality and equity. It is also focusing on youths and adult literacy and quality of education. (Ministry of Education Official)

You mean the goals? I think they are six, isn't it? Yes, six of them, we are actually trying and we have addressed them through PEDP and SEDP, as I said before. You can look into the documents and see since they are available. (Ministry of Education Official)

I think the goal of EFA again is primary education for all. For 'All', this would depend on the way that country defines 'All', but you would see that internationally they have been talking about gender parity, disabled children and so forth. You know all should be included, I think, locally also. In Tanzania, that's what they are also discussing. So those are the goals for EFA goals. (Developing Partner)

They are six. One is on early childhood care development, the second is on the universal primary education, universal and quality of primary education, thirdly, is the issue of adult literacy. Fourthly, the social and life skills, fifthly, the assessment, and the last one is gender and equity. (EFA Country Coordinator)

From these findings one may conclude that the nature and position held by

the interviewee have an impact on their knowledge of EFA goals. Given the nature of NGOs and their responsibilities, desk officers dealing with education have to be conversant in matters of education, such as education-oriented documents and policies enacted at both the national and international levels to be able to play an active role in advocacy and monitoring. Developing partners need to know these matters only so far as they must communicate with governments and, at times, prioritise and rationalise decisions made. UNESCO acts as the custodian of goals that have been agreed upon internationally. Therefore, knowledge of the goals should come with the territory.

The failure to articulate goals, as demonstrated by a majority of the Ministry officials—especially in the case of Tanzania, could stem from the fact that EFA was taken as a separate agenda that only the Country Coordinator needs to tend to. The EFA Country Coordinator normally attends all international meetings that relate to EFA, thus explaining why is the coordinator alone remains well-informed and able to discuss goings on (perhaps including why the coordinator was able to identify the goals).

> We have an EFA coordinator and I think he is in a good position to talk of EFA goals. He normally attends international meetings related to EFA. The problem in Tanzania is seeing things in compartments. Since Mr XX coordinates EFA, then it is his baby and none of their business. (UNESCO Education Desk Officer)

> I attended a certain meeting with the former permanent secretary, but when I came back and tried to give feedback, people seemed not to understand. I tried to explain but they took it as a stand-alone programme. People are used to talk of EFA but I don't think they really understand what EFA means. (Ministry Official)

2.6   Aspects of EFA goals: Where is the priority and why?

One notable observation resulting from this study is that, although there are six EFA goals, not all of them receive equal attention, and not all of them are even necessarily recognized. As shown before, priority among these goals has been accorded to the provision of basic education (i.e. primary education to all children). Hence, even in terms of resource allocation, the primary education sub-sector is given more attention. The aspect of gender equity is also being effectively brought to the fore, wherein gender imbalance at the primary level has been addressed. At independence, for example, girls constituted 40 percent and 23 percent of standards one and seven respectively. By 1996, girls comprised 49 percent of standards one to seven. Since then, the ratio of girls to boys is nearly 1:1 (United Republic of Tanzania, 2005). The survival rate is also quite high within the primary school level.

Other sub-sectors, like early childhood care, special education needs, and adult basic education, have been marginalised to the effect that any efforts made on their behalf are only meant to compliment work being done in the primary education sub-sector.

With regard to early childhood care, although it is well stipulated within Education and Training Policy, the coordination and implementation of programmes and matters pertaining to it have been left in the hands of another Ministry, namely, the Ministry of Community Development—Gender and Children Affairs. This makes tracking progress and obtaining reliable statistics problematic for the EFA Country Coordinator. More often than not, NGOs, churches and private individuals take on the implementation of programmes in the field of early childhood care and development.

When taking into consideration the fact that every interviewee admitted that Education for All meant providing every child with an education, one may also conclude that special education is another area that has undergone marginalisation, albeit for the most part unwittingly, for an extended period of time since. The TEMET Coordinator, who is also a specialist in

special education, had this to say:

> But Universal Primary Education (UPE) does not necessarily or automatically mean Education for All because, in the implementation of UPE, children of special needs were still second-class citizens. They were still relegated and delegated to special schools and units that were very few. That is why to date we have only 1 percent of children with disability attending school. So can we call this education for all? So Education for All was on the agenda since 1961, but the implementation was at fault [and] many children were still being excluded. The exclusion was both conscious and unconscious. Conscious because when you read various documents, you will find that it is stated that education must be provided according to the economic situation of the country at [that] particular time. Special education at that time was considered expensive, and so not many resources were made available and financially not much was allocated to it. But unconsciously many children were being excluded.

The third ranking sub-sector in terms of its marginalisation was adult basic (literacy) education. Almost all respondents, even those hailing from NGO and donor institutions, agreed that in Tanzania today the standing of adult education within the education system is consistently marginalized. For example, it has been noted that adult education, which used to have its own independent department and its own budget at the ministerial level, has been reduced to one simple unit within the Office of the Commissioner for Education. As a result, allocations provided to the unit are wholly dependent on the priorities of the Office of the Chief Education Office. In the Assessment Country Report on Education for All (URT, 2000). Tanzania provides a critical review of the major decisions and actions undertaken since the World Conference on Education for All and, therein, makes evident adult education's marginalisation. The report places heavy emphasis on primary education, while adult education is only partially shown as one component of basic education. For example, the section annotating invest-

ment in EFA from 1990 does not detail how much was allocated to or spent on adult basic education. Rather, it shows budget allocations made to primary education and other education sectors such as secondary and technical, as well as higher and teacher education. It is not clear whether the budget allocated to primary education covers adult education as well.

It is important to also note that although Tanzania's special Primary Education Development Programme (PEDP), as conceived in 2001, has started to produce positive results, a review team assessing its first two years has found that out-of-school children, amounting to about 3 million heads, still pose a problem. The government, through its Non-Formal Education Strategy (again, part of PEDP), planned to enrol this group in a special programme known as COBET (Complementary Basic Education Programme)—now called MEMKWA (Mpango wa Elimu ya Msingi Kwa Watoto Walioikosa), a direct translation of COBET in Kiswahili. However, this programme has made slow progress. Children registered in classes feel that they are yet placed at a disadvantage (see Galabawa, 2003 COBET Evaluation Report), as their classrooms are not accorded equal staffing and the same material resources as normal primary school classes. They are treated as second-class.

For quite some time now, people have asserted that some sub-sectors, such as adult literacy, are not being recognized sufficiently because of a lack of drive among policy makers. This is often contrasted to circumstances in the 1970's, when one of the major contributing factors to great achievements made at that time within the education sector was the strong political will inherent within both government and political leaders. The Late President Nyerere (1961-1985), in particular, endeavoured to instil in his citizens an understanding of the importance of education and the public's role in implementing UPE through his numerous speeches. Resources were therefore made available to facilitate community mobilisation and advocacy. These events, they say, have stood as vivid memories of a proud past. While one is inclined to indeed agree with these assertions, it is also a fact that, at times, policy makers do not have the power to dictate terms. So long as the implementation of any given plan relies on external assistance,

the external institution will implicitly have greater say in determining priorities, as can be seen in the following interview extract.

> Sometimes you get money (funding) from development partners in a style of a chicken and carrot: that you do this and I give you this. If you don't do this, I don't give you this. (Education Advisor Action-Aid Tanzania)

2.7   EFA goals: Old wine in new bottles?

In addition to questions exploring their knowledge of the EFA goals, respondents (with the exception of development partners) were also presented with inquiries as to whether they thought internationally agreed goals were new to Tanzania or not. Almost all respondents agreed that not all of the goals were new. The aim of providing education for all, and especially for children, was there from even before the Jomtien Conference, but has now only been given more emphasis and attention. This was evidenced during an interview with the Education Advisor of Action Aid-Tanzania, as excerpted below:

> Personally, I don't think they are new. Only that some of them have been given emphasis for a longer time than others. For example, in Tanzania, we have been emphasising that children must go to school and, if possible, continue with secondary education and possibly climb the ladder up to the university. But for now we are also keen as to how many should, and who goes to school. We understand that everyone deserves to get a basic education. This was not there before EFA goals. But since, when we started the Primary Education Development Programme, that is, when people started to realise that education is essential for each and every child. Even the issue of complimentary basic education wasn't there. It has started recently and UNICEF initiated this as a pilot programme. It is a new concept but it is within the framework for enrolment. COBET intended to ensure that every child is captured and is enrolled in school. Of course, something else which is given

emphasis now and was not there is the issue of disadvantaged groups like children from the nomadic populations. We assumed and took it for granted that it is their culture that they didn't like schooling. Nobody bothered to think that even these children needed to join school. This has been given emphasis now. For example, we had boarding primary schools for the Masai people since they are mobile. The government decided to support them so that their children could remain in school while the parents move from one place to anther for grazing. But nobody made a close follow up to see if the children were actually joining these schools. We are now ensuring that these schools are fully utilised by Masai children.

We have also introduced Satellite schools for those who stay far away from the school and have to walk long distance. These will soon be transformed into full-fledged schools. The issue of the disabled and inclusive education has been given more emphasis also. We insist that all children should join school. It is their right. The emphasis wasn't there before. So basically, what I am saying is that, we had the commitment of providing education for every child. But nobody really bothered to see that all children were actually going to school. So I think it is a matter of emphasis. We are reviving things that were there, but forgotten.

The TENMET (Tanzania Education Network) Coordinator also had a similar view:

No, actually, these goals are not new to Tanzania. Tanzania was an active member of the 1961 Conference of Education Ministers. And the target of 1980 was also part of the agenda of Tanganyika and, later, Tanzania. And because the target was 1980, Tanzania felt that we could not reach that target without making a conscious effort, and that is why the Musoma Resolution of 1974 resolved that 1977 should be the Universal Primary Education implementation year—and indeed in 1977 we saw the beginning of the first UPE.

The Education Advisor of the World Bank shared the same views:

> I think, in Tanzania, it is a good example of a country where EFA was there since independence. You remember 1970, when the policy was adopted, [and] that there must be UPE (Universal Primary Education) whether it was achieved or not—that is something else. But the concept was there, and it should not be seen as an international kind of concept. Nyerere was very clear about this. So I'd say that it's not new.

In the eyes of the majority of respondents, EFA goals seemed to take focus just after Tanzania gained independence. Case in point, immediately after independence in 1961, the government felt that leaving adult illiteracy untouched would be unwise, for doing so could conceivably delay the country's development for generations. The country's development depended entirely on the work exerted by literate men and women, and the supply of such individuals in the human resource pool was already limited. Hence, in 1970, Tanzania launched a comprehensive national literacy campaign to reduce illiteracy among the adult population, and also declared that year to be Adult Education Year. On the eve of the New Year, former president Mwalimu (meaning 'teacher') Nyerere made an appeal to the nation stressing that adults must be educated before anything else, since their impact on development would be immediate. In Mwalimu's view, children were a long-term investment requiring many years before society would directly benefit, as can be seen in his statement below introducing the second Development Plan (1964-1969) to the Parliament.

> First, we must educate adults—our children will not have an impact on our economic development for five, ten, or even twenty years. The attitudes of the adults, on the other hand, have an impact now. (United Republic of Tanganyika, 1964)

Generally, this literacy campaign was characterised by a high level of motivation visible among the people and the leadership, stemming from their equally high expectations. The campaign led to a rapid rise in adult literacy

rates; where 15 percent of adults were literate at the time of independence in 1961, the numbers grew to 90.4 percent by 1986.

In 1974 the government launched an ambitious Universal Primary Education programme, which aimed to ensure that every child between the ages of 7 and 13 was enrolled in school by November 1977. Education was understood to be a basic human right, and to any longer delay measures leading to the provision of education would be politically inconsistent, as then President Nyerere convincingly stated:

> In Tanzania of 1975, 46 percent of the children can not go to school… And perhaps with no hope of going to school in the near future. For how long shall we continue like this… Every time we suggest universalisation of primary education, we pick up our pens and papers and make calculations of expenses and this frighten us. We are frightened by the cost of educating all our children.

The idea behind the scheme was to provide education to the masses through the improvement of adult education, as well as to universal primary education for children. In order to achieve the goal of universal literacy over a short time, the entire population was mobilised. Enrolment immediately expanded as everyday children took advantage of UPE and the opportunity to enrol that it provided. In 1980, the gross enrolment ratio reached an estimated 93 percent. The number of pupils enrolled in Standard One in 1978 was 878,321, compared with only 248,000 in 1974—an increase of 354 percent (Sumra, 1995).

In 1978, National Education Act No. 25 (amended in 1995) was passed in an attempt to consolidate UPE efforts. Section 35 of the Act requires compulsory primary school attendance from every child aged 7-13:

> It shall be compulsory for every child who has not attained the age of thirteen years to be enrolled for primary education. [Also,] the parent or parents of every child compulsorily

> enrolled for primary education shall ensure that the child regu-
> larly attends the primary school at which is enrolled until he
> completes primary education.

Parents who had violated the terms of this Act were fined or imprisoned,
although in most cases the issue was resolved at the school level via inter-
action between parents and head-teachers.

These examples all demonstrate that what was new was the specific articu-
lated concept of Education for All, but not necessarily the structural plans,
activities and means to provision implemented therein. Respondents also
felt that perhaps the collective global effort put into trying to fight igno-
rance was something quite new in itself. It would seem that the world is
now coming together to ensure that things are handled uniformly, all the
while reviving what we had only just forgotten rather than re-inventing the
wheel.

While it is true that Tanzania had plans to provide education for all, some
respondents admitted that some of the goals were new. These goals includ-
ed an emphasis on quality education and social and life skills, as can be
seen in the following:

> The life and social skills. Yeah, that is very new. For the first
> time in 1990 they started talking about it. The other one is
> school quality and measurement, which was not emphasised
> before, but now is being emphasised.
>
> This issue of measurement of the quality of education which is
> provided is new. I think it came in 2000. So this one is com-
> pletely new.

2.8   Integration and adoption of EFA goals: Rhetoric or reality?

The information obtained collectively from all respondents indicates that

EFA goals have been integrated into making national educational policy. The following policies were cited:

Education and Training Policy (ETP) 1995

The Education and Training Policy (ETP) of 1995 acts as a form of guidance for the provision of education and training. For more than three decades, Tanzania did not have a singular comprehensive education and training policy (URT, 1995). In the past, programmes and practices pertaining to education and training were based on and guided by short- and long-term development plans. These educational plans and programmes underscored the needs and demands of formal, and vocational, education and training without any mention of integrating them with adult education. Thus, the Education and Training Policy (ETP) of 1995 encompasses the entire education and training sector. The Education and Training Policy touches on all areas of EFA as it spells out the government's intent to guarantee that all citizens have access to primary and adult basic education as per their rights. In addition to access, quality, equality, equity, adult literacy and even vocational education are emphasized as well. Only one goal, as noted earlier, falls outside the mandate of the Ministry of Education and Vocational Training. This is Childcare Development, which is multi-sectoral.

Education Sector Development Programme (Ed-SDP)

The government is committed to policy-based reform and development in the education sector that is aimed at addressing problems observed when facing the provision of basic education. The broadened policy guidelines for basic education reform are outlined in the Education and Training Policy (ETP) of 1995 and were translated into detailed strategies, plans and programmes in the Basic Education Master Plan (BEMP) and the Education Sector Development Programme (Ed-SDP). In order to address the aforementioned problems, the government, in collaboration with NGOs and local communities, is determined to ensure access to quality education to adults and out-of-school youths and especially to girls and women.

The broad policy objectives which were to have been achieved by 2002-2003 include:

- reduction of the illiteracy rate to 5 percent by 2002;
- provision of high quality and sustainable universal basic education;
- working towards a 50 percent reduction in the incidence of poverty;
- ensuring the realisation of the Basic Human Rights of Education for All (EFA);
- promotion of the acquisition and development of basic knowledge and functional skills that are relevant to personal development and life in the community; and
- a better educated workforce for a diversified and semi-industrialised economy.

The Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (PRSP)

The Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (PRSP) is a medium-term plan set in the HIPC debt relief initiative. It is anchored on the premise that sustainable development will only take place as long as education levels increase and improve. A popular lack in basic education will ultimately undermine any efforts to improve health and nutrition, and impede efforts to get at the root of epidemics such as HIV/AIDS. Adult education and non-formal education programmes are being developed in response to the Government of the United Republic of Tanzania's overriding goal—that is, reducing poverty under the guiding framework of its Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper, 2015.

Tanzania Development Vision 2025

The Tanzania Development Vision 2025 envisages the total elimination of poverty by 2025; it therefore accords a higher priority to the education sector, which it perceives to be a cornerstone for socio-economic transformation. Within the context of Vision 2025, education is a strategic agent for transforming the minds of the people and creating a well-educated nation, one which is sufficiently equipped with the knowledge and skills needed to competently, and competitively, solve challenges in development facing the nation. In light of this, policy has transformed the education system in both qualitative and quantitative terms, with a focus on promoting a scientific and technological culture from the foundation up, while seeing to high stan-

dards in education provided to children and adults. The Vision emphasizes the need to ensure that science and technology, as well as awareness of their role in enhancing productivity and reducing vulnerability to poverty, permeate the whole of society through the conduits of continuous adult learning and publicity campaigns.

The Primary Education Development Programme (PEDP)

The Primary Education Development Programme was conceived in 2001 and started active operation in 2002. PEDP is a development plan for primary education with strategic priorities in the areas of enrolment expansion, quality improvement, capacity building, and the optimum utilization of human and material resources, wherein all areas address EFA goals.

The Ministry of Education and Culture (now the Ministry of Education and Vocational Training) saw a need to develop within the PEDP a medium-term strategy for non-formal education along with a 2003/4-2007/8 implementation plan, as an important step within the Education Sector Development Programme. This strategy specifically addresses three target groups: (i) 11–13 year old children and out-of-reach/disadvantaged children aged 7–13 who are on the streets, disabled, orphans, out-of-reach and/or from nomadic communities; (ii) youth 14–18 years of age; and (iii) adults 19 years of age or older. In the case of the age group ranging from 11 to 13 years of age, the objective is to mainstream the children into the formal system after they've completed an intensive two-year course that prepares them for the Standard IV examination. The 14–18 age group undergo a three-year course designed with the objective of preparing them to not only sit for the Primary School Leaving Examination (PSLE), but also to acquire skills that they can later use for entrepreneurship and self-employment. With the adult group, the objective is to provide them with basic literacy, communication skills and life skills so as to augment their livelihoods and reduce poverty.

The above-mentioned policies show clearly how Tanzania intends to integrate EFA goals within its domestic education policies. But what is more important is the extent to which these policies are translated into strategic

activities with concrete efficacy on the ground. One needs to move beyond the policy statements to determine real commitment. Seeing as the scope of this study did not include looking at implementation, we do not have first hand information from the field. However, information obtained from research reports and interviews, especially those conducted with development partners and NGO staff, indicate that achievement of Education for All by the year 2015 is still a distant goal. A national report assessing the challenges posed by, and achievements towards, Education for All (EFA) over the ten year period spanning 1990-2000 clearly pointed out that, although Tanzania has strongly committed itself to education for all and successfully set in motion a new course for basic education, progress towards EFA goals has been much slower than anticipated. The report also noted with concern that the primary school Net Enrolment Rate (NER) had dropped from 69.7 percent in 19?? to 56.7 percent in 1998, whereas the literacy rate, which had reached almost 90 percent in 1986, dropped to 84 percent in 1992 and has been dropping at the annual rate of 2 percent since then. The literacy rate is currently estimated at 68 percent. The gross enrolment rate improved to reach 106 percent, while the net enrolment rate stands at above 95 percent. However, the problem with dropout rates still remains (United Republic of Tanzania, 2003). The analytical framework provided within the EFA Global Monitoring Report also indicates that Tanzania is one of a number of countries at-risk of not achieving the goal (p.93). Several factors contributing to this have been suggested by various scholars. Bhalalusesa (2005), for example, observed that since the time of the Dakar Forum, international and national attention given to the matter have focused more on getting children into school than adults and youth. A country's potential for achieving EFA goals becomes increasingly dubious under circumstances where some segments of the population have been left behind. The Education Advisor for Action Aid Tanzania had the following to say:

> Yes, the goals are integrated, but the implementation leaves much to be desired. Theoretically, it has been taken very clearly in the PEDP (Primary Education Development Plan) document and also PEDP has taken on board some of those targets,

but in practice it is still problematic. I think emphasis has been on quantitative targets, as pupils had to be enrolled first. But qualitative issues are underestimated, neglected or forgotten. To give an example, adult education, though it is part of PEDP and actually belongs to PEDP, was not given sufficient funding. But there is a good strategic plan made by the Ministry of Education.

What I would say is that, Yes, they are integrated. If you look at any policy document you could see the intent is there. The documents read so well, but the problem is translation into strategies and implementation. For example even in the Constitution it is indicated that Education is a right for all. But then, what happens to a girl child when she gets pregnant? Unfortunately, there is no policy in place to keep her in school, or an alternative programme to enable her to continue acquiring education as a right. The girl is termed as a victim of her own [making]. The right is violated.

Again, look at adult literacy. This is another fundamental right, which is very well documented in our educational policy documents. But the government translation and financial commitment is hardly there. In fact, there is no financial commitment and hardly [anything] is taking place. Even the issue of quality. This is another critical and complex issue. Look at teachers, for example, they live in pathetic conditions. They also work in critical situations. With the increased enrolment, teachers teach in overcrowded classes. And if you look into the percentage of children who pass to secondary schools, it is still very low.

2.9 Influences acting on the integration of EFA goals in national educational policies

The above section has illustrated how Tanzania has been integrating internationally agreed EFA goals into its domestic educational policy. However, this study was also designed to uncover what factors had influenced domestic integration and adoption of the goals. Post-research analyses of

the findings revealed two main factors.

The global movement

For many respondents this seemed to be an obvious influence. In their eyes, it is only logical that Tanzania conforms to global movements seeing that it is part of the world. In the context of EFA, the following examples can be provided:

- Tanzania believes in equality and also in each individual's right to education. This belief has been expounded in the constitution of the Ruling Party as well as in that of the United Republic of Tanzania from 1977, later amended in 1984 (although it is not legally enforceable in court). Both constitutions emphasize equality among human beings, the need to recognise and value humanity, and maintain equality before law. The constitution provides for the individual freedom of people, regardless of sex, to pursue education up to any desired level. Article XI (2) of the constitution of the United Republic of Tanzania (URT) states that: "Every person has the right to self-education, and every citizen shall be free to pursue education in a field of his choice up to the highest level according to his merits and ability" (URT, 1998, p.19).
- Tanzania has signed the United Nations Declaration acknowledging that all humans are equal and deserve the same rights before the law as well as applied in distribution of social service resources, such as those including basic education. Tanzania has also signed the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights; the UNESCO Convention Against Discrimination in Education; The Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC); and ratified the United Nations Convention on the Elimination of All forms of Discrimination Against Women.
- Tanzania is one of the countries that participated in the World Conference on Education for All (WCEFA) held in Jomtien, Thailand in 1990 and also committed to the Dakar Framework for Action of 2000, which gave the world and, in particular, African countries a new impetus to provide educational opportunities to all. Tanzania signed

and made a commitment to the implementation of EFA goals. Much like other countries, Tanzania was required to develop national plans of action in order to achieve EFA goals and further enforce their adoption into national policies. Therefore, it was no accident that EFA goals were incorporated into national policy, and national education policy, in particular.

One Ministry of Education official had this to say:

> I think because this is a global agreement, which Tanzania can not run away from, we are part and parcel of it so long as we have signed and ratified both treaties including, for example, the convention on the right of the child. I think we have an obligation to ensure that we are implementing the agreement in one way or another.

It was interesting to note that some interviewees did have a different opinion on this. More often than not, such persons were NGO staff. They felt that, apart from pressure that came from terms contained in agreements signed and ratified, a hidden pressure existed somewhere. This pressure generates from the need for financial assistance. Tanzania, as any other developing country, is not self-sufficient and, hence, depends very much on donor funding. These funding institutions, as we noted before, dictate terms and priorities. Voicing his concern, an interviewee from an NGO had this to say:

> Our governments are usually influenced by those with powers and resources, but always those with power will be listened to, even though we have given our views, for example, in meetings of PEDP, all participants listen to the World Bank.
>
> You know what? I think that at the world level, those that have more resources can forecast and think [further] ahead than those without. Usually they lead the way, and move everybody at their own pace. Therefore, they influenced the integration.

Financial dependency

While it is true that Tanzania is part of the global movement, some respondents felt that external influence rooted in dependence on donors can not be disregarded. As a rule, developing partners take part in meetings and, in so doing, they can also influence decisions. One could say that the party who pays the piper also calls the tune. One World Bank interviewee illustrates this point clearly:

> Well, there is no organization that has no influence on something, especially if you are financing or supporting to achieve their goals and objectives. In primary education, for example, I think the Bank has influenced. Maybe the word 'influence' is sometimes negative… but has influenced in a positive way. We have tried to help the government to achieve its goals.

Similarly another interviewee (Development partner) responded that:

> This is a good question. I think you know partly that, because of the difficulties in dialogue we have with the government, let's say during the implementation process of ESDP and PEDP, there is less influence than we had expected as they refuse to take up some of our ideas…

Officials from the Institute of Adult Education and CARE Tanzania had the same observation:

> My experience when talking to donors about basic education [is that] they will pin you to that end, and [with] all their efforts and their strength of funding, they will argue we are funding basic education and when we look at it its primary education. It is the thinking of development partners that basic education is only primary education, but is that our only requirement? (Official from the Institute of Adult Education)
> Our governments are usually influenced by those with powers and resources, always those with power will be listened to,

even though we have given our views; for example, in meetings of PEDP, all participants listen to the World Bank member. Usually they lead the way, and move everybody at their own pace. (Education Desk Officer from CARE-Tanzania)

The power developing partners have in influencing policy decisions is evident, even when it comes to funding modality. Currently, developing partners have reverted back to funding through budget support and have left the once-renowned basket funding, famously used to fund PEDP, behind. Policy makers feel they have no choice other than to dance to the tune. In this context, even the less powerful developing partners have to comply with those who have more power.

It is difficult. If another donor is backing me, then the point will be taken into board. But if it is only myself and I have to fight, for example, the World Bank, then certainly I will have no say. (Education Advisor, JICA)

3   Programmes Supported in Relation to EFA Goals

This study focused on matters at the policy-making level and did not directly look at the field to obtain first-hand information on programmes undertaken. Therefore, we must note that all information presented herein was obtained through interviews with key parties. Several programmes were mentioned, although specific responses varied by agency.

3.1   Government supported programmes

Government supported programmes, mentioned earlier, include the Primary Education Development Programme (PEDP), its corresponding Complementary Basic Education Programme in Tanzania (COBET) and the Integrated Community Based Adult Education (ICBAE) Programme.

PEDP

PEDP is a development plan that targets primary education and structuring strategic priorities in the areas of enrolment expansion, quality improvement, capacity building and the optimum utilization of human and material resources. The World Bank has yielded substantial financial resources for the government to put to use in implementing PEDP. Several development partners have also made available to the government significant financial and technical resources for the same purpose.

Through its active move to operations, which began in 2002, PEDP has started to produce positive results. Findings uncovered by a review team assessing the first two years of PEDP implementation indicate that the primary education sector across Tanzania is experiencing changes. Considerably more children are in school now than ever before (United Republic of Tanzania, 2003). PEDP was supposed to have ended in 2005, although there are plans for its extension.

Complementary Basic Education Programme in Tanzania (COBET)

The Complimentary Basic Education Programme in Tanzania (COBET) is a pilot project that was designed to ensure the effective implementation of and success in taking steps towards children's universal rights to basic education. COBET emerged as part of a stock-taking exercise, part of an extraordinary global effort coordinated by the United Nations family of agencies, aimed at measuring how nations of the world faired in implementing the noble goals of EFA. Its overall objective was to contribute to the provision of basic education to girls and boys currently not in primary school, but who ought to be; That is, children 11-18 years of age who have either dropped out of school or are simply not enrolled. The objective was to mainstream school-age children into the formal system after having them complete a three-year course and sit for the Primary School Leaving Examination, after which they would be free to compete for selection by secondary schools. The target group in this project was divided into two cohorts. Cohort one comprised 11-13 year olds, and cohort two comprised 14-18 year old children and youth. UNICEF mainly funded the pilot programme.

As a pilot programme, COBET was run in 50 centres in five districts (Kisarawe, Songea Rural, Ngara, Musoma Rural and Masasi Districts). The total enrolment was 1560 children and youth. This coverage was considered relatively small compared to the actual number of out-of-school children (estimated to have reached three million by 2002). The Evaluation Report of the pilot programme (Galabawa, 2003) shows that the COBET pilot project made a useful overall contribution to improving access to and the quality of basic education, and since achievement levels observed in COBET are comparable with those in formal primary schools, COBET has proven itself successful. The Ministry of Education and Vocational Training Culture within the framework of PEDP has decided to scale up the programme to all districts in the country, but under its new Kiswahili title, Mpango wa Elimu ya Msingi Kwa Watoto Walioikosa, or MEMKWA.

Integrated Community Based Adult Education (ICBAE) Programme

This programme was only brought up by officials working within the Adult Education Unit of the Ministry of Education. The rest of the respondents just mentioned PEDP and COBET. This is not surprising because, to many people, Education for All is equivalent to education for all children and, hence, access to primary education.

The Integrated Community Based Adult Education (ICBAE) began as a pilot project designed to develop and test a learner-centred, community-based approach to learning for adults and out-of-school youths. This pilot project was developed in response to the fact that national literacy and post-literacy programmes were planned through top-down and inflexible approaches. The curriculum for these programmes did not take into consideration the varied needs and aspirations of learners and communities. Literacy skills training was, therefore, made an integral part of the projects targeting persons who have never learned how to read and write, as well as neo-literate and out-of-school youths, with a special focus on girls (Bugeke, 1997). Reading, writing and numeracy were therefore finely integrated into ICBAE projects and credit schemes so as to solve community problems.

ICBAE started operating as a pilot programme in four project areas. With financial assistance from the African Development Bank (ADB), ICBAE was expanded into eight other districts in Tanzania's mainland, namely, Masasi, Newala, Songea Rural, Tunduru, Nachingwea, Liwale, Biharamulo and Kigoma districts. To-date, this programme has extended to cover the entire country. This study has not focused on assessing implementation to see how the programme is faring. However, available information (Dachi and Ndalichako, 2003; Bhalalusesa, 2005) indicates that, while ICBAE was well received by members of the communities where it was run, programme results could not be sustained owing to low levels of funding. During an interview, the Deputy Director of the Adult Education Unit commented that:

> …Of course, this is one of the programmes which we have started late to implement because of the lack of funds. The first disbursement came [in] November last year (2004). It was not prioritized. Because, as I said, all funds were released by World Bank. World Bank had their priority—universal primary education—and that any component which will complement the universal primary education and COBET was supposed to complement primary education. So, COBET also got the priority. But it was just up to last year, November, when we started getting funding for the literacy education after seeing that, you know, there is a big problem.

3.2   Programs and projects supported by NGOs

Through interviews with representatives of different NGOs, it became clear that NGOs have made considerable efforts to help the government address problems with out-of-school children and young people in order to ensure that education is provided to all children. The programmes they mentioned included the following:

ACTION-AID Tanzania: Satellite Model
With financial assistance from DFID, Action Aid Tanzania pilots the

ACCESS (Appropriate Cost-effective Centres for Education within the School System) methodology in two districts in Tanzania to help maximise learning opportunities available to children in areas without schools. The central idea underlying ACCESS is the establishment of an appropriate, flexible, and cost-effective basic education programme for children, one which would operate as both an integral part of, and a feeder to, the existing formal school system. Unlike formal schools, ACCESS adheres to non-formal approaches, with due emphasis on flexibility in all stages of the programme, so as to effectively accommodate the special needs and life conditions of poor communities and disadvantaged children in rural and urban areas. ACCESS centres operate in more or less the same manner as COBET. The difference is that they only focus on children out-of-school staying in difficult-to-reach communities so that these future students can be mainstreamed into the formal school system at grade 3 or 4.

According to the Education Advisor, there is now a shift in the way Action-Aid is supporting programmes. Currently, alongside their research and advocacy, they put more emphasis on empowering communities in understanding their right to education, rather than becoming involved in direct support or implementation of the programmes.

CARE -Tanzania

CARE Tanzania supports several activities in education. The official who participated in this study indicated that their strategy incorporates their aim to contribute to success in EFA goals. This is demonstrated by a number of programmes geared towards assisting disadvantaged children access education, as evidenced in the following interview extract.

> CARE, as an organization, we are educationists whose strategy is to contribute to EFA goals. So, in the whole conceptualization, we focus on children who are not in school—especially children in difficult circumstances, including girls. For example, we have a programme running in Tarime which looks at girls absences in education due to cultural issues. We are also, in Kahama, piloting initiatives which spearhead learning, teach-

ing and leadership as a central role among pupils and teachers, and literacy skills so as to improve quality of education. We are piloting how to give schools money to buy books [in order] to involve community committees.

Additional information relating to programmes offered by NGOs other than ACCESS and CARE was extracted from documents pertaining to previous studies (Mushi et al., 2001; Mushi and Bhalalusesa, 2002) and has been used to summarise the organizations as follows.

Children for Children's Future (CCF)

Children for Children's Future is an NGO that was founded by a group of Arusha residents in 1994 to address the needs of the ever-increasing number of children living in the streets of Arusha. The major objective of CCF is to try to assist the children in finding a lasting alternative to life on the streets.

Currently, CCF runs two centres for rehabilitating street children. The first centre is known as Tupendane Reception Centre. This centre welcomes all children under 13 years of age for a period of up to 4 months, during which time staff members help integrate them with their families, after addressing their basic needs. The children also take part in basic literacy and numeracy classes, English, art and sports programmes as well as work at cultivating vegetables for sale to the public; all such activities are offered so as to prepare the children for re-entry into primary school and re-integration into society.

The second is known as Maji ya Chai Residential Centre. This centre accommodates children for longer periods wherein they attend primary school and, at the same time, learn vocational skills, such as carpentry and gardening vegetables. This enables them to learn how to support themselves in the future. Presently, the centre has 60 children (all boys). The centre also supports 5 girls at the Longido Girls Boarding School.

Sanganigwa Street Children Centre

Sanganigwa is a street children's centre in Kigoma, run by CARITAS on behalf of the Catholic Diocese of Kigoma. The Catholic Church in Kigoma initiated the facility based on their concern over the rapid increase in the number of street children in Kigoma town. A study to determine the status of the street children and the magnitude of the problem was conducted; it found that there were about 1,000 street children—200 of whom were **off** the street (eating, working and sleeping on the street) and 800 were on (eating and working on the street, but sleeping at home). Of these children, about 30 percent were refugees from Congo, Burundi and Rwanda.

Like any other street children's centre, Sanganigwa conducts several programmes, such as counselling, life skills training, work, reintegration and literacy skills.

The complementary basic education programme is a major one, and has two principal functions. The first is to aid children who might return to school so that they may learn behaviours needed in formal environments such as classrooms. The second aim is to augment development in children's language and numeracy skills. The most important aspect of the former function is determining which children wish to return to school and assist them in succeeding. So far, the centre has managed to register 192 children in the formal system. For those who do not want to go to back to school, the centre attempts to determine alternative activities it may offer relating to the development of vocational skills.

Dogodogo Street Children Centre

The centre was established in Dar es Salaam in 1992 and registered as an NGO, known as the German Christian Association, with the objective of providing basic needs such as food, medicine and clothing to street children 6-17 years of age. Later, in 1994, demand for more services, including education, arose. Currently, the centre provides vocational and basic literacy skills, family life education and health-related skills, all adapted to the needs of street children. The centre has 97 children and has succeeded in creating employment opportunities for some of them while others are re-

united with their families. Mainstreaming for those who wish to proceed with primary schooling is allowed up to standard 4.

The Kuleana Street Children Centre was established in Mwanza in 1991 to provide alternative basic education to street children and youths 6-18 years of age. The centre has incorporated in its programme life-skills education covering health, personal and social development as well as communication skills. The programme has been adapted to suit specific needs of the target group, with a focus on empowering children, and promoting children's rights, self-expression and participation.

The curricular package is split into three specific areas, namely, 'Me and Myself' (social skills/personal development), 'Me and My Body' (basic personal hygiene/health) and 'Me and My Future' (bargaining/budgeting skills, relationships and sexual health). Since children vary in many different ways in terms of age, experience, culture and values, the precise nature of individual differences is taken into account before the education programme is developed.

Child in the Sun Centre
The centre was established in Dar es Salaam in 1992 as a rehabilitation centre for street children 7-18 years of age. Most of them, about 70 percent, come from rural areas and have been out of school for several years.

The programme aims at rehabilitating street children both socially and economically, and helps them build new relationships with their families. The programme also seeks to reconstruct broken relationships they have with relatives and/or their culture. Currently, the centre has 70 registered children in vocational training programmes adapted to their needs and interests. The children also learn Kiswahili, Arithmetic, English, Politics, Sociology, Group Therapy, Life Skills, Business Education, Economics and Geography via individualised learning approaches designed for each individual's situation. Vocational training programmes in building, carpentry, welding, agriculture, animal husbandry and gardening are also arranged with the hope that they would provide youth with the skills required for improving

living conditions in rural areas. The duration of their studies is usually 3-4 years.

3.3   Critical issues and concerns

Analysis of the programmes offered by NGOs reveals a set of critical issues and concerns. To name a few:

- Programmes offered by NGOs in each region are not centrally co-ordinated by the responsible Ministry for education. Accordingly, most of them do not have clearly defined guidelines for operationalisation, including specific curricula for guiding educational practice. Furthermore, there is no monitoring or quality control mechanism;
- NGOs have relied heavily on external funding. Once this assistance is withdrawn, the overall capacity to implement programmes would be severely affected. Nonetheless, it is evident from the examples demonstrated in this report that where and when resources are available, these programmes can be used to provide quality complementary basic education;
- Most programmes offered by NGOs are urban-based and enrol more boys than girls. This, as observed by Mushi et al. (2001), means that there is an increasing number of children in the rural areas, especially girls, who do not attend school;
- The centres supported by NGOs utilise untrained instructors. There is no standard as regards their recruitment. As a result, the methods used in teaching are mainly teacher-centred and neither encourage nor nurture the creativity and potential latent in learners.

4   Concluding Remarks

The overall picture one gets from this study is that Education for All is not something entirely new in Tanzania. Although, the literal concept and expression itself are mainly associated with the 1990 Jomtien Conference and the later 2000 Dakar Framework For Action, the mission and vision of

achieving education for all has long existed. This is evident given what has been recorded in available policy documents as well as what has been demonstrated through Tanzania's commitments made in signing and ratifying international statements on education for all. The current global movement is indeed a renewal of these early initiatives. Regardless of this, three notable issues have emerged from this study.

4.1   Lack of policy continuity in the history of education development

The first issue of concern is the fact that policy continuity has been lacking in Tanzania's history of educational development, a history which specifically necessitated changes to government policy and/or shifts in emphasis. As observed in earlier sections, immediately after independence, the government became very much concerned with ensuring that education was equitably distributed to all segments of the population. During the time of the Late Mwalimu Julius Nyerere, the first president, for example, Tanzania was troubled by the fate of more than half of their school-aged children, who were not enrolled in primary school, during and after the colonial period. One solution was promoting mass adult education campaigns for furthering literacy and numeracy for the young and old outside of school. The other was promotion of universal primary education in order to ensure that every child was enrolled in school, regardless of their class, race, tribe, religion, gender or location. Then-president Nyerere emphasised quality education using the concept or notion of "relevant and functional education". Major government resources were allocated to meet the goals of equity, justice, and access for all to primary and adult education.

The education system was turned around by macro reform policies, which were increasingly adopted in the mid-1980's along with sectoral reforms. As observed in Lema et al. (2004), the very first blow against equity in education and the principle of education for all was the imposition of school fees, i.e. cost sharing in education, which was one of the conditions for World Bank loans in early structural adjustment days. The proportion of school-aged children enrolled in school began to drop immediately. From a peak of

98 percent gross enrolment in 1980, gross primary school enrolment dropped to 71 percent in 1988 and rose to 78 in 1997. In 1999, the situation appeared as follows:

- Out of every 100 children of primary school age, only 56 were enrolled in school;
- Of these 56 children enrolled in school, only 38 completed primary school;
- Of the 38 who completed primary school, only six proceeded to secondary school (Lema et al., 2004).

The present status of basic education in Tanzania has improved considerably since 2001 as a result of the Primary Education Development Programme (PEDP). The government's abolition of primary school fees and mandatory cash contributions led to an immediate leap in enrolment. Net enrolment rates have increased from 59 percent in 2000 to 91 percent in 2003, and gross enrolment rates have increased from 78 percent to 108 percent during the same period (BEST, 2003). However, the issue of quality education remains a great challenge.

4.2 Human and structural complications in the process of decision-making

This paper has noted throughout that although a numerous targets are acknowledged within EFA goals, it would appear that primary education receives far greater attention than other kinds. Other fields such as adult basic education and special education are marginalised, whether it be consciously or unconsciously. As a result, a segment of the population has been pushed aside. There is no doubt that sub-sectors like special education or adult education need to become subject to greater capital investment in order to recruit competent personnel, and financial support could go a long way in running the programmes. However, harsh economic realities and insufficient resources mean that success would depend on whether the government in power would voluntarily consent to allocating and distributing necessary resources. We have seen, for example, that during the first

president's time, the government saw educating children as a long-term investment. Instead, assisting the adult population was seen as strategically preferable since adults impact development in a more immediate sense. As a result, adult education programmes received considerable support form the ruling party and government leadership. The leadership took part in adult education activities that educated and mobilized people through literacy programmes. Directives were issued calling upon the people to eradicate illiteracy. The ideological basis for the adult literacy programme was, certainly, highly sensible.

Nonetheless, following a growing trend in privatisation and liberalization policies, the country's development strategy, which had focused on growth and equity, was abandoned in favour of planned development strategy that focused more on growth and efficiency. Adult education, including adult literacy, was no longer central to development initiatives and this was reflected in important agenda in political circles.

4.3   Difficulty of conceptualising/operationalising EFA

The difficulty respondents have had conceptualising Education for All, and EFA goals in particular, is the third observation clearly drawn from this study. It seems that Education for All has been viewed in holistic terms to include all segments of the population regardless of their physical capacity, age, location, sex and status. Education is viewed as a right for every person. However, when it comes to putting policy into practice, the six goals on which the concept of Education for All is based do not receive equal treatment. In operational terms, Education for all has been reduced to the provision of basic education (primary education) for all children.

The Case of Ethiopia

Ayalew Shibeshi & Yacob Arsano

1   Introduction

1.1   Background

Nearly fifteen years have passed since 'Education For All' was adopted in Jomtien, Thailand. Parties representing major bilateral and multilateral donors as well as the governments of developing countries once again mutually agreed upon dedication to EFA goals in Dakar in 2000. Among the signatory countries at each conference was Ethiopia.

The National Institute for Policy Studies (GRIPS) Japan is now conducting a comparative study on the process by which Education for All (EFA) is being adopted in three African countries, namely, Ethiopia, Kenya and Tanzania. This paper is a report for the study on Ethiopia. As such, it has stayed with research questions agreed and shared with the researchers from Kenya, Tanzanian, and Japan under this project.

1.2   Research questions

This research aims at exploring the extent to which educational changes reflect local responses to global economic and political restructuring, and the extent to which views generated by international discourse are manifested in these changes. Hence, the focus of the research will remain on the processes and space in which differently motivated actors negotiate terms regarding how Education for All is to be conceived, thereby ultimate-

ly creating a hybridized version of the agenda. This analysis will thusly attempt to address the following research questions.

(1) How have actors involved in policy-making in each of the countries, such as politicians, officials at MOE and other ministries, NGOs, and donor staff, conceptualized "Education for All"?
(2) Which parties are more conversant of EFA goals and what makes them so?
(3) Which EFA goals are official areas of focus? In what sense are they close to or different from what individual respondents perceive "Education for All" to be?
(4) How have external factors influenced the historical development of concepts of "Education for All" in each country?
(5) What has actually happened in the process of adopting EFA goals into educational policies of respective countries?

1.3   Participants in the study

As a first step in selecting study participants, the authors identified four ministries, five multilateral donor organizations, ten bilateral donor organizations, and five civil society organizations. All organizations were selected by their perceived relevance to the problem under study.

Since access to the organizations as identified was bound to be difficult, letters explaining the purpose of the study and requesting cooperation were sent to each organization in order that access to research assistants be kindly provided (see Appendix II). Accordingly, contact with a total of 26 individuals was established, of whom 24 were willing to take part in interview sessions. These 24 individuals included seven government officials, five civil society organization leaders, and seven and five officers from bilateral and multilateral organizations, respectively.

All participants possessed long years of experience. In terms of qualifications, one possesses a bachelor's degree, thirteen possess master's degrees and six hold PhDs. The remaining three did not relate their qualifications.

Furthermore, 18 of the participants are Ethiopian nationals, while the remaining six are of foreign citizenship.

1.4   Data collection

Data was collected through interviews conducted in the English language and using instruments prepared by GRIPS. Participants were informed prior to the interview about the objectives of the study and the procedures that would be followed; the interview itself proceeded only upon their consent.

The interviews were conducted on a person-to-person basis and each was carried out in the interviewee's office. A small tape-recorder with a built-in microphone was used to record the interviews. Only in one case, where a government official declined to have his voice recorded, was note-taking used instead. The recorded interviews were then transcribed, culminating in a document 252 pages long. The apparent candor on the part of most of the interviewees makes the document quite an enjoyable read.

1.5   Problems encountered and strategies used in overcoming them

Absence of institutional linkages

Authors were not formally representing their academic institution, Addis Ababa University; therefore, without an official letter verifying that both researchers and the research project had institutional support, the authors knew that it would be very difficult, in fact impossible, to arrange the necessary interview appointments with organizations and officials. We approached the chairman of the Department of Political Science and International Relations (PSIR) for institutional support. Since one author is a faculty member at the department and, furthermore, the research topic is relevant to policy study relating to research programmes at the PSIR Department, the department head kindly provided the much-needed letter addressed to all potential interviewees.

Difficult political climate

The national and regional elections of May 2005 ended in a dispute between the incumbent government and various opposition parties. As a result, officials from government organizations, though they had agreed to the interview, were not available. They were either too preoccupied with the post-ballot political tug-of-war, or they were too unsure of their positions to find the mental wherewithal for entertaining academic pursuits. When the electoral squabble subsided somewhat in November 2005, some of the government officials had been removed from their posts, and some had been appointed to new jobs. This far-reaching political uncertainty also affected potential interviewees from bilateral and multilateral agencies, and even from civil society organizations. As a result, the interview programme took longer than expected, but patience and an allowance for more time effectively mediated the problem.

2 Conceptualization of 'Education for All'

2.1 Definition of EFA

When defining 'Education for All', interviewees used a variety of phrases such as "all citizens," "all sectors of society," "all people," nobody is left behind," "all groups of people," "education for every body" and "all people where ever they live." There seemed to be agreement among most respondents that 'education for all' implies providing education for every human being regardless of gender, age, ethnicity, religion, disability, geographical location, etc.

This idea was demonstrated very clearly within the responses to the question "What do you think 'all' means when you talk of 'education for all'?" The following statements taken from interviews illustrate this general conception.

> The very concept of "education for all" is beyond the school-age children because the whole idea of "all" is referring to the

society. [It refers] to all groups of people, as I said—people with disabilities, the women, the adults, the children in school, the children out of school, different nationality groups, different language groups—without any discrimination based on language, ethnic background, political background and barriers. Actually, without making distinctions based on any limitations means education for all citizens.

All means education... [it] must be taken as a right. Any human being should get it.

All means as to me all. We have the school age children who have to go to school. We have the dropouts, out of school children. We have adults. We have women, mothers, kids and we have also people on the street. We have also the disadvantaged, the marginalized, and also the disabled and education for all means to reach all these segments of society. You shouldn't target one component or one unit [only] like focusing on children or focusing on adults. Education for all means for all, for all of us.

All means for me men, women, children, adults, people in all walks of life.

Well, all means actually every member of any country... It might be all boys and girls in a country, or adults, youngsters, it also means children with disabilities, children with economic hardship, i.e. orphans and, well, literally all means any body living in a country as EFA declared, has [a] right to education.

Thus, except for a few individuals who restricted 'all' as simply meaning "people who don't read and write," "all young people" and "farmers," respondents overwhelmingly perceived 'Education for All' as an agenda including every citizen and person in a country.

With regard to the meaning of 'Education', however, respondents did

express a number of different conceptions. These responses can be broken down into three categories, i.e. basic education, meeting learning needs and education as a means for development.

2.2   Basic education

Many of the respondents understood education to mean the provision of basic education. One of the respondents stated,

> .... I think when we say "education for all," we obviously do not mean that everybody should have a qualification. But, on the basis of their need [and] their ability, of the time they have and life style that they are leading, they should have a minimum level of education, like, for example, to read and write, to be literate and numerate. That is what I see, when I think of education for all.

This view is shared by a number of respondents from among all groups. The following statements illustrate the same idea.

> Well, you may say that education [is] largely, when you say education for all... may be basic education, which will help you transfer information or a piece of information so that people will be able to make informed decisions.

> Well, education is a broad term, but in this case, when we say education for all it means a minimum of reading, writing, numeric skills and most importantly also skill[s] which [are] beneficial to the lives of citizens.

> Education for me... means basic, acquiring the minimum basic skills of being literate and numerate, so that you can read and understand written materials that are relevant to your daily life...

This group of respondents thus understands education to mean basic education, consisting of reading, writing, numeric and some life skills. This conception, obviously, does not cover all EFA goals since it leaves out at the very least early childhood care and education.

2.3   Meeting learning needs

A second group of respondents perceived education as a means to meet learning needs demonstrated by different groups. One respondent even contends that "education might not be the really correct term" to use. He further states,

> ...we have tried to capture the needs of all these groups in different nations, ethnic groups, etc., by defining "learning needs." Education is actually the response to learning needs of these different groups. But the emphasis is actually on learning, and learning starts with the individual and with groups, and not with teacher. So, education is actually the provision of the needs of different groups.

Another respondent also takes meeting learning needs to be at the core of education. He commented,

> Well, in the context of "education for all," what I understand by the term "education" is, again, an education that essentially meets the learning needs of citizens of our country. It has to be very practical and it has also to meet the different learning needs, which need to be identified before even providing education.

This view takes into account the idea of education for all as inherently catering to different groups of people with different types of needs, because all these needs could not be met by one uniform type of education. Hence, unlike those who understand education as meaning basic education alone, these respondents agree that education is providing services to meet

the needs of a plurality of groups, what ever their learning needs might be.

2.4   Education — A means for development

A third category for definitions given by respondents to the meaning of education is comprised of those who viewed it as a means for development. They placed more emphasis on what is achieved through the provision of 'education for all' rather than the actual education offered. Their responses to the question "What do you think education means when you talk of education for all?" include:

> Well, education is a key for development. ... Educated people can change the life of the people. [Thus] the millennium development goals given attention to education for all people [which is] is also very important and key factor for achieving other goals of the millennium development goal—eradicating poverty, addressing gender issue, addressing the health and population issue. So education is a key point in this regard for development.

> I presume that education is key to creating, applying and spreading new ideas and technologies which, in turn, are critical for faster and sustained economic growth.

> [By] education, when you talk [of] saying 'education for all', we mean development. Education is a means for development, and we [call] it "education for all" to achieve it.

The most interesting part of this category of views is that all persons who responded in this manner were government officials. It might thus be a reflection of what the government thinks education is for.

To summarize, the interviews conducted indicate that an agreement on what 'all' means does seem to exist. On the other hand, no universal or common understanding of what 'education' means does. Some respon-

dents thought of 'education for all' as basic education, others as "a means to meet learning needs", and the remainder considered it to be "a means of development".

3 Awareness of EFA goals

The interviews revealed that the level of respondents' familiarity with EFA goals differed among groups and individuals. Only two of the seven government officials were able to list the EFA goals, one of them elaborated as follows:

> I think these six goals are: expanding early child hood care and education, providing primary education for all, promoting learning skills for young people and adults, increas[ing] adult literacy, achiev[ing] gender parity and enhance educational quality. These are [the] six goals.

Three officials equated the goals to universal primary and basic education alone while another confused them with MDGs. He stated that "They are the millennium development goals". The most surprising response was that of the official who said "I don't have this statistics, I cannot really entertain this question".

The officials interviewed were from ministries that directly relate to education, but do not consider themselves obliged to know all the details. The following statement gives a general sense of the environment.

> Because, as you know, education is mainly for the ministry of education—though it is part of our duty—I am sorry if I cannot answer this question [since] I don't have the data.

There is even less familiarity with EFA goals among interviewees from civil society organizations. Two of them did not even address the question, while another two confused them with MDGs.

Well, generally the goals are laid out in the millennium goals, which indicate a bench-mark up to 2015, which also includes poverty and also reducing illiteracy. So it is generally associated to the millennium goals. (Deed)

I know that there are eight goals in different areas—health, education, eliminating war, narrowing the gender gap (gender disparity) in education, poverty, hunger HIV/AIDS and also caring for the environment, creating a sustainable environment and also development of global partnership development. These are the goals that I am familiar with.

The MDG goals contain only two of the EFA goals. The source of confusion for these individuals could stem from the fact that they each lead organizations with a broad range of objectives.

Unlike respondents drawn from government official and civil organization pools, a good number of interviewees from the multilateral and bilateral organizations seemed well-informed about EFA goals. The following excerpt, for instance, demonstrates a detailed knowledge of the goals.

Education for all has a lot of components. To be exact, it has six components. When we say education for all these components have to be seen separately as well as independently. So when we say education for all, each country has been committed to it [as] was defined in terms of goals. So these goals were to be achieved by 2015, meaning in 15 years. And these components [were] just simply put, to expand this pre-primary education for instance. Expanding early childhood care and education, especially for the vulnerable and deprived children, that is one, the other is to achieve primary education... it is not only free but also compulsory [for] all children of primary school age. So that is the second goal to be achieved by 2015. The third component is in terms of gender. Achieving gender equality of primary and secondary education. This was actually 2005. And full equality across all levels through out education

by 2015. That is the third element of when we say 'education for all'. The 4th and 5th are, for me, interrelated because they deal with youth and adults, so providing life skills for the youth and adults, kind of on a continuous basis, so that they can adopt new features. And related to this, to increase adult literacy by 50 percent in each of these countries by 2015. And lastly, but which is very critical, is to improve the quality of education

These informants are mostly educators and economists, by profession, who have many years of experience in Ethiopia's education system and are now serving as education advisors and programme officers within multi-lateral and bilateral organizations. Their in-depth knowledge of EFA goals can be attributed to their educational and professional background, as well as to the nature of their current jobs.

On the other hand, some interviewees, mostly foreign citizens, from multi-lateral and bilateral organizations did not seem to have the slightest idea of how to answer. One senior officer did not even like the question. She said,

> … All will be found in UNESCO's policy document. I can give you a copy and my advice is to read it.

Three others honestly admitted that they did not know the EFA goals. Their statements were as follows.

> I don't know actually, I don't think I should guess on that because I do not know exactly what the definition is.

> Honestly, I can tell you only that I am not completely sure.

> I don't know, I don't have to get to know all. Well, I think some of the things are set in articles. Equal access for all girls, and special training and so on.

The general impression that emerged from the interviews is that not many of the respondents could expound on EFA goals, while some were not aware of the distinction between EFA goals and MDGs. It seems the MDGs have overshadowed EFA goals.

3.1   EFA goals — Old wine in a new bottle

Although knowledge of the EFA goals seems limited, as shown above, a consensus also seems to exist among all groups of interviewees that the EFA goals are not new to Ethiopia. When given the question "Which aspect of the EFA goal(s) is new to Ethiopia?" only one of the seven government officials, did not answer the question because he had declined to answer the preceding one. All the remaining six, however, indicated that they did not believe the goals to be new. Some of their statements follow.

> I can't say these are new, I think the only new thing done is the intensification of implementation.

> EFA goals [are] not new for Ethiopia, for that matter, because Ethiopia... before, during the emperor's era, had such goals. Because of different problems, [such as] capacity shortages, we could not reach [the goals]. Actually, what we are working on here is that we are working to achieve the EFA goals in coordination with the internal community. That is what the difference is.

> Related to education, it is not new for Ethiopia... This international agenda is not new to Ethiopia. International fund[ing] is very important to run this programme. The new thing is that it has *global priority*. (Emphasis is added)

The government officials have expressed their thoughts to the effect that none of the EFA goals are new to Ethiopia. The difference they see between the present and the past, with regard to EFA, is in the level of implementation, in its being a global priority and in that it is carried out in

cooperation with the international community.

Respondents from other organizations were not as absolute in their opinions as the government officials were. They indicate some aspects of EFA that they believe are new to Ethiopia. A senior officer in a multi-lateral organization states,

> Well, as to me almost all these were, in one way or another, addressed in the Ethiopian school system even during the Derg period. But the compulsory primary education is new, and still Ethiopia has not adopted this policy of compulsory primary education. Primary education is free but not compulsory. The other ones, I mean, early childhood development, life skills for adults, adults literacy programme, gender disparity, quality education, all these were in the policies of the previous government, and also especially with the new educational training policy. So, they are there, but the question is, are they implemented?

Another respondent from a civil society organization also made a distinction between goals that he thought are new, and those not new, to Ethiopia.

> Well, there are six goals. One is education for all, and this is not new to Ethiopia. Starting from the era of Menilik,[1] in the era of Haileselassie or the provisional Military government of Ethiopia, those three governments were trying to reach the whole of society and education for all is not new to us. But like gender parity in primary education, reaching the adults, I think is new to our situation. Previously we were not concentrating on these issues. We were just trying to provide education.

Both of the above respondents indicate that, with the exception of a few of the goals, the idea of EFA was included within polices formulated by previous governments. One respondent from a bilateral organization further augments this idea by narrating what happened during Ethiopia's successive regimes and stating,

> ...education for all is not new really for Ethiopia. Menlik was the first one to say, to proclaim, to declare education for all in Ethiopia. It was very clear he was the first progressive [man] talking about fidel[2]...

A series of proclamations relating to education have been made in Ethiopia's history. Menlik proclaimed that "all six year old boys and girls, should attend school" in 1906. Some years after Menlik's death, Empress Zewditu made an education proclamation that obliged parents to send to school all children between the ages of 7 and 21. In the 1950's, what was called the Ministry of Community Development at the time conducted an educational programme known as 'Timhirt Le Hulum' which, when literally translated, means 'Education for All'. In the 1960's, a programme known as 'Ye Fidel Serawit', or 'Army of the Alphabet' was launched with the motto "Hulum Yimar" (Let all learn). Considering all of these facts, one of the respondents commented,

> The scale is new... the deadlines may be new... the name EFA, the designation EFA, the nomenclature EFA is new...[there] may be a little bit of new elements, modifications, expansions, but education for all is not really new for Ethiopia.

This particular respondent implies that the concept of EFA may not be new to the whole of Africa either. He states,

> Addis Ababa was a seat of the ministers for planning the 1961 conference, organized by UNESCO, which established a deadline to achieve UPE in 1980. And every government, of course, signed. Everybody sang. Everybody danced to the music. But the deadline came and went. But the target was not met.

He concluded by saying,

> It is the practice, it is the organization, it is the provision and the scale that is new. Of course people change and we think

this is new. No! We are talking about really, essentially old wine in new bottles.

4   EFA Goals Stressed Differently in Policy and Implementation

The EFA goals are: 1) Expanding and improving comprehensive early childhood care and education, 2) Ensuring that by 2015 all children have access to complete compulsory primary education of good quality, 3) Equitable access to appropriate learning and life skills programmes, 4) Achieving 50 percent in levels of adult literacy by 2015, 5) Eliminating gender disparities in primary and secondary education by 2005 and achieving gender equality in education by 2015, and 6) Improving all aspects of education. One of the basic questions posed to all groups of participants was "Are the EFA goals integrated into the government's educational policy? If yes, what do you think influenced that integration? If no, why do you think it is not integrated?"

All participants responded positively to the question, albeit with different opinions regarding the degree of integration. However, one participant, an official of a bilateral organization, responded, "Not at all, I think they have verbally accepted [and] signed [but] not implemented". Asked for the reasons why the goals were not integrated, he commented as follows:

> Well, we say sometimes Ethiopia has a certain reform resistance. It is very difficult. You have a very long culture and people, despite their difficult situation, say why should we change? We have always been like this. So it is very difficult to summon this problem to the people to change, and this is the experience we have. They simply say, "We have always done like this, why shouldn't it go on?"

The remainder of the participants indicated that EFA goals have been integrated into the government's educational policy, yet, they explain, differ-

ences can be observed with regard to how EFA goals are integrated. Two government officials reflected that,

> [T]he education policy of Ethiopia addressed all these goals.

> According to our education policy we cover all the EFA goals.

A participant now working for a multilateral organization, but who had many years of experience in the Ministry of Education, maintains that EFA goals are integrated, but in a different way than commonly seen in many other countries. He comments,

> Yes. It is integrated... I know that well! EFA, in other countries, usually [has an] EFA coordinating body [and] coordinating office. But in Ethiopia, there is no as such...body organizing EFA. Here, what is done is EFA is integrated in the Education Sector Development Programme (ESDP). Well, for that matter, the Dakar Declaration is also in the strategy. It mentions that, it does not mean that each committee, as long as countries have sector programmes, can incorporate EFA in it and then implement it. So, what Ethiopia is doing is that it has education sector development programme; already, the two programmes were implemented and now the third one has started. So more or less, you know all these issues. Programmes are incorporated in the sector development programme.

Another participant reinforces the same point when he stated,

> ...Government says, "My education policy, my education sector development programme is EFA... What takes care of EFA? I don't need a separate programme for EFA. My policy, my programme is all-inclusive." Because other countries have been required to produce, to write a separate EFA policy and they have done [this]—Ethiopia argued this is my document for EFA.

What stands out from the views presented above is that no separate office has been established to act as a responsible body, and no independent policy document has been written; EFA goals are instead incorporated in the ESDP. But how many of the goals, and which ones, have been integrated into the ESDP? Most of the participants did not think that ESDP covers all the goals.

The Education Sector Development Programme seemed to focus on increasing enrolment. One participant elaborates,

> ...[the focus of the] education development programme was primarily on increasing access. To achieve your B.E. (Basic Education)...[you must] somehow get more children to school. Yes. That has been the drive. That has been the interest. That is where a reasonable amount of the resources went. It was not as much as was really agreed on in the international forum. Girl's education, yes. It is part of the education policy and programme. Adult education, as I said before, is not. In fact, the last minister, the one just replaced, about a year ago said very openly, told the donors adult education is not her priority... Quality has also been very problematic for the government because of limited resources.

A senior officer in a multilateral organization also points out that adult education and early childhood education are not given the attention they deserve. She comments,

> Well, in the past you would say emphases have been shifting. For instance, education of pre-school, early childhood care and development, and adult education. Ethiopia had a very good Faculty of Education, Department of Adult Education, Adult Literacy in Addis Ababa University, and then at one point focus was shifted from that one to another, and then the department was almost closed, I don't know. And now effort is made to revise it because if you want to achieve EFA goals, you also have to focus on adult literacy. If you want to have quality edu-

cation, ...reduce the school dropout rate. If you have to go to
rural Ethiopia, parents who don't know, who have not gone to
school, [their] appreciation of school education differs, from
parent to parent. And the way they emphasize education for
their children is also different. So, if we have to achieve EFA
goals then we need to focus also on early child education and
adult education so that we have a comprehensive and articulat-
ed vision and implementation of programmes in education.

Ethiopia is now in its third ESDP programme, which the government claims
also serves as the documented form for EFA. The latest ESDP document
seems to cover all EFA goals, except maybe compulsory education. But the
emphasis is still on increasing access and bringing gender equity. The
response of one participant is quite revealing. He stated,

...the third ESDP includes all these EFA goals in terms of, say,
pre-primary education is there; the 2nd, increasing enrolment
rate of primary education, is there; so is to achieve the goal by
2015; gender is there; and emphasis on gender in promoting
girls' education, for instance; and adult education and literacy
is also mentioned in the ESDP document. Of course, quality
education is cutting across all sectors, it includes these [as a]
whole. All these EFA goals and MDG goals are part of ESDP.
The point is it doesn't mean all these goals have been accorded
equal priority. The priorities are in two goals. UPE and gender.
These are the priorities. Less emphasis is given to pre-primary
education. Adult education and literacy, although mentioned
in the document, are given less emphasis actually.

The quality of education has now reached a sad state, mainly because of
the push for increasing enrolment. The new (3rd) ESDP however seems to
provide it with adequate attention. One informant elaborates the situation
as follows:

The new Education Sector Development Programme...pays
direct reference to the quality of education, thanks to the push

from several donors. I don't know, this may be my personal
bias, [but] maybe it was a campaign trick. [The] government
was also talking very loudly, very clearly towards the end of last
school year about the quality... I don't know whether that was a
political game or not.

Education was one of main issues of debate during the May 2005 elections,
with the opposition seriously criticizing the quality of education. Maybe as
a result of the above circumstances, on top of the push from donors, quality
seems to have been put on the agenda.

Education in Ethiopia is offered at no cost up to the end of general second-
ary, but it is not compulsory.

> Compulsory education requires a law defining the admission
> age and defining the duration of primary school, in other
> words, the time children are expected to stay. We don't have
> anything, anything appropriate to carry on this.

Although vast strides have been made in increasing accessibility, primary
education has not yet been made compulsory. Generally, from among the
stated EFA goals, UPE, girls' education and, more recently, quality are
stressed above all others in the ESDP. On the other hand, 1) Compulsory
education, 2) Early childhood care and education, and 3) Adult literacy,
have all received less attention. What influenced the integration of the for-
mer three EFA goals and why were compulsory education, early childhood
education and adult literacy neglected? Respondents provided varying rea-
sons for both cases.

4.1   What influenced integration?

The facts as shown above have demonstrated that UPE, gender equality
and, more recently, quality of education have been stressed in education
policy. What brought about this integration? The views expressed show
some variations.

Government commitment

Most of the government officials interviewed attribute the integration of EFA goals to the commitment demonstrated by the government. The following responses were given to the question, "What do you think influenced the integration?"

> It is the government's plan.

> Well, I think since Ethiopia is one of the signatory countries for education for all, the country put in place its commitment by developing education and training policy...(Head of a research institution under the MOE)

> The indigenous government has the right to design its own educational policy. No external influence. No intervention. Of course, the donor groups, the multilateral and bilateral donors have their contribution in supplying resources. (Official of Ministry of Federal Affairs)

> Because Ethiopia has committed itself and signed... to achieve the millennium development goals as far as education is concerned. (Official of Ministry of Finance and Economic Development)

There seems to be a consensus among the government officials that EFA goals were indeed integrated owing to the commitment of the government. Obviously, their position as government officials would make their opinion as such understandable. In a government where coercion and power are strategic means to implementing policy, one can hardly expect to find freely flowing information, or officials honestly speaking their mind.

Pressure from the international community

Responses given by interviewees hailing from civil society organizations to the question "What do you think influenced the integration?" were diametrically opposite to those expressed by government officials. A Deputy Executive Director of the local branch of an international NGO, comments,

I think the first is the pressure from donors. You know, when you examine various publications that come out, because donors now are getting more serious and are taking MDGs as a yardstick for measuring progress in each area. There is a very strong push and pressure from donors.

Addressing the same question, a staff of a bilateral donor organization reflected as follows:

Well, first of all it is internal commitment. The education for all movement has become, so to say, your movement. And UNESCO is the lead UN organization on the implementation of education for all and has provided a lot of mechanisms.

Another respondent from the civil society sector boldly comes to make the point that donors influence decisions through the provision of funds. He states,

It (the government) always says that it is there to materialize and to bring about the desired results of either the EFA goals or the Millennium Development Goals. I think the government has accepted these for various reasons. One, Ethiopia cannot exclude itself from the international community and, two, there are donors giving us money, giving our government money, and to please these donors the government has to abide itself by some internationally established rules and regulations and activities.

This respondent further elaborates that pressure from donors is not only strong, but also, on the whole, fail to be uniform, thus making choices of programmes difficult. He comments,

For instance, donors will ask you to do something. Unless and otherwise you accept that, they won't give the money. Since we are poor, we have to accept what the donors are saying, and

there are quite a lot of pressures. Some donors will say focus on primary education, another says focus on TVT, and others will say focus on higher education. So, if you want to get the money you have no choice. So, as to me, there are a lot of elements in giving money [to the] government and putting pressure on it.

An academic comes out very clearly in declaring that:

The integration is influenced by the pressure from the international community, pressure from the World Bank... [P]ressure even from UNESCO really affects the decision of the government to make statements to adopt declarations, conventions etc... Taking your words that EFA goals are integrated to the governments education policy—if it is done, that is because of the pressure from various organizations like the World Bank and BESO.

This respondent even suspects that various education sector development programmes are not produced by the MOE staff itself. He states,

I am not sure if ... 10 of [the officials], in the Ministry who can write that kind of document. I challenge that because many of ... the senior people—competent people—have left the Ministry.

Furthermore, he resents the fact that influence is often asserted without a basic understanding of the problems of the country. He comments,

But, at the same time, we tend to forget the hard peak of the country, how vast the problems are. Because Ethiopia is a big country, it is very complex. [There are] 72 million people, some 70 or so ethnic groups, religion, the diversity of the land itself and then the population growth. So when sometimes decisions are made, when authorities make decisions, I get worried that

"Do really they comprehend how complex this country is?"

Ideas and influences can come from anywhere, but are thoroughly discussed and debated before being adopted. The above respondent continues,

> I feel that the culture of debate and discussion does not exist well. What must be done is: you research, you debate, you discuss and take the better option that works. What is really good for Ethiopia? What has worked for other countries in similar situations etc? This culture of debating, discussing research and taking alternatives does not exist.

Generally, the interviewees from civil society perceive the integration of some EFA goals to be a result of the influence of the international community and donors. In addition, some of them indicate that not all are based on the needs and realities of the country.

4.2   Two-way interactions

Much unlike the views vocalized by both government officials and civil society interviewees, respondents taken from multilateral and bilateral organizations kept to the middle ground. They indicated that interaction is a two-way street, and the fact that some EFA goals were integrated into education policy is a result of this interaction. As an illustration, excerpts of responses given by four interviewees from multilateral organizations and three from bilateral organization follow in order below.

> The push-factor from the state then. There is this push from partners, development partners, to give education a priority [within] governments over all programmes. I mean, these are the reasons behind accepting EFA goals by Ethiopia and other countries. (Staff of a multilateral organization)

> Definitely there is an aspiration within the government... I

think, essentially it is within, but one cannot say there is not any influence from the outside world. (Staff of a multilateral organization)

It is the realization that education is a right. Ethiopia is like all the other [signatory of EFA goals]. So, if it signed the agreement, it means it is convinced, it is aware, it knows it is important and also agreeing, it is respecting education is right. (Staff of a multilateral organization)

I think the government itself is committed... So the commitment is there, but also the source (resources) most of the time comes from donors; they have also their own influence. I mean, we cannot say simply because of commitment. There is a two-way interaction. (Staff of a multilateral organization)

I think [it is] both the will of the government and the pressure from donors. Especially two donors. UNICEF and UNESCO are the kind of...leading donors to achieve this EFA. So donors influence very strongly. I believe. But at the same time, I could feel that the Ministry of Education is working in this issue quite seriously. (Staff of a bilateral organization)

It is government initiative, government owned and driven. Ours (donor agencies) is only to facilitate, ours is only to provide technical assistance, and ours is only to provide the funds. And of course yes, we try to influence policy through as I said before, the monthly donor-government meetings and also through joint review missions. (Staff of a bilateral organization)

The first thing is the initiation of the government. But also the education donors or some body else in education component or in education sector who is really to assist. (Staff of a bilateral organization)

4.3   Why have certain EFA goals been de-emphasized?

Ethiopia was one of the participants in the World Conference on Education For All (WCEFA) held in Jomtien, Thailand in 1990. It also renewed its commitment to the same goal in Dakar in 2000. Accordingly officials from the MOE view the EFA goals as items handled within the ESDP—the sector-wide programme—in an integrated manner. The document itself states that "the six major components of EFA are given prominence through out the proposed programme of action." Despite this statement in the document, however, interviews seemed to evidence that equal attention is not provided to all EFA goals. Compulsory education, early childhood education, and adult literacy are not given the emphasis they deserve. Three reasons for this imbalance emerged from the interviews.

Lack of resources / Priority

Ethiopia is a very poor country with a large population, each person of which has several basic needs that come before education. A comment by one respondent tells it all:

> There is an increasing demand for education in the face of various challenges. There are still quite many people who are not properly fed. It is very basic and a question of survival. At the same time, there are quite many people who could not have access to school simply because of displacement of their families [and even] of the children themselves—due to conflict, due to draught, due to poverty—from one place to another. There is a serious threat actually in this country. There is a serious threat of poverty, a serious threat of instability. In this circumstance, actually, the idea of education for all and the idea of quality education face very big question and, ultimately, it boils down [to the matter] that education does not serve the purpose it intends to serve.

Addressing all these needs would require that extensive resources and extremely difficult choices would have to be made in order to allocate

enough funds to cover all EFA goals. Hence, what is to be implemented needs priority. One respondent states the point explicitly,

> The priorities are in two goals, UPE and gender...basically, it is because of resources. The government cannot afford [all], and in the [ESDP] document the private sector is encouraged to participate in pre-primary education, adult education and literacy.

With regard to early childhood education, the ESDP admits that it plays a positive role in developing the learning potential of children. It, however, limits the government's role in policy development and standard setting. The government undertakes only four activities in this respect, i.e. developing curriculum, providing supervision, setting standards for facilities and issuing licenses for the institutions. The actual work of establishing the institutions themselves is left to the private sector, NGOs and the community. The parents are responsible for supporting their children by paying tuition fees and providing educational materials. Obviously, this cannot be education for all.

The ESDP has also provided some working space for adult and non-formal education. It has designated three sub-components, namely, a programme for out-of-school children 7-15 years of age, a literacy programme for youth and adults over 15, and offering basic skills training to youth and adults in the community skill training centers. It also emphasizes that non-formal education can be a shortcut and a cost-effective alternative way of providing basic education. In practice, however, none of the government budget is allocated to these programmes and they must be initiated by the regional education bureaus in tandem with the contributions of community and NGO involvements.

The education programme specialist of a multilateral organization looks at the omission of some goals as a question of priority. She stated,

> It is a question of focus and prioritizing and what kind of trade

offs [there are]. So you cannot maybe implement simultaneous-
ly everything, but you have to prioritize. Even though you are
trying simultaneously to implement, you have to prioritize and
know where your trade offs are in the context of the country,
because education has to be financed... And [Ethiopia] is a
developing country and you have to emphasize the implemen-
tation of EFA goals within the socio-economic context of the
country, and the ability within the reach of the country.

Thus, the argument is that Ethiopia's economic capacity has prevented it
from implementing all of the EFA goals.

Emphasis magnified by MDGs

One line of rationale that emerged from the interviews was the fact that
MDG goals may also be at the source of the emphasis ultimately placed on
UPE and gender equality. The MDG goals include only two of the EFA's six
goals, and these two—universal primary education and the promotion of
gender equality—are exactly the aims that have been put ahead of all else
since Education for All's early days. On respondent comments,

> First, to say further, on the same year in 2000, two of these
> Education for All goals—universal primary [education] and
> gender equality—were adopted in the UN millennium Develop-
> ment Goals Declaration the same year 2000. Although 'educa-
> tion for all' has six components... these goals were considered
> as more critical and adopted in the MDGs to be achieved by the
> same year in 2015.

Once the UN selects two of the EFA goals as being 'more critical', that
alone would in a way effectively reduce the status of the others to a subor-
dinate position, a move which would not happen without catching the
attention of many governments. An Ethiopian national staff of a bilateral
organization explains its direct impact,

> ...because of the pressure from the millennium development

goals, education is widely regarded here as schooling. So, when a government has an education sector development programme like [the one] Ethiopia has, I will say they have a schooling sector development programme, not education... so there is the international pressure related to the millennium development goals. The millennium development goals don't speak about adult education, they don't speak. Achieve universal primary education, *beka*,[3] nothing. So, this is also another source.

Lack of policy continuity

Another reason that surfaced during discussions, particularly with regard to adult literacy, was the lack of policy continuity and the tendency of each ruling administration to start again from scratch with every regime switch.

Ethiopia was under the rule of a military government from 1974 until the present government overthrew it in 1991. The military government had launched successive literacy campaigns reaching every nook of the country and gained international recognition for its ability to profoundly alter the literacy landscape. Unfortunately the campaigns ceased with the change of government.

The director of a bilateral organization, who has been working hard to revive adult education, comments,

> We were not working in Ethiopia during the Derg[4] time. So, for most of us, it was a new chapter after that. You know that a lot of things had to start right from scratch and, that is, it used to be a big challenge and still it is a huge challenge.

An academic, laments the lack of policy continuity and circumstances faced when starting from scratch. He stated,

> One of our problems is not only in education; [it is found repeatedly in] administration, in decision-making, in various issues—we don't look at what existed, [or] build on what exist-

ed [to] improve on what existed. So, what happens with new
education policy, new administration etc.? We tend to knock
out what existed and start literally from scratch... The educa-
tion policy, for example. All of those *mesrete timhert*,[5] all
those *gomatta*,[6] all of those experiences should have been
some lessons, should have learnt from all those rather than
really starting from scratch or criticizing only, or only finding
the weak.

Basic education materials had been developed in 15 vernacular languages,
and more than 500 community skills training centers were established dur-
ing the Derg era campaigns, but all these were ignored after the change of
governments. The literacy programme was perceived as the military gov-
ernment's brainchild and, as such, it was left to expire with its parent. A
national staff of a bilateral organization explains the situation succinctly as
follows:

> ...the earlier government had adult literacy as its flagship. And
> I must say, in general, what the earlier government has done is
> looked down on as something dirty, not worth talking [about],
> not worth touching *aba cheguare*.[7] That is very unfortunate.

To summarize, while compulsory education, early childhood education and
adult literacy have received less attention, the reasons for this, according to
the interviewees, are evidently rooted in Ethiopia's lack of resources (and
the subsequent need for prioritizing), pressure to meet certain MDGs and
the lack of policy continuity.

5   How Far was Decision-Making in EFA Influenced by External Factors, Local Concepts, and the Local Way of Doing Things?

5.1   External influences

The EFA's six internationally set goals, namely, 1) Expand early childhood

care in education, 2) Provide pre-primary education for all, 3) Promote learning skill for young people and adults, 4) Increase adult literacy, 5) Achieve gender parity, and 6) Enhance educational quality, have been adopted and effected by both the government and the communities. In a respondent's statements, the following came out rather clearly:

> Well, in my opinion, Ethiopia is undertaking in its education system six of the goals. But...there may be priority which can be given by the Ethiopian education system according to the overall development of the country, unless otherwise the six goals are undertaken in our country... So, these goals are included in...five-year education sector development programme strategies.

According to this respondent (staff of a bilateral organization), none of the EFA goals are funded by donors, "...all the education sector development programmes [and] programme components are funded by collaborative arrangements [between] donor and government". But these goals are not new to Ethiopia. For instance, the topical aims of poverty reduction, narrowing the gender gap and education for all have been a consistent part of the national move to make improvements in the education sector, despite the numerous revolutionary changes in the regimes and political systems over the past 30 or so years. According to the Director of an institution under Ministry of Education, the EFA goals are, rather, taken as a challenge to be overcome. He explained, "it is the government which allocates budget for its [EFA] activities. Whatever funds are given as budget and support are also provided to us through the government. I think there may be special funds for the pastoral and semi-agriculturalists". One can surmise from the above response that funding for EFA goals is not entirely directed from the outside, but rather internally managed to a great degree as well. International agencies such as the European Union, World Bank, Africa Development Bank, UNICEF and UNDP provide budgetary support to Ethiopia's Education Sector Development Programme. Twenty percent of the national budget goes to the education sector. Hence, International Agencies do not directly support the EFA.

All respondents from multilateral, bilateral and civil society organizations, on the other hand, made it clear that they, in their positioning as external institutions, have no direct influence on EFA. However, that they are invited to participate in discussion forums relating to the Education Sector Development Programme, which is prepared by the Ministry of Education. An Education Project Officer of a multilateral organization, explains, "There is always donor-Ministry of Education meetings monthly in the Ministry of Education... All donors, including [ours]...discuss with the Ministry of Education whenever there are policy issues to some extent." He further explained that donors also take part in the joint annual review mission to evaluate the performance of the Education Sector Development Programme. Similarly, a social development specialist in another multilateral organization in Addis Ababa, explained that direct external influence is no more the fashion of the day. He said, "I think there is a trend among development partners, that development should be led [and] owned by each country, and gone are the days where any donor intervenes [in] the policy-making decisions of each country".

Two arenas often subject to external influence, especially by multilateral and bilateral organizations, can be noted. One is involvement in policy formulation forums. At that stage, they may offer ideas and lend expertise, as evidenced in the special tasks exercised by UNESCO. Ministries found involvement at this level to be important so that they could indirectly negotiate financial support for policy, and external partners used this stage to exact influence on policy. The second arena of influence is the ESDP policy evaluation stage since performance evaluations provide feedback that often dictate whether the partner will continue to align itself with the programme or not.

5.2   The influence of local concepts

According to a respondent, all EFA goals are integral to the Ethiopian Education Sector Development Programme. EFA goals have also been incorporated into the Sustainable Poverty Reduction Programme. She explained that "the EFA goals are included in...the five years education sector devel-

opment programme strategies". In terms of the curricular integration of EFA goals, another respondent explained as follows:

> ... we are using different modalities, particularly in education. ... [W]e have started alternative basic education for the pastoral[ists] and semi-agriculturalists. We are also going to initiate a programme for those children who could not go to school at the age of seven, so that they could complete their education in a shorter period. ... [W]e are also dealing with non-formal education and also developing a curriculum for special needs education, not only for the handicapped, [but] for special needs in general, because if you are talking about EFA goals in education, you have to talk about also special needs education, special needs groups..."

According to a respondent from the Ministry of Federal Affairs, bilateral agencies like USAID and GTZ are mostly involved in providing support in capacity building to regions, especially the "four emerging regions", i.e., Afar, Benishangul-Gumz, Gambella and Somali. These four regions are classified as "more backward in development" and categorized as needing special support from the federal government. They have been placed under the particular mandate of the Ministry of Federal Affairs.

The Ministry perceives EFA as pertaining to more than just literacy; it believes that EFA should include programmes in such essential fields as agriculture, health, the environment and HIV/AIDS. According to the Federal Affairs Ministry, Education for All should aim to improve the people's livelihoods. Hence, any EFA operation must be adapted in consideration of local conditions. It will also inevitably have to compete with the plethora of existing traditional educational systems. In the predominantly Orthodox Christian and northern highland areas in Ethiopia, children—especially boys—are taught how to read, recite and sing hymns of Biblical origin. They have been taught this way for centuries. But such training does not usually extend to the learning of writing skills, numeration or production technologies. Production skills are learnt in family settings and accumulat-

ed through life experience. Every person in the family is engaged in a production activity where some kind of skill is employed and, thereby, learnt. According to the division of labor in that traditional community, children and younger persons assist their elders while simultaneously learning and acquiring skills through doing the work. This kind of learning is not usually conceived as literacy knowledge. In the Ethiopian cultural setting technical skills such as metal work, weaving, leather-work, and pottery, for instance, are each assigned based upon social segregation—that is, a system where work is determined through caste or occupation groups.

In the lowland pastoralist areas (especially among the Afar and Somali communities), literacy was carried out to only a limited extent for a few select Moslem families. Like in the highland areas, this form of literacy is passed along for the express purpose of reading the Koran and reciting religious scriptures. Traditional popular skills in the lowland arid and semi-arid areas of Ethiopia relate to livestock and the environment. These then include: livestock breeding, breed selection, human and animal health, livestock feed and watering points, and strategies for seasonal mobility with selected or whole herds. Patterns of relations with neighbors in conflict and peace are also very important aspect in local education for pastoralist areas. And, just as in the highland areas, skills pertaining to productive technology are learnt by individuals born or assigned to occupation groups or caste in the pastoralist lowland areas.

Education for people living in the geographically peripheral regions of Ethiopia has been planned in a special way. The geographically peripheral regions of the country comprise about 61 percent of the nation's territory, and are inhabited and tended to by pastoralist communities. The pastoralists in Ethiopia move livestock on a transhumance basis between pastures. One respondent suggests that their living circumstances would require an adaptive system for imparting education, which would have to be developed in order to suit the population groups in the in the arid and semi-arid areas of the country. According to him, the government would have to: 1) adopt a means for the alternative basic education, 2) prepare a modular educational delivery system to move with the people, 3) adopt a flexible

educational system applicable to the life circumstances of the mobile pastoralist communities, 4) adopt an integrated educational system which combines agriculture, health, technical skill training, etc., and 5) provide special funding for pastoralist educational development.

The above gives more of a curricular plan for development incorporating the particular circumstances of mobile communities in the arid and semi-arid peripheries of Ethiopia. There is no evidence from the responses of the interviewees that any such curriculum has been put into effect as part of efforts to meet EFA goals. The fact that a curriculum for mobile communities has been thus perceived indicates the potential for employing an adaptive educational programme to achieve EFA goals in the arid and semi-arid regions of Ethiopia.

According to a respondent from the Ministry of Federal Affairs, the Ministry carries the mandate to head overall development of the peripheral regions. The emphasis of education there is not on meeting EFA goals, but rather on augmenting human power development at a higher level. When presented with the question "What programmes are funded by donors in relation to EFA goals?," this respondent explained as follows:

> Yes, let me [re]call what we have done in the last ten years. The UNDP is the major donor agency. UNDP has funded over 200 million Birr to the regions. Regional capacity building, which includes Woreda [district] and zonal administrative and professionals, which are included in this programme... The programme [was] multi[purpose]. We have advanced training to each region. Each region has developed and established management institutes... Based on this we have trained more than 250 thousand administrators...

When asked "How is the Ministry's programme aligned with EFA goals?", he responded,

> ... As long as capacity building is concerned, yes, EFA aligns with our programme. Our programme aligns with EFA goals. ... Edu-

cation is part of capacity building, manpower development is different.

According to the same respondent, the change in the operationalizing of the administration in the mandated regions is more critically and immediately important than EFA. He explains,

> Ten years ago our personnel in the regions and also here, there was no understanding that the lower management is accountable to the upper management. The lower management thinks, "we are equal, we fought for freedom and were in the field as guerrillas and we had the same status and we did not obligate to the above management. There is no above management, there is no middle management, there is no bottom management." That was the thinking we had. ... The Woreda staff never responded to the zone. ...the zone never respond to the regions, and the like. After we assessed the problem we started giving the training. Different [kinds of] training, [such as] leadership training [and] management training. [Because of these capacity building trainings, local government personnel] understood the chain of command, and whether someone is at the bottom line or upper line, all of them work for the same development goals. They understood that. They reflected what they have done before. And that has brought smooth changes, smooth understanding, and smooth work processes.

As can be seen above, the Ministry of Federal Affairs' response shows that it has given more priority to the training and upgrading of currently educated human resources for the immediate purpose of local and regional administration than it has to EFA goals. The 'liberation' fighters were assigned to the local and regional administration posts when the EPRDF regime took over political power in the country. The government needed to train and reorient their inclinations from fighting in guerrilla forces to handling civil administration.

6   What Factors Characterize EFA in Ethiopia?

6.1   Political factors

Responses given by interviewees have taught us that the Ethiopian government has been committed to EFA. According to an advisor to the Minister of Capacity Building, every eligible citizen should receive basic education as a [matter of] right. In order to more effectively act on this commitment, four specific plans have been laid out at the national level. 1) The Ministry of Education has a policy of reaching out to all children at the age of seven through the formal education scheme. 2) The government provides an education to those who are out of school through its non-formal education scheme. 3) The government provides an education to children who cannot go to school at the age of seven through its stop-gap education scheme (with about one million candidates in this category). 4) The government provides and facilitates education through its special curriculum. The special curriculum is designed to enable learners to complete primary education in a shorter period of time than the formal system. The special curriculum is a way to provide education that engages learners under the premise or assumption that they have acquired substantial levels of life experience and practical knowledge already.

The integration of EFA into the formal education system is not donor-driven, but, rather, based on the plan and budgetary of the government. Education is lead by the sectoral developmental programme, which sets priorities in government investment and, first and foremost, aims at mitigating poverty. According to the Education and Training Team Leader in the Ministry of Finance and Economic Development, the Ethiopian government gives the order of priority for the sector development programme as being road construction, education, health, water and agriculture. This respondent from MOFED emphasized his ministry's belief when saying, "But philosophically, we have to think that the final result of quality of education is in developing the human resources and utilization of [it] for achieving the EFA and the millennium development goals. Otherwise it is going to be hilm.[8]"

6.2   Social factors

Ethiopia is multi-lingual country with about 80 languages. Primary education classes are taught in the local languages. EFA is also supposed to be provided in the local languages. However, three primary arguments have been made against the local-language policy for primary education. These are: 1) There are operational hurdles in translating teaching and learning materials into the local languages, 2) Educated locals who can work as educators for implementing EFA among the numerous, often sparsely settled rural communities are difficult to find, and 3) Education in local languages acts as a barrier to the mobility of human resources in the country.

Social problems also considerably detract from the implementation of EFA goals in each of the numerous localities of the country. These problems often include widespread and gnawing poverty, displacement of populations due to conflict, social instability, and other calamities such as recurrent drought and seasonal or occasional flooding. This point was brought up clearly in an academic's response, when he stated,

> There are still quite many people who are not properly fed. It is very basic and a question of survival. At the same time there are quite many people who could not have access to school simply because of the displacement of their families, of the children themselves due to conflict, due to drought, due to poverty... There is a serious threat in this country. There is a serious problem of poverty, a serious threat of instability. In this circumstance, actually, the idea of education for all and the idea of quality education faces very big question and ultimately it boils down [to the fact] that education does not serve the purpose it intends to serve.

According to him, the many social challenges in the country compromise the quality of education that the government aspires to achieve. He thus argues,

... And the whole idea of education is actually providing a quality education, quality in a sense [that] relevant education that transforms the daily lives of those who participate in the system of education. So, as long as education is not playing that role effectively, well, it would be really difficult to tell about success stories.

6.3 Economic factors

Eighty-five percent of Ethiopians live in rural areas and base their livelihood in subsistence agriculture. Improved modern technologies have not yet been applied to benefit traditional Ethiopian agriculture. The singular '*maresha*', each pulled by oxen, is still the most dominant form of farming technology in the highland areas, while hoe farming continues to be the only technology available in the southwestern peripheries of Ethiopia. Hence, farming families know no other way but to toil day-in and day-out throughout the year. There do not have the time to leisurely participate in EFA matters. In the highland areas, farmers' hamlets and rural settlements are so dispersed in form that organization for learning, community, and other purposes is tremendously difficult. Furthermore, no permanent settlements exist in the arid and semi-arid rural areas where pastoralism predominates. As such, it is equally or even more challenging to programme systems in line with EFA goals for the mobile communities. Hence, the government would have to make great economic investments in order to overcome these challenges and create feasible means to pursue and achieve EFA goals. One way to do so would be to install and organize community centers of learning while also linking education to economic activity. One respondent (academic) explains this possibility in a rather visionary manner,

[Education] is not simply the [matter of] children, the teacher, the school, the curriculum, [and] the formal education system, but it considers the basic schools, the community learning centres, centres of innovation, centres...that serve the community in terms of skill training, dissemination of knowledge, etc. Well,

these centres could closely work with the formal education sys-
tem, non-formal education, other community centres for, like,
basic literacy education. It could be [effective] in terms of pri-
mary health, basic minimum knowledge, capacity to read about
new agricultural inputs, and methodologies in terms of eco-
nomic transformation. So, education could be seen as an impor-
tant means of linking it with economic and social transforma-
tion of communities.

7   Emerging Issues

EFA in Ethiopia is conceived to be part of the national drive towards devel-
opment. It has been conducted as an element of Ethiopia's ESDP and also
is an integral part of the Sustainable Poverty Reduction Programme. The
Ethiopian government has been the implementing agency, while all external
support has been geared to supplement the government's budgetary capaci-
ty. The merit of this approach lies in the fact that EFA goals have become a
permanent focus of priority for the government and one of the Ministry of
Education's core tasks. A possible setback to this approach, however, is
that any inefficiency stemming from bureaucratic inertia in the government
may, in effect, slow down or obstruct EFA goals.

In arid and semi-arid lowland areas, EFA goals must be implemented by
way of a special approach that takes into consideration circumstances sur-
rounding the livelihoods of pastoralist communities. Two options in this
approach are:

- Align EFA activities with the transhumance pattern of the pastoralist
  communities, such as Borana, Afar and Somali. This approach has
  been conceived of by the Ethiopian government for several decades
  but has not been fully implemented.
- Resettle the pastoralists and develop institutions and infrastructure
  ripe for development in general and EFA implementation in particu-
  lar. This idea is currently being upheld by the Ministry of Federal

Affairs. Strategy as currently designed espouses that the transhumance six-month settlement can be changed into a permanent settlement for the mobile pastoralists (Interview with a staff of MFA).

Another emerging factor concerns the linkage between EFA goals and traditional knowledge. Literacy can be extended to EFA's stated scope, which can itself be used as a vehicle to transmit and expand upon traditional knowledge. In other words, traditional knowledge can be integrated into EFA goals. Traditional knowledge can be organized as a tool for transmitting existing knowledge, skills and methodology to others who might need them. The task of selecting the topics within, and relevance of, traditional knowledge for EFA goals becomes an important activity for educational programmes responsible for implementing EFA goals. Hence, it can be argued that the capacity and benefit of traditional knowledge is much greater than the EFA goals. Traditional knowledge can be the basis for research and solutions regarding many development problems in developing countries like those in eastern and north-eastern Africa. Furthermore, traditional knowledge can be used and should be used as a fallback to the re-conceptualization of contemporary development issues.

Notes

1) Emperor of Ethiopia, who declared UPE in 1906
2) Amharic Word for Alphabet
3) Amharic Word for "finished"
4) Amharic name for the military government
5) Amharic world for "Basic Education"
6) Amharic word for "Community Skill Training Centers"
7) Amharic word for one species of the army-worm which people do not dare touch
8) Amharic word for "dream"

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The Case of Kenya

Domesticating EFA Goals: Policy and Decision Making Processes Among Education Partners in Kenya

Fatuma N. Chege & Regina M. Karega

> EFA goals are generally a revision of what had been agreed upon at the Jomtien Conference of 1990 with the aim of making them a little more sharper; … more relevant, … more timely, in the context in which we find ourselves.
> (Capacity Building Coordinator, ANCEFA)

1   Introduction

This chapter is generated from the Kenyan report on research that was part of a broader regional study designed to investigate the implementation of Education for All (EFA) goals from the perspectives of the policy and decision makers working for the education sector in three selected Eastern Africa countries of Ethiopia, Kenya and Tanzania. The chapter is divided into three sections—the introduction, main body, and conclusion—and the main body in turn comprises three sections as well. The first presents a background exposé in the form of a literature review, where EFA is positioned in the historical context of educational development in Kenya. Outlining the pertinent historical development of education is key to understanding and appreciating the contemporary endeavours of domesticating EFA goals in post-colonial Kenya. This first section also highlights the methodological procedures that were followed in generating the data whose findings are presented herein.

The second section comprises the study findings in an interactive and discursive manner. Citations of actual discussions with the research subjects are also presented, with the aim of strengthening and supporting analytical arguments and interpretations that are developed within a thematic framework derived from research questions. In the third section we present a discussion of the findings from which conclusions are drawn and recommendations made. Throughout, the concept of Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) shall be used interchangeably with Civil Society Organisations (CSOs) in order to distinguish them from Government sectors and Donor Organisations.

2 Contextualising EFA in Kenya

2.1 Historical context of EFA

The goal of providing Education for All (EFA) has been on the Kenyan government's agenda throughout its history, although emphasis has sometimes shifted depending upon the prevailing socio-political context. Government policy and the immediate demands and needs existing at the local and national levels have dictated the direction of EFA activities and programmes (GoK, 1999; Eshiwani, 1993). In the period following independence, particularly from 1964 to the 1970s, EFA in Kenya was conceptualised mainly in terms of providing Universal Primary Education (UPE). The goal of attaining UPE was articulated in various government documents, including the Kenya African National Unions (KANU) manifesto of 1963; the Kenya Education Commission (Ominde Report) of 1964 (MOE/UNESCO, 1994; GOK, 1965); the Sessional Paper No 1. of 1965 on African socialism and its application to planning in Kenya; and the 1965/66 to 1969/70 National Development Plan. Universalising Primary Education was a response to the rising demand for formal education among Kenyan citizens, which was perceived to be the avenue for social and economic advancement. This perception had a foundation in the previous socially and racially desegregated education system (GOK, 1965), which had sidelined education for the African communities as opposed to that of Asians and Europeans. In addi-

tion, the provision of minimum basic education for all through UPE was viewed as a vehicle for ensuring development in the emergent modern sector (Bogonko, 1992; Sifuna, 1990) that was gradually being Africanised. This discourse was not only informed by the prevailing utilization model of development, but also by the report on the Conference of African States on the 'Development of Education in Africa', which met in Addis Ababa in 1961 (Sifuna, 1990). The UNESCO-sponsored Addis Ababa conference named 1980 as the year when all African states would achieve UPE (Bogonko, 1992). This was considered the critical step toward Education for All that would benefit future generations.

The publication of Kenya's Education Act in 1968, which officially made primary education the responsibility of the Kenyan government (GOK, 1968), provided a boost to EFA-related policies. Due to inadequate resources, however, UPE was unfortunately not given as much priority as the expansion of secondary, technical and tertiary education, which took precedence over primary education in order to meet the high-level human resource requirements of the emerging independent nation. These sentiments were clearly articulated in the 1970-1974 Development Plan, as follows:

> The contribution of education to the development of skill and educated manpower [sic] is particularly important for Kenya at this time. On purely economic grounds, the *development of primary education cannot be given a high priority as secondary*, technical and higher education. (GOK, 1970, p.306. Emphasis added).

Nevertheless, the Kenyan Government continued to recognize the need to address EFA goals by improving access to primary education in areas of low participation. To this end, the government abolished school fees between 1970 and 1974 for ten of the mainly Arid and Semi-Arid Lands (ASAL) districts, which include Baringo, Samburu, West Pokot, Turkana, Olkajiado, Narok, Wajir, Mandera, Garrisa, Isiolo, Marsabit, Tana River and Lamu. Access to primary education was further improved by the introduction of school fee remissions for parents who could not afford them, as well

as the provision of boarding facilities for primary school pupils from pastoralist nomadic communities (GOK, 1970).

Despite the fact that the Government placed emphasis upon expanding secondary and higher education, schools at the primary level experienced the highest level of growth. For example, primary school enrolments almost doubled between 1963 and 1972, with 890,000 in 1963 and 1,676,000 in 1972 (Eshiwani, 1993). Credit for the continued expansion of primary education is accredited to the local communities that decided to build and maintain schools through *Harambee* (self-help) activities amidst low government contributions (Bogonko, 1992).

The Kenyan government made its first attempt to provide UPE in 1974, when free primary education was declared beginning with Standard One to Four. Education was thereafter made progressively free until 1979, when it became free for all classes (GOK, 1970, 1975). The de-prioritisation of primary education was again demonstrated, however, when the government failed to provide alternative funds for this new venture (GOK, 1974, 1979). Consequently, the congestion in primary schools that resulted from increased enrolments against limited learning facilities prompted the government to encourage funding from local communities. In 1979, School Committees and Parent Teacher Associations (PTAs) were introduced in primary schools in order to mobilize alternative funding. These, in turn, introduced a development fund as a stopgap measure to the deteriorating quality standards in schools (Bogonko, 1992). The goal of achieving EFA through the provision of UPE in Kenya was thus thwarted, because the development fund—which was popularly referred to as the 'building fund'—was much higher in most schools than the school fees charged prior to the Free Primary Education (FPE) decree (Bogonko, 1992; Sifuna, 1990).

The socio-economic framework of the 1980s and 1990s did not offer an improved environment for the advancement of UPE in particular, and EFA in general. The problem of mass unemployment also posed considerable challenges for the Kenyan education system, which was changed in 1985 from 7-4-2 to 8-4-4 in order to try and address the rising school leaver unem-

ployment problem. In order to ensure self-reliance through self-employment for primary school graduates, the primary school curriculum was not only vocationalized; its cycle was also lengthened by one year. In addition, the average university education increased by a year as well (GOK, 1985). The eight years of primary education were also restructured in order to offer numeracy and literacy skills in the first six years, as well as basic education with a practical orientation in the last two years (GOK, 1985).

While the government presented the new 8-4-4 system as a noble package in terms of addressing the education and employment needs of its youth, various challenges also emerged. First, more money was required from both the government and parents for additional classrooms, workshops, home science rooms, laboratories and maintenance of school gardens. Second, the quality of primary education suffered due to a lack of trained teachers (especially for technical schools), and the employment of 12,000 untrained teachers to handle the extra Grade 8 class. Third, some scholars argued that the amount of time taken to teach practical subjects at the expense of cognitive skills had a negative impact upon the quality of functional literacy and numeracy skills of those pupils who terminated their learning at the primary level. Fourth, the new system impeded efforts to achieve EFA due to increased dropouts and the low transition rate that it created (Elimu Yetu Coalition, 2004). Finally, the 8-4-4 system was introduced when Kenya, like many African countries, was experiencing an economic recession that paved the way for the entrenchment of the Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs) that were introduced by the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund. The SAPs in Kenya instigated a shift in the national economic policy, where limited government provision of services was encouraged amidst increased private sector participation (Elimu Yetu Coalition, 2004). Drawing from this perspective, and specifically informed by the World Bank publication titled 'Education in Sub-Sahara: Policies or Adjustments, Revitalization and Expansion' that endorsed user fees in recovering education costs, the cost-sharing policy in education was introduced in Kenya in 1988 (Elimu Yetu Coalition, 2004; World Bank, 1988).

The cost-sharing policy in education was based on the recommendations of the *Presidential Working Party on Education and Training for the next Decade and Beyond* and the subsequent Sessional Paper No. 6 (GOK, 1988a, 1988b), which made it official that the government was only responsible for meeting teacher salaries, administrative costs and funding some limited school facilities. Parents, on the other hand, were to meet the costs of tuition and textbooks, as well as fees for activities and examinations. Each community's responsibility was to put up and maintain physical facilities and infrastructures (Bogonko, 1992; Sifuna, 1990). This move on primary school financing legitimised the end of Free Primary Education (FPE), which had long ceased to be a practical reality. The implication of the cost-sharing policy and the transferring to parents of the cost of education curtailed the achievement of EFA, by increasing educational disparities in terms of access to and quality of primary education amongst various social groups of differing economic potentials found within various regions in Kenya (Deolalikar, 1999).

The above facts notwithstanding, the Kenyan government continued to address EFA through employment of alternative modes of education that included Non-Formal Education (NFE) and Adult Education (AE), (GOK, 2005). Of the two, AE has received more focus, with its programs having been introduced just after independence in a bid to address educational disparities emanating from the colonial legacy. The main focus of AE was literacy as a vehicle for eliminating poverty, diseases and ignorance, which were perceived as the three great evils of society (GOK, 1966). AE structures, which initially belonged to the Ministry of Labour and Social Services, were relocated to the Ministry of Education through the Adult Education Act of 1966. In the same year, the Board of Adult Education was formed to coordinate all activities in the sector. Coupled with the activities of the new literacy campaign, these efforts encouraged growth in the AE sector, with 1,747 centres and 38,592 students being registered in 1974 (GOK, 1975). NFE, unlike AE, did not receive government focus in spite of its role in directly responding to the youth and the inadequacies of the low access, completion and dropout rates. Historically, the NFE programme has received little (if any) government funding. Notably, the recent government

response of establishing an NFE desk has yet to achieve tangible results in terms of the achievement of EFA goals (GOK, 2005).

In recent times, gender has emerged as a key factor that has continued to hamper the achievement of EFA. Also important, moreover, is education for special needs (UNESCO, 2003). Gender issues in education and employment received little attention until the turn of the 21st Century, thus creating clear disparities. In fact, gender as a goal for education did not appear in the Government Development Plans until the late 1980s. Similarly, despite the persistent gender gaps in education, only one strategy (which involves the re-admission of pregnant girls back into the school system) has existed to date in order to address the problem of gender disparity. Special needs education has fared relatively well in terms of policy, as noted in the 1968 Sessional Paper No. 5 on Special Education (GOK, 2005) and the Sessional Paper No. 6 on integration of special education children into regular schools. In terms of gender equality, however, 2003 statistics show that of 12,464 boys and 10,900 girls enrolled in schools, only 2.3 percent of the 1 million special needs children benefited from the integration policy (GOK, 1968; GOK, 2005).

Early Childhood Education (ECE) is another area of EFA that has received only minimum focus by the Kenyan government. Because ECE was excluded from the Education Act of 1968, it has remained a private enterprise for which parents have always paid. Like Special Education, most children are not enrolled in ECE due to the high cost involved (Wawire, 2005). This is despite the fact that enrolling in ECE has for a long time been a prerequisite for enrolment in primary school—thus indicating a direct impact upon the achievement of EFA.

2.2   EFA adaptation process in Kenya

For Kenya, the process of adapting and domesticating EFA goals is linked with several pre-Jomtien forums that helped create awareness about education for all by using regional and national perspectives in preparation for the 1990 Jomtien World Conference on Education for All (WCEFA). Mainly

taking place in the course of 1989, a year before the WCEFA, such forums included the Eastern and Southern African Regional Consultation on EFA held in Nairobi, the National EFA seminar in Eldoret, and the Civil Society Organisation (CSO) forum at the Kenya Institute of Education (KIE). Drawing from government ministries, CSOs, universities and the donor community, consensus was built upon the view that Kenya's social and cultural experiences should inform the EFA process at a global level. In addition, the self-help spirit (*Harambee*) would be enhanced through community initiatives supported by churches, welfare organizations and CSOs (Elimu Yetu Coalition, 2004).

Much activity was registered after Jomtien in Kenya to domestic EFA declarations, including the process of translating the draft plan into action through various forums. These were, namely, the 1991 National Seminar on Promotion of Basic Education and Literacy in Nyeri, the National Seminar on Post-Literacy Strategies in Nakuru in 1992, the National Conference on EFA in Kisumu, and the 1994 Symposium on Education for the Girl Child (UNESCO, 1999). This was followed by capacity and infrastructure building via different strategies that included seminars, workshops, research and training, construction of schools, the purchase and supply of learning materials and facilities, curriculum development, and the promotion of nutrition requirements for children (UNESCO, 1993). Orginisations and institutions such as the World Bank, the World Food Programme (WFP), UNESCO, UNICEF, and ILO participated in implementing the EFA objectives. Civil society participation was realised through local CBOs and CSOs such as Action Aid, Children Christian Fund (CCF) and Care Kenya, among others (UNESCO, 1993). Unfortunately, EFA internalisation efforts dwindled after the mid-1990s. This was mainly because of low donor assistance, poor government policy and programme formulation, as well as limited civil society involvement in educational decision-making.

Coinciding with what was happening globally, Kenya's re-awakening in the pursuit of EFA goals was done prior to the World Education Forum held in Dakar, Senegal, in 2000. Dakar 2000 grew out of the global realization that one decade down the line, the world had not achieved its Jomtien objective

of adopting policies and programmes to ensure Universal Basic Education by the year 2000 (UNESCO, 2002). This re-awakening during the preparation for the Dakar Forum entailed the formulation of the Kenya Master Plan on Education and Training in 1997-2010, as well as the EFA assessment document preparation and participation in the regional EFA conference in Johannesburg (GOK, 1998, 1999, 2001). In fact, the EFA handbook is referred to as a 'wake up call' that articulated the issues and challenges facing EFA in Kenya, and set out an overall framework of approach (GOK, 2001).

Though commendable, these efforts were insufficient in warranting Kenya's inclusion in the donor EFA financial assistance programme that was run mainly by the Commonwealth Education Fund and the World Bank. Kenya had not complied to certain newly introduced education reform requirements, such as the existence of a credible National EFA plan of action, UPE policies, and the employment of a sector-wide planning approach integrated into macro-economic contexts and the Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (PRSP) (UNESCO, 2002, 2005). Between 2001 and 2005, however, Kenya embarked on an EFA compliance journey. Activities to this end include the launching of the Poverty Reduction Paper 2000-2003, the enactment of the Children's Act in 2005, and—more importantly in terms of donor funding—the re-introduction of Free Primary Education (FPE) in January 2003. Notably, the launch of FPE attracted the promptest donor funding response in the Kenyan history of education (UNESCO, 2005).

After the FPE policy pronouncement of 2003, the Education Sector Review and Strategic Plans were completed and then followed in the same year by the completion of the National Action Plan on Education For All 2003-2015. A National Conference on Education, Training and Research was held in 2004, which yielded the Sessional Paper No. 1 of 2005 that provided a policy framework for education, training and research (GOK, 2005). All these events culminated in the completion of the Kenya Education Sector Support Programme (KESSP) 2005–2010, which earned Kenya a nod for donor support. The KESSP document provides a new framework for formulating education policies, and costing them by employing a sector-wide approach

(SWAp) to the planning and implementation of programmes (GOK, 2005). Consequently, Kenya was eventually included into the major EFA global funding programme, referred to as the Fast Track Initiative (FTI), to join the few other African countries such as Burkina Faso, Ethiopia, Gambia, Ghana, Guinea, Mauritania, Mozambique and Niger. This placed Kenya within the FTI framework, which is a global partnership between donors and developing countries that is aimed at expediting the process of realizing EFA and the Millennium Development Goals on UPE by 2015 (UNESCO, 2005).

The internalisation, adoption and domestication of EFA goals in Kenya have further been enhanced by the growing role of CSOs through their advocacy campaigns and service provision mechanisms. These efforts are strengthened by the formation of national coalition networks such as Pamoja Kenya and the Elimu Yetu Coalition operating under the umbrella of the African Network Campaign on Education For All (ANCEFA), which coordinates the activities of all Civil Society Organization in the African region that work in the educational sector (UNESCO, 2002). In line with the Dakar framework of Action that emphasized the partnership of all actors at all levels in National EFA action, the Kenyan Government has involved the CSOs through coalitions, in the process of policy formulation, and in the implementation and evaluation of EFA activities (UNESCO, 2002).

2.3   EFA progress towards Dakar

A critical review of how Kenya has performed so far in achieving EFA objectives indicates that wide disparities have emerged between the expression of the goals agreed upon at Jomtien and reaffirmed at Dakar, and the practical actualisation of such goals. In Kenya, consequently, EFA has been domesticated into mainly UPE—thereby explaining why the formal primary education sector has received more focus in terms of policy and programmes from all stakeholders, at the expense of other equally important aspects of EFA such as NFE, ECE and adult literacy. Similarly, disparities exist due to poor mainstreaming of cross-cutting educational issues such as gender, special education and quality (GOK, 2005). Notably,

EFA internalisation has been influenced by internal factors such as the history, socio-economic and political context, as well as external factors such as donor funding policies and global education reforms (especially those from Jomtien and Dakar), and now the MDGs. Therefore, the achievement of EFA has relied on a process of negotiating and adopting global concerns into National Policy Programmes (GOK, 2005; UNESCO, 2002).

Kenya's recent donor-related events indicate a bright future for the achievement of EFA goals. Caution should be sought, however, because these reforms have been steered toward the endorsement of the global agenda being fronted by the World Bank and the IMF, and may require local perspectives in order to ensure sustainability (UNESCO, 2002). The following statement from the KESSP document illustrates this view:

> The apparent failure by the international community to provide significant educational resources since Dakar has made the attainment of EFA elusive for many poor countries in the developing world, including Kenya. Consequently, the Kenyan government has had to rethink how to strategise for acceleration of achievement of EFA goals through its National Education Planning. (UNESCO, 2002)

The above contextualisation of EFA initiatives in Kenya provides the foundation upon which to locate our study and its findings. The next section, therefore, provides an exposé of the research processes in investigating how the educational policy makers, donor agencies and the CSOs understood, interpreted and implemented the agenda for achieving EFA goals in Kenya within the broader context of Millennium Development Goals.

3   The Research Process

The Kenyan study was part of a regional research project initiated by the Graduate Institute of Policy Studies (GRIPS), and in which Ethiopia and Tanzania participated as well. The aim was to generate a sub-regional com-

parative study on the realisation of EFA goals within local contexts. Herein, however, we focus only on the Kenya component of the research.

3.1 Preparing for field research

Research preparation was completed in two phases: identifying the assistant researchers, and then training them on how to do qualitative research (specifically, how to conduct the one-to-one interview, which was the main method of data collection). The assistant researchers received a one-day training, which comprised key topics on qualitative research such as observation, documentary analysis and interviews.

Interview guide

The interview guide was divided into three sub-groups of questions that allowed a separate focus on each category of interviewees: education officials, donor personnel and CSOs. This approach eased usability, and eventually the data processing and analysis as well.

Apart from critically studying the interview schedule, the assistants practiced using the schedule through interview simulations, which proved very instrumental for the peer-critiquing performance of each researcher. Interview simulations generally helped in re-focusing researchers' attention upon the value of deliberate and conscious listening, and pursuing issues raised by the interviewees without losing sight of the research themes upon which the interview guides were developed.

Sampling procedures and research samples

Sampling was done in three stages. The first stage consisted of the development of what resembled a sampling frame, which was comprised of a three-column matrix where each column reflected the three categories of the basic sample (namely, personnel from the Ministry of Education, Science and Technology (MoEST), donor community and CSOs). In the second stage, the researchers completed the matrix with possible interviewees in the decision-making level. In the third stage, researchers began to make contact with potential interviewees through telephone calls and personal

visits. This activity posed considerable challenges, mainly among the donor organisations and also to some extent within the MoEST, where many of the sampled potential interviewees claimed to be too busy with official duties to afford the time for interviews. However, there were exceptional cases within the Ministry where the personnel did not hesitate to cooperate, and fixed an interview time instantly on request. This response proved to be a catalyst for researchers to keep trying, and to utilize alternative strategies when they did not receive immediate interview appointments. Most of the donor organisations that were approached also posed hitches that were based mainly upon protocol. For example, in some instances interviews could not be held without arrangements to include various other personnel, such as information or press attachés to do their own recording. The most enthusiastic participants came from the CSOs, by contrast—many of whom readily availed themselves for the interviews, thus constituting the largest proportion of the entire sample (a total of 24 interviewees, as presented in Table 4-1).

3.2   Interviewing and transcribing data

Conducting interviews
Apart from the expected snags in fixing interview appointments and striving to ensure that interviews actually took place, most of the interviewees portrayed enthusiasm in addressing the issues raised by the research, and even brought in other issues that were clearly of concern to them. Also, apart from a few cases where male and female interviewees declined to be interviewed on tape, most of the subjects talked willingly and allowed their interviews to be recorded. Research ethics demanded that the interviewers respect the wishes of those few who declined to be recorded, and so only notes were taken in those cases. In a fewer number of instances, respondents requested intermittently to have sections of their interviews unrecorded. In one instance, a male respondent selected which questions to respond to, and in which order he would respond. This encounter served as a demonstration of how the politics of interviewing and power relations could at times reverse the expected routines of interviewing. This notwithstanding, however, the researchers were satisfied with the research process

Table 4-1   List of interviewees

ORGANIZATION / INSTITUTION	INTERVIEWEE*	Female	Male
1. Kenya Society for Deaf Children	Director		✓
2. Action Aid	Educational Child Rights Coordinator		✓
3. African Network Campaign on Education for All (ANCEFA)	Capacity Building Coordinator		✓
4. Commonwealth Education Fund (CEF)	Coordinator		✓
5. Compassion International (Kenya)	Project Facilitator		✓
6. Concern Worldwide Kenya	Country Director		✓
7. Elimu Yetu Coalition	Coordinator		✓
8. Girl Child Network (GCN)	Senior Programme Officer		✓
9. Kenya Alliance for Advancement of Children's Rights (KAACR)	Deputy Director		✓
10. Kenya Adult Education Association (KAEA)	Director		✓
11. Ministry of Education Science and Technology (MOEST)	Director (Basic Education)	✓	
12. MoEST	Asst. Minister of Education (post primary sector)		✓
13. MoEST	Deputy Director Non-formal Education (NFE)		✓
14. MoEST	Deputy Director of Schools Programmes at Kenya Institute of Education (KIE)		✓
15. MOEST Senior Deputy Director Non formal Education	Senior Deputy Director Non-formal Education	✓	
16. Mothers' Rural Care of Orphans (MORCAO)	Founder Member in Charge of Projects	✓	
17. Reach the Children	Education and Other Special Programmes	✓	
18. Save the Children Sweden	Programme Officer Education (Sudan)		✓
19. UNHCR	Community Development Officer		✓
20. UNICEF Eastern and Southern Africa Regional Office (ESARO)	Regional Educational Adviser	✓	
21. University Academic Staff	Professor	✓	
22. University Academic Staff	Professor		✓
23. University Academic Staff	Lecturer		✓
24. World Bank	Education Consultant		✓
TOTAL		**06**	**18**

* Job description as provided by respective subjects

and its outcomes. The interviewees were explicitly friendly in most cases, and provided relatively detailed information on research issues such as relevant literature.

Issues emerging from interviews

It is noteworthy that in the course of interviewing, some respondents expressed concern regarding our silence on the link between EFA goals and the MDGs. Because of this, we resolved to include a sub-question for ensuing interviews focusing on how respondents conceptualised the link between the EFA goals and the MDGs. Eventually, 6 out of the 24 intervie-

wees (25%) had the chance to discuss this perceived link.

Transcribing interviews

All of the tape-recorded interviews were transcribed verbatim as a way of transforming the spoken data into literary form. The researchers subsequently read through all of the interview transcripts in order to ensure that they represented the interviews verbatim. The reading also enabled researchers to get a general feel for how the respondents addressed the research themes, and how they brought in themes that were important to them. This initial reading also served as a basis for monitoring, transcribing and ensuring that the researchers gained insights into the coding categories of data that were computerised using the NUD*IST (Non-numerical Unstructured Data* Indexing Searching and Theorizing) analysis package.

Processing and analysing data

The initial analysis began with reading the interview transcripts to identify the key research themes, as well as other emergent themes that the respondents generated. A thematic approach was then used to develop a coding structure that reflected the major thematic categories, as well the sub-themes. This exercise was followed by the processing of data by transforming and importing it into the NUD*IST software, and then coding it accordingly. Reports for each individual interview were generated and analysed, and cross-referenced reports were also generated for the analysis of issues across different categories of interviewees. These activities helped to yield the basic understanding of the study findings, which the researchers subjected to theorising and then organised into the present form.

Generating understanding

Once data analysis was complete, the researchers held a three-day workshop to familiarise themselves with the categorisation of themes from the data and transform the analysis into report format. The process involved not only going through the computer-generated reports, but also linking these with the raw interview transcripts. This exercise was critical in enabling the researchers to get a reasonable grasp of the emerging thematic issues, as well as to cross-reference data from different sources for a better

understanding of how various individuals domesticated the EFA goals.

Evaluating the research

The researchers set aside time to evaluate the process of data collection. This evaluation was in the form of reflection on the process of the actual research, highlighting the strengths, shortcomings, general experiences and lessons learned. The evaluation process revealed satisfaction in the research activities, particularly with regard to the manner in which data was generated using interviews, the cohesiveness of activities by the different assistants and researchers, and the transcription process that yielded verbatim recordings.

4   Research Findings

The study findings are presented thematically in order to reflect the research focus, while at the same time foregrounding sub-themes that emerged from the respondents' perspectives during the interviews.

4.1   Defining EFA

The concept of Education for All shall be represented interchangeably by the acronym EFA, while the term EFA goals shall be used to refer to the six goals as outlined in the Dakar Platform of Action. This distinction is important in that findings show that the history of Education for All surpasses that of the Education for All goals as understood in contemporary educational and political debates.

There were a few instances whereby some of the respondents portrayed apparent confusion in trying to distinguish between the concepts of Education for All, EFA goals and the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). In some cases, for example, interviewees claimed that the goals of Education for All were synonymous to those of the MDGs. Also important to note is the thin line that separated the respondents' personal views and those of the organisations or institutions to which they belonged. Even when asked

to define concepts such as EFA (Education for All) in their own terms, for example, the interviewees would consistently make reference to the organisational position—clearly adapting it as their own definition.

Generally, the interviews revealed different ways in which respondents constructed meanings around the concept of Education for All, reflecting familiarity with official documentation as well as their own understandings and creative thinking. In the process, the tendency to portray inclusiveness in education for all was evident in the use of phrases such as 'every child', 'children and adults', 'everybody including the marginalized and disabled', 'continuing education', 'inclusive education', 'both genders', 'all ages' and so on as demonstrated in the ensuing sub-sections.

UPE, Life-long and Basic Education

According to the Director of KAEA and the capacity building coordinator of ANCEFA, the concept of EFA could be well-understood in the context of the Jomtien and Dakar education conferences, where goals were formulated for the achievement of universal primary education that were interpreted as being necessarily free for all children without discrimination. Among the interviewees, these views were evident in the expressions of a University Professor of Education, a CEF Coordinator, a WB Education Consultant, and a GCN Senior Programme Officer—all of whom argued that UPE was the foundation of EFA. Tracing the historical development of UPE in Kenya, with its roots found in a government declaration of free primary education (FPE) in 1973, the University Professor of Education criticised what he described as poor implementation of programmes without taking into account the required resources and budgetary implications. Both the CEF Coordinator and the WB Education Consultant expressed a similar view, and the WB consultant added that education for all was important insofar as it was meant to reach the majority of children right from early childhood. He explained:

> In order to reach many children, we should target basically all children in Kenya, including those at the early childhood development (ECD) level, those in primary (6-13 years), so that

they attain basic and primary education. (Education consultant, World Bank, Kenya)

The ANCEFA coordinator claimed that access to basic education was for everybody within a rights-based perspective of quality education that should be life-long. He identified the focal areas of EFA goals, namely, early child development, Universal Primary Education, gender, youth skills, quality and Adult Education as constituting the guiding tenets of EFA. Consequently, he defined education for all as such:

> Education for all in my own understanding is the broad understanding about giving people, children, youth, adults an opportunity to learn [and] in terms of having access to enjoy the right of basic education. And we talk of basic education in the sense that if we look at those goals, they are goals that focus on basic education…, which is the focus of EFA. (Coordinator, ANCEFA)

The Coordinator of ANCEFA rationalised the function of EFA as a launching pad or platform upon which continuing or life-long education could thrive. He observed that the international community was focused on a broad consensus reached at the Dakar meeting, whose aim was to provide every world citizen an opportunity to receive education of some kind. Accordingly, success for EFA depended upon how well each component of education linked up with the other (for example between early childhood development and UPE, gender, youth skills, quality and AE, and so on).

Further, according to the Senior Programme Officer of the Girl Child Network (GCN) and the WB education consultant, EFA would be better conceptualised within a framework that made basic education compulsory for children and young people both in formal and non-formal settings. By implication, then, governments would have to ensure that children were compelled to pursue primary education, and that they were enabled to do so whether or not they were enrolled in mainstream schooling. This would also mean that parents would not only be enabled materially to enrol their

school age children in school, but that they would be legally compelled to do so.

Inclusive education and the discourse of rights

In a country with approximately a quarter million registered refugees, the idea of inclusive education did not escape the UNHCR Community Development Officer (CDO) and Education Programme Officer. According to the CDO of UNHCR, people of refugee status are usually out of sight of regular life, and hence require special attention in order to be able to access basic education. According to the UNHCR, the concern for refugee children in the context of EFA was unique because refugees came from diverse origins with varying educational systems. The UNHCR officer argued that EFA should not discriminate by age or gender, but should allow every person requiring basic education an opportunity to receive one. The UNHCR CDO explained as follows:

> In my perspective, I would define Education for All as an opportunity where you make available chances for every boy and girl, not only within the bracket ages … We have aged-out children, who come from poor countries; who did not have an opportunity to go to school until they are fifteen. … We have girls who drop out of school because of pregnancy or other harmful traditional practices. Even when they have children at home, we still give them an opportunity to go back to school. So Education for All is an all-encompassing approach only when you give opportunity to anybody who is available to go to school. Even be it adults, they are given an opportunity to learn. Be it little children… (UNHCR, CDO)

Other children who were perceived to need special attention in the context of EFA were those with special needs, as explained by the Save the Children Kenya-based Education Programme Officer (EPO), Sudan. In what he described as his own simple understanding of EFA, the EPO argued that education for all should be accessible to all children, even those with special problem or disabilities, regardless of their origin or background.

According to EPO, EFA is an embracement of the rights discourse that presents education as a right for every child regardless of physical or mental capacity. He described EFA as:

> A global strategy that ensures provision of education to each and every individual as their basic right. Here we are looking at each basic education where all children, whether they have any special problem whether they have disability, whether from poor countries or poor background, they are able to access education. I think that is how I look in my own simple understanding. (Kenya-based Save the Children, EPO)

From Elimu Yetu Coalition (EYC), the Kenya Institute of Education (KIE) and the Mothers Rural Care for Orphans, Education for All was the kind of education that included everyone in all sectors of society—children and adults alike—regardless of their position in life. There was explicit convergence and unanimity that in the context of EFA, no person should be denied the right to basic education. This convergence is captured in the words of the EYC's coordinator, who explained as follows:

> I think essentially when we talk of education for all; we are talking about an all-inclusive education and education that takes care of all sectors of the society, all the way from early childhood, non-formal, adult education, continuing education, primary education. So it is basically that education that is inclusive and does not leave out any body. It assumes that everybody fundamentally has a right to education. (Director EYC)

The KIE Deputy Director of Schools expounded upon this understanding by bringing in the idea of equalising socio-economic classes. He defined EFA prescriptively, saying that it ought to embrace education that is explicitly pro-poor and in ways that acknowledged that poor people had equal rights to education.

> Basic education, …it is in away, is kind of a right, that we feel

that it should be extended to as many, many Kenyans as possible, especially the children, so that they have a basic education which can enable them to live a good life in the country. So that to me is the definition of Education for All, where in this sense, education is provided irrespective of difference of community or race… irrespective of socio-economic status; that they [people] are provided with the minimum basic education… That would be what we call Education for All in a broad sense. (Deputy Director of Schools, KIE)

The above-cited sentiments seemed to echo the views of the Senior Deputy Director for Non-formal Education, who described EFA as a process of bringing everybody on board the education agenda without necessarily focusing on matters of net enrolment rates, whose concern is on particular age groups and is thus not inclusive. In addition, his view was that EFA was primarily concerned with the education of all children where literacy and numeracy were basic concerns, including the very young (from three years old to adulthood). Further, his conception of EFA comprised the need for everyone to understand issues of environment and health.

The Coordinator of CEF extended the discourse of the rights of the child by localizing the educational concern within the Children's Act, which was adopted in Kenya in 2005. He pointed out that:

… Basically education for all means that right from the convention on the rights of the child, the CRC and in the Kenyan context, the Children's Act you know to make provisions that are supposed to enable children of school age to be able to access education. Beyond that, we are also saying education may be broader than just primary education, and here we are looking at adult literacy and basically we are encouraging that at least we should have a literate society within the broader education goals. Basically EFA from our perspective revolves around those issues. (Coordinator CEF)

The discourse of rights was alive, not just among the CSOs and MoEST personnel, but also among the donor community. For example, the Regional Educational Advisor of UNICEF ESARO explained concisely that:

> Education for all, in my own understanding, is that every child has a right to education irrespective of gender; irrespective of ethnicity, class, any form of division or difference including disability. So… to me, what it means is that every child has a right to education. (UNICEF Regional Educational Advisor, ESARO)

Quality education and transitions to further education and integration to society

According to some interviewees, an EFA agenda that did not focus on quality would be difficult to achieve optimally. The Country Director of Concern Worldwide argued that if EFA was going to be meaningful to individuals and nations, it was crucial to strive for quality education—not just at primary education level, but also for post primary levels. He explained by saying:

> We feel like almost everybody else feels that every child should have access to quality primary education. And all the opportunities that it brings with it both in terms of the learning at the time, the opportunity to progress to secondary and further education and just the opportunity that education opens up as well as that its every child's right to education, to have access to quality primary education. (Country Director of Concern Worldwide)

Even as the CEF director conceded that Education for All was a broad concept, he pointed out that as far as CEF was concerned, only what he called a small component of EFA was prioritised (namely, primary education). He observed that the MDGs prioritised primary education, and hence rationalized that this was what Kenyan society needed in order to forge ahead with development. He explained:

> Education is broad and like I would say we are looking at the
> other small component of it. When you talk about EFA, we are
> concentrating ourselves with more of the primary education,
> which is well captured by even the MDGs. So we are not look-
> ing at broadly education in all its levels including tertiary; we
> are very keen on primary education because we believe that it
> is basically, in that, that children are able to gather and learn
> the basic literacy and numeracy skills. So we believe that with
> primary education at least the society can move forward as a
> literate society. (Director, CEF)

Implicit in the above-cited views is that literacy skills, as well as skills for
life, are at the core of the EFA concept. The gist of these views is encapsu-
lated in the words of the CEF coordinator, who explained EFA as a concept
broader than schooling. With regard to the CEF policy, he explained as fol-
lows:

> We are also saying education may be broader than just primary
> education, and here we are looking at adult literacy and basi-
> cally we are encouraging that at least we should have a literate
> society within the broader education goals. Basically, EFA from
> our perspective revolves around those issues. (Project Facilita-
> tor of Compassion International)

Clearly, each of the organisations whose views were analysed in this sec-
tion revealed that there were many areas of consensus in the conceptualisa-
tion of EFA, and that points of divergence often reflected unique organisa-
tional focus and a specific mission. Just as evidence shows organisational
priorities in the pursuance of EFA, so were national priorities. This was
expressed by the KIE Deputy Director of Schools, who observed that each
country was bound to have some localised needs that needed appropriate
strategies of domesticating the concept of EFA. He explained:

> Education for all can also be defined in the context of this
> country (Kenya), because what we will be doing in Kenya, in

pursuance of the same, may not be the same as Uganda or Tan-
zania, as far as attaining education is concerned; it will vary
from one country to another depending on the resources avail-
able, and also the kind of National philosophy that guides the
education system in that particular country. (Deputy Director
of Schools, KIE)

4.2   Conceptualising Education in the Context of EFA

What is 'Education'?

It is important to point out that as the interviewees discussed the concept
of EFA, many of them explained the concepts of 'Education' and of 'All'
concurrently, which seemed a natural thing to do. Asking them later to dis-
cuss the concepts in isolation appeared superfluous, and hence the
researchers avoided the situation. This notwithstanding, however, it was
clear that most of the respondents perceived education as a broad concept
that transcended basic literacy and numeracy. Generally, there was explicit
unanimity among interviewees that education was a multi-dimensional con-
cept and process through which a person acquires knowledge and skills
that are deemed prerequisite for human development. The interviewees
were also unanimous that education occurred throughout life via interac-
tions between various categories of people in social situations, including
formal and non-formal settings such as schools and communities where
values, knowledge, attitudes and skills were perpetuated or created
through day-to-day activities.

A broad concept of education focusing on citizenship and social responsibilities

While the fundamental educational goal for many organisations was identi-
fied as the attainment of primary education for everyone, this goal was not
deemed sufficient to define the concept of education in a comprehensive
way. According to the Country Director of Concern Worldwide Kenya, for
example, education should encompass citizenship; i.e., learning how to
become good citizens who are economically empowered, analytical and
critical about human life. This, he explained would be better achieved not

just through primary education, but also secondary. The Country Director expressed the need to connect education and human development, suggesting that trying to discuss education in isolation was unrealistic. He said:

> One of the things I would be concerned about with regard to EFA, …here in Kenya, as well as FPE, is the expansion to secondary education. I know primary is the first goal, and for us as an organization are concerned that primary is the prime goal. But for children to make best use of education and opportunities, then, secondary education especially for a country like Kenya, which hopes to benefit from increasing industrialization [is crucial]. Is a primary school qualification sufficient, you can ask yourself? Would it be sufficient for someone to become economically empowered and be able to have a job be it in the formal and informal sector and to progress themselves? So I think one of the big goals is first lets get everybody into primary education, but then, how can that be stretched then…offer secondary education. (Director, Concern Worldwide)

The UNICEF ESARO Regional Education Advisor captured the voices of many of the respondents when she defined education as beginning at birth and carrying on throughout life until a person dies. In this context, some of the interviewees defined a good education as one that empowers a person to function effectively in society throughout the duration of life. Importantly, education was perceived as going beyond the process of preparing for formal employment to encompass the guiding of people through the process of maturing socially, mentally and intellectually. Further, according to the Assistant Minister of Education and the Regional Educational Advisor for UNICEF ESARO, education should be viewed in terms of the professional, social and value-based skills that are needed for every day life, with the aim of guiding children and young people in ways that would enable them to share the aspirations of their society.

Personal development as a basic component of EFA
The Director of Concern Worldwide expressed the view that education con-

Education is a very broad concept

Education is a very broad concept. It is inclusive of the broad skills and knowledge one needs in order to be prepared to fit better in a society. It entails skills such as being able to read and write, do simple calculations, and more importantly, to use those skills to better fit in society and be of service—whether in the field of health, agriculture, or politics. Education also goes beyond that which is acquired in formal schools. It is the broad knowledge that one picks, not just academic, but which also prepares one much better to do other things besides just being able to read and write.

Assistant Minister of Education (post primary)

cerns personal, intellectual and spiritual development, which is key to the development of the different aspects of citizenship. The UNICEF Regional Educational Advisor described education as a total package that addressed the development of the whole person in the context of society. In the same tenor, the Assistant Minister of Education encapsulated his views on the concept of education as shown in Box 4-1.

According to the Assistant Minister, the concept of education encompasses traditional as well as modern knowledge, allowing for reasonable social transitions and transformations in the fields of health, agriculture and politics, among others. Like the Assistant Minister, the Director of Basic Education viewed education as exposure to survival skills that help children and young people to participate in economic activities of the country. She observed that education encompassed a people's way of life in some cases, through also comprising culture and religion. In light of these views, education was perceived and interpreted broadly within both the formal and non-formal contexts.

4.3   Conceptualising all in the context of EFA

What do we mean by 'All'?
When asked to discuss their understanding of the concept 'All' within the

EFA discourse, the interviewees were quite convergent upon the idea that 'All' was the term that suggested inclusiveness and non-discrimination. The following captions exemplify some of the responses that emerged in discussions:

> All is like everybody… everybody. I believe that when they say EFA, means that every person should be given an opportunity to have an education. (Education and Special Programme Officer, Reach the Children)

> People of all ages from young children to adults, boys and girls, men and women, irrespective of colour, race, religion, health status … (Female university professor)

The human rights perspective

A few of the interviewees stressed the role of the human rights perspective and the importance of gender equality as key to actualising the idea of 'All' in education. In other words, it would be impossible to achieve EFA if more than half of humanity (women and girls) were ignored. The Director of the Kenya Alliance for the Advancement of Rights of Children (KAARC), as well as the Director of the Commonwealth Education Fund (CEF), both emphasised that the crucial function of the concept was to focus on local situations with the aim of ensuring that everybody was included. In addition, the Director of KAARC had the following to say in this regard:

> When we come to the question of all, then we begin to look at who is it that is supposed to receive education? And we say any member of this society, and when I say this, I want to refer the Kenyan society. I want to say everybody in Kenya has a right to education. It is a human right; it is no longer a need and therefore becomes imperative that the government has to go out of its way to provide facilities and opportunities for everybody to access education regardless of the status or the gender. (Director KAARC)

In the same tone, the Regional Educational Advisor for UNICEF placed this concept squarely within the rights-based approach to education, which states that every child in the world has the basic right to education. She expounded upon and stressed this rights-based perspective, saying:

> It means each and every child… That is why, to me, Education for All is saying, every child, …and every child in the world, has a right, to education. That's why we say all. It means there is not even one child excluded; every child has a right.

According to the Director of Save the Children Sweden, it was obvious that inclusion was the key factor in the concept of All:

> Of course "All" will be looked at from the idea of each and every individual, being part of this learning system. 'All' means that nobody should be left out.

The CEF Country Director explained the organisational view that:

> … 'All' means taking on board the gender issues in education, the marginalized groups in the society, that is, the disabled. By this I mean we should have an inclusive education that should be able, you know, to fulfil their needs, be they be incapacitated in terms of sight, in terms of, hearing—all those—they should be able to access education of good quality or of quality similar to any other children. So for 'All' to us means inclusive in terms of marginalized, in terms of gender, you know, where we look at boys and girls as equal participants in education. (Director, CEF)

The issue of gender emerged as key not only for the organisations that focus on girls' education, but also among others that perceived the educational situation of girls as facing relatively greater challenges compared with that of boys. For example, the Director of KAEA stressed that the concept 'All' underscored the importance of focusing on those girls who were

pulled out of school for various reasons, least of which was the undergoing of female genital excisions that were responsible for preparing them for womanhood and symbolised by presumed readiness for sex and marriage. To him, the concept 'All' should be viewed primarily in the context of gender disparities in education.

> Yeah… gender; gender disparity, gender disparity… They (girls) are all there because, for example, when I was there [in the communities]; it was the … just last week before the schools opened. But I understood there were about one thousand girls kept somewhere who had gone under… through FGM and they would take another three months before they are released back [to the community]. So these girls are going to miss education. So what I thought 'All' is that inclusive regardless of sex. We don't talk about gender. Mostly people talk about a girl and a boy. They don't look at it as a gender issue. That is what I understand … I would say that would be my understanding about 'All'. That is, everybody is put on board so that the people can go together. (Director, KAEA)

The Director of the Kenya Society for Deaf Children (KSDC) explained that for him, the concept of 'All' included not only the gender dimension, but also the concern for every person's ability to be educated throughout the life cycle (thus, implying lifelong learning). The director argued that even those people who remained at home needed to be targeted for education, particularly on important social and health issues such as HIV/AIDS, with their implicit and often explicit gendered and sexual dimensions.

One emergent key point of concern was the fact that while some interviewees tended to embrace the idea of education for people of all ages—from very young children to adults, and including boys/girls and men/women irrespective of colour, race, religion and health status—others viewed the 'All' as specifically referring to children who were below the age of 18 years as prescribed by organisations of the United Nation Organisation.

Flexibility and fluidity in education

The fluidity with which the concept of 'All' should be understood in the context of education was captured by the Director of Action AID, whose view was that every person should be able, metaphorically speaking, to walk in and out of an educational institution, be they young or old; parents or non-parents.

> I think 'All', especially in our concept as Action Aid; it means especially that education is inclusive and that you are able to get it at every moment of life; that people can go to school and work and back to school. [It means] that young girls can fall pregnant and get children and still get an opportunity later for school; that street children can be rehabilitated and still be accorded that opportunity; that people living in informal settings like slums can be accorded that opportunity; that educational opportunity can be accorded to the hard-to-reach areas like the semi arid areas; that there could be opportunities for the marginalized [people] like the pastoralist communities … in spite of their nomadic life. (Director Action AID)

The Country Director of Concern Worldwide felt that the term 'All' implied the availability of life-long access to education for every person who desired it. He argued that skills for life should constitute an appropriate educational package, since if a curriculum was not right for its intended recipients, they would not seek that education and the meaning of 'All' would be lost. As he xplained:

> … 'All' talks about life-long learning, about people learning throughout their lives etc. and we would recognize this in a lot of the programmes we do in livelihoods etc.; where people are learning new skills as adults [and] in literacy which is part of the education programme as well. But for our organization in Kenya, we would be focusing on, say, the children who are currently not able to access FPE so that's what we say when we say 'All'. While we recognize there's need for life long learning,

while we recognize that increased female literacy has an impact on children's ability to learn, the support they get at home etc. in terms of our focus it would be children who find it difficult to access free primary education. So we would also see that incorporating early childhood as well. So eh, yeah, for as it is, early childhood education to primary education for All … From our research and working here, what we see, 'All', means everybody …; the little ones that you don't see inside the classrooms. (Director, Concern Worldwide)

Education as a minimum package for everyone

The idea of a minimum package of education for everyone kept emerging in different contexts of the interviews, thereby attracting special attention. For example, the Deputy Director of Schools Programmes at the Kenya Institute of Education (KIE) argued that since the concept of 'All' encompassed everyone, a nation was duty-bound to package what would be perceived as the minimum acceptable education for all people. The idea of Universal Primary Education (UPE) was one such package for children, and adult literacy and life skills could be seen as another minimum package. As expressed by the Deputy Director KIE:

> When we talk about Education For All, I think we are talking about a kind of a minimum package of basic education which every citizen would require in order to operate meaningful in a society where he [sic] is based and to contribute in a meaningful manner both as an individual and also as a member of the community where he [sic] finds himself. That to me will be the meaning of Education For All. …So there is even what we call the primary universal sort of concept of Education For All, and where nations are supposed to endorse, to ensure …they contribute or they enable their people to get that education. (Deputy Director, KIE)

The Elimu Yetu Coalition Director expressed similar views on the concept 'All.' He specified, however, that it focused primarily on ensuring the inclu-

siveness of children and adults who came from what he referred to as the remotest of places, where the majority of the people were often left out of mainstream education. He observed that many children had been excluded from mainstream education for a considerable length of time, and it was only recently that efforts were being made within and outside government to make education inclusive of every child. For Kenya, then, the concept of 'All' is practically a novel way of addressing the inequalities of education. He expounded upon this view by saying:

> I think maybe we need first to understand why in the first place did we talk of 'All'? Why the terminology came about… I think the whole idea here is; it is a doctrine that tries to ensure that the excluded are brought on board because for quite a while we had categories that simply could not access education. So here I think our main concern is those categories of people and children who … were excluded from the mainstream, and that is, we are saying for example that we are asking the government here to support non-formal education because that I a mode of education for the excluded in marginalized regions. We are talking about pastoralist children and adults, those are the people who have been excluded and once we talk about education for all then we are saying that even those ones, even those ones, even those children and adults and everybody in the remotest region has a right to access education. (Director, Elimu Yetu Coalition)

The ANCEFA Director argued that the idea of 'All' within the EFA framework embraced a non-discriminative approach to education. He observed that the concept of 'All' encompassed everybody regardless of age, so that no one was sidelined in accessing education. This implied that even children who were below school-going age were entitled to early childhood development that would prepare them for education in later years. Thus,

> The concept of 'All' here means that everybody, from childhood to the last years of adulthood …, we are talking of all citizens

captured in this bracket. That children; both those who need care and support at home, they should not be forgotten because education for all says that we need to talk about education of children when they are still with their mums at home and their care givers; and when they move to childhood development centres like in early childhood educational programmes, then to UPE. (Director, ANCEFA)

The Director of ANCEFA added that the first major goal of the EFA agenda is—or ought to be—ECD. Hence, even before we start talking about children's education in school, he explained, there is a need to address their early development; and only after this may we move on to youth skills, adult literacy or other children's educational programmes. Further, he said, only then could we talk of quality and continuing life-long learning—thereby making the concept of 'All' more holistic in terms of the quantity and quality of education.

5   Internationally Agreed upon EFA Goals

The process of initiating discussion regarding specific EFA goals that are internationally agreed upon seemed to elicit uncertainty on the part of many of the respondents, particularly because the activity appeared to test their memory. This was in turn transferred to the researchers, who also became apprehensive lest they be misconstrued to be testing their subjects. In the process, many of the subjects who could not recall the actual goals appeared to grapple with the general understandings of EFA, and did the best they could to say something that made sense within the framework of Education for All. In this situation, it was also imperative for the researchers to try their best not to persist or appear hell-bent on grilling the respondents on the EFA goals. Hence, this particular item of research was approached with caution and pursued with considerable sensitivity in order to minimise feelings of anxiety or embarrassment.

There were instances when respondents declared that they did not remem-

ber the goals, and phrases such as *I think its the seventh goal or I don't remember which one it is* were therefore commonplace. When this happened, researchers assured the respondents that it was all right if they could not recall the EFA goals. In one interview, for example, the respondent requested that the researcher switch off of the tape-recorder so that he could explain his ignorance about the EFA goals. Even with this kind of confession, however, the respondent confidently continued to discuss other issues related to EFA.

5.1 What constitutes EFA goals?

In some cases, interviewees did portray a reasonably good grasp of the centrality of internationally agreed-upon EFA goals as outlined in the Dakar Platform of Action. Most of the respondents in the MoEST, as well as some of the interviewees from CSOs and donor organisations, demonstrated their knowledge of the six EFA goals by identifying and explaining them individually. For example, the Director of Basic Education at MoEST stated all the goals and specifically emphasised Early Childhood Education as key to ensuring education for all. She said:

> We have six EFA goals; starting from early childhood as goal number one, and Kenya has been ahead of many countries in the region. We do have an infrastructure and a programme for Early Childhood and I think we are saying we have 1.6 million children already in Early Childhood, attending preschools, but nonetheless we have very many other children who should be in Early Childhood and they are not. And we are saying we need to increase access by talking to communities particularly in the ASAL areas. Again, that is where the participation rate is very, very low and especially in the districts that have Muslim communities, where they think that the attendance of *Duksis* and *madrassa* is better than early childhood education and we don't want to lose that. (Director, Basic Education)

As the Director of Education addressed the other EFA goals in considerable

depth, she observed that with regard to the achievement of EFA in Kenya, Universal Primary Education (UPE) was doing better than Early Childhood Education because of the boost offered by the FPE programme. She also foregrounded issues of adult literacy, gender, girls' education, quality education and the monitoring of learning processes, as well as teacher development in the marginalized regions that the MoEST had prioritised through the Kenya Education Sector Support Programme (KESSP). Furthermore, because the achievement of EFA demanded that schools be made user-friendly, MoEST had undertaken to avail a mobile school system and a relatively new concept of multi-grade teaching to some of the nomadic communities in the country. Indeed, the question on EFA goals provided a platform for the Director of Education to demonstrate, through discussion, how the ministry was addressing each of the six goals.

The Assistant Minister of Education (post primary) was equally eloquent in addressing the six EFA goals, which he did in considerable detail. As was the case with the Director of Basic Education, however, the Assistant Minister addressed the goals using examples to demonstrate what the Kenyan government was doing to enhance implementation. In addition, he critiqued the process through which the goals were formulated vis-à-vis how stakeholders understood and domesticated the said goals. He was particularly critical of the fact that such goals were decided externally, and without due consideration of locally available resources for developing countries such as Kenya. In view of this, he recommended flexibility in the process of localising the EFA goals in order to ensure that they were responsive to local situations and challenges. The following excerpt demonstrates his views regarding this matter:

> EFA, its predicated upon, the belief that governments can have a programme that is common across countries and … will be implemented to achieve certain goals, irrespective of the difficulties in different countries; irrespective of the various levels of development and irrespective of the fact that resources may not be available. So for me, I will see education as basically … in terms of Education For All goals. I think we must have some

kind of flexibility in terms of all the projections we have from countries, depending on what resources we have to implement that. But also, we need to see it much more as something that comes from the indigenous countries themselves, you know, from the African countries themselves. Usually, these goals are decided by international organizations and foreign governments and then; we are called to meetings to discuss them, so that when we have African governments get to these meetings, the representatives of these governments, they are actually discussing ideas that are based on other peoples resources. Sometimes its not an idea that comes out of plans and designs of other countries, so, that is a problem. I think we should look at EFA and Millennium Goals, based on our own resources, based on our own designs and those designs should be, really around, what is it that is possible, given … the time and resource constraints, and our own unique experiences. (Assistant Minister of Education, post-primary)

Among the donor community, the UNICEF Regional Educational Advisor talked explicitly and in depth about the EFA goals, explaining the priorities for her organisation. She underscored the goal of attaining primary education, arguing that this goal was paramount because it encompassed the broader concerns of basic education that focused on quality. Echoing the views of the Assistant Minister of Education, she pointed out that the resource base of a country is critical in determining the pace, level and scope of attaining any of the stipulated goals in a given country. She explained as follows:

> … At the moment, global countries are following the Dakar declaration. … Most countries have interpreted that to mean primary education. But countries which have gone beyond primary have integrated basic education to also include … secondary education and then again what to me is important is that basic education also looks not just at formal education, but it also looks at non-formal education; it looks at literacy wherever it is supposed to be. Even some aspects of vocational

training can be included in this basic education. So you find that some countries, depending on their means and their capacities would just focus on primary, but they will still include non-formal and formal education. Others will go beyond that to also include, secondary education. [This is] because my understanding of … formal education and non-formal education is that these are two systems of education [that] are complementary. So that in the process of ensuring that every child has a right [to education], if some children are outside of the formal education system in several of East African countries like Kenya, Tanzania, Uganda that applies, one has to find ways of bringing them back into the system. (Regional Educational Advisor, UNICEF ESARO)

For many of the CSOs, it was clear that the focus was only on the EFA goals that concerned their organisations. For example, the organisations that centred on girls' education such as the GCN tended to emphasise the goals of gender parity and equality. Those whose focus was adult education stressed the goal of adult literacy, and those that dealt with disability discussed the goals for vulnerable and disadvantaged children. Several of them that functioned as coalitions, however, including the African Network Campaign on Education for All (ANCEFA), provided a broad view that encompassed many of the goals. As was observed by the MoEST and UNICEF, the ANCEFA Capacity Building Coordinator underscored the goal on primary education as core to providing basic education. The coordinator narrated all the goals and underscored the importance of early childhood development as a foundation, suggesting that it was the critical point of departure in pursuing all other educational goals. He emphasized the following:

… One of the main goals was early childhood development. I think this is the goal One in the EFA framework. The second goal is that of UPE; making sure that every child has access to universal primary education. Though we call it UPE, there are two important principles that should … always be noted; that

when we talk about UPE we mean Universal Primary Education, which is of quality and compulsory.

The ANCEFA coordinator cautioned, however, that unless primary education was made truly free, compulsory and high quality, the EFA goals would remain inconsequential and directionless. His view was that government needed to design strategies and put in place appropriate instruments to facilitate effective implementation processes that would ensure that everyone had access to the UPE. Such strategies and mechanisms would involve the development of relevant curricula that would be taught in quality environments by quality teachers. This kind of education was bound to attract learners, retain them within the education system, and ensure successful transition while guaranteeing quality educational outcomes for all.

With regard to education for young people and adults, the ANCEFA director focused on EFA goal number three and four, which he identified with the learning of life skills and enhancing literacy. He said:

> The third goal is to do with youth skills, developing opportunities for young people. And this is where we are talking of non-formal education. This is where we are talking of technical training programmes. Then we have goal four, which is talking about … adult literacy. The idea is to have adult literacy by the year 2015 and is focusing on adult education in terms of functional literacy, technical literacy. (Director, ANCEFA)

The director continued to identify and explain the remaining EFA goals, arguing quite eloquently that the gender targets as outlined in the Dakar Platform of Action (PoA) seemed to be missed out on. Even though the director explicitly struggled to get the correct order of the goals in question, it was clear that he was conversant with the content of the Dakar PoA. He also seemed critical about Kenya's performance, as presented below:

> Then the fifth goal is about … should be… I think gender… but I don't know if it should be the third but will confirm the order.

And the gender goal focuses on trying to make sure that we have [pause] we address the disparities in gender. And the target date for gender disparities in secondary and primary education, was the year 2015, which I don't think we've done … better. Some countries like Kenya are doing very well, Kenya is doing forty-eight, fifty two percent but this is not common in other African countries. Then the last one is on quality -that you make sure that across the board, when you talk about education for all, from ECE to adult literacy, you must make sure that all are programmes of high quality. So, quality actually cuts across the other five goals. So, that is basically what we call the Dakar Framework For Action. And the target date was 2015. Though goal two on gender was; I think it was to be on [pause] to be achieved by 2005, which we don't see much. (Director, ANCEFA)

6   Newness of EFA Goals in National Programmes

The question of whether any of the EFA goals were new in the Kenyan context elicited some confusion that yielded two perspectives. There were those who focused on specific goals, and those who articulated general ideas regarding Education for All. Institutionally, as we shall see in this section, some of the organisations viewed specific EFA goals as new to them, while others argued that Kenya had generally been striving to attain EFA since it attained its political independence. While many of the interviewees thought that the concept of EFA was relatively old in independent Kenya, a few of them discussed specific goals or ideas about them being relatively new.

6.1   EFA goals not novel

It was striking to note that out of the six interviewees who considered all of the EFA goals as old ideas being repackaged as new, none of them addressed issues of specific targets or time frames as a relatively novel idea for ensuring that EFA goals did not become mirages. For instance, the

Director of ANCEFA described EFA goals as a revision of what had been agreed upon at the Jomtien Conference of 1990, and which were reaffirmed during the Dakar Conference on Education for All in the year 2000. He observed that such revisions were only meant:

> to make them (EFA goals) a little much sharper; to make them more relevant; to make them more timely in the context in which we find ourselves. (Director, ANCEFA)

The Director of the Kenya Adult Learners Association (KAEA) pursued a similar line of logic, arguing that before EFA goals were pronounced, KAFA still focused on components of education for all with an emphasis on adult education. He observed that it was only the MDGs that seemed to have brought in a new goal of reducing infant mortality, however, which was not a priority area for the KAEA. The Director, who appeared to be quite conversant with the goals of EFA and the Millennium Development agenda, was articulate when asked if any of the EFA goals were new. He replied:

> Not really. I don't see any… I don't see any [goal], which is new. I have them here. … This is why … in fact before this came, KAEA was there and it was still having the same [goals]. … There is no new … thing. The only new thing to KAEA and which was not part of what we were doing is in MDGs. That is number… number four, which was to reduce mortality rate. That was not in our objectives. That was not in our objectives in MDGs but now we are tying it up with offering materials to them, to the learners so that they can be able now to come and read for themselves and know why, how they can reduce mortality rate. (Director KAEA)

Is the goal of gender equity and equality really new?

The clearly increased level of gender awareness was evident in many of the responses, whereby references to the goal on gender equity and equality continually emerged. The female university professor observed that while the gender goals may not have been necessarily new, it was the country that

had failed to mainstream gender issues into its education system over the years. This view was not in synch with that of the CEF Director, however, who was of the view that the concept of gender was being articulated in relatively new ways and understandings that seemed to ignite gender debates in relation to EFA in new and more fundamental ways. He explained:

> Basically maybe, we would say that we have had to do a lot of work in gender. Gender is not a very old concept, but we have come along to realize that it is a major contributor towards, you know, non-achievement of education goals. So basically among those new goals to us has been gender and even from an organizational perspective we have been able to borrow a lot from the gender unit in the organization. (Director CEF)

An issue of terminology, not concepts

According to the KIE, none of the EFA goals were new, although they may have been expressed differently in different contexts within and across governments in the process of domestication. The Deputy Director of Schools Programmes in KIE argued:

> when we look at and especially when you look at … the publication of education, all the way from old age, if you look at issues that are articulated, you will find that these are the issues that cut across. Every nation ascribes to them, but it is the form that may vary from one country to the other; but the basic, the substance is the same. [However], the form and the mode of delivery may vary depending on the state of the government of a country. … I wouldn't say there is anything that is any new to us as far as Education for All is concerned. These are universal phenomena, but it is the implementation of them that will vary from one country to the other. … We are expected to domesticate that and use your own context to interpret and pursue those goals with the means that we have. (Deputy Director, KIE)

These ideas are brought again as if they are new

No, no, no, it is not new. We may not have called it EFA, but after independence …, we all spoke about the need to have our people educated and in fact, education was one of the main services that the populations were crying for. In 1974, Kenyatta (the first President of Kenya) declared education… free in primary. I mean education was free as a way of trying to achieve that universal education. And we are doing it again. So actually we are interested in it. I mean we have been interested in it; it's just that these ideas are, you know, brought again as if they are new. And sometimes it's because maybe we want to have a common agenda as a global community. But, you know, there has been interest. The question is whether or not we are provided with resources for that; and whether or not we realize political commitment to get these ideas through. That's always a problem.

Assistant Minister of Education (post primary)

The view expressed by KIE found semblance in the explanations given by the Assistant Minister of Education, who was emphatic that none of the EFA goals were new to Kenya. His expressed view, as captured in Box 4-2, was that any perceived newness might be in the use of terminology—not in the concept itself.

The Director of Basic Education elaborated that even though the goals were not seen as new, they were being interpreted in new ways so as to generate educational effects and outcomes in new ways. She cited the goal of quality education, for instance, which had been in policy documents long before the Dakar PoA, and yet was being perceived and interpreted in relatively novel ways. She observed that the Government of Kenya had increased budgetary allocation to enhance quality in education, especially through the provision of textbooks and stationery, the training of teachers and education supervisors, and improvements made to the teacher-pupil ratio. She stated:

> I think we are addressing quality in the fact that we are now in the Free Primary Education programme and providing textbooks to schools. Currently we have text book-pupil ratio of 1:3

in lower primary and 1:2 in upper primary for the all subjects. The focus is to ensure 1:1 in all the subjects, in all the classes, within five years and I think we have in the budget [and] resources will be made available to do that. Other than text-books, we have also planned to do a lot of in-servicing of teach-ers so that they (teachers) can absorb the new technologies, the new techniques in training; they can improve the way they deliver the curriculum. We intend to introduce new methodolo-gies like in Northern Kenya, [where] there are new methodolo-gies like multi-grade and multi-shift, especially where we have small classrooms and teachers need probably to use or maxi-mize the use of teachers. The other one we intend to do in the quality is, improving the capacity of our quality assurance stan-dards officers, so that they can supervise our schools better; they can supervise the implementation of the curriculum bet-ter. (Director, Basic Education)

These new ways of addressing quality in education also entailed focusing on learning competencies. The Director of Education explained that the MoEST was to identify the competences (learning achievements) that chil-dren ought to receive in every class level in order to transit to the next. Reportedly, the Ministry of Education developed the learning competences to be achieved in every class with the aim of identifying the problems that children encounter in the learning process before it was too late. Thus, there would be adequate information to guide remedial classes and pro-grammes where necessary before the children transitioned from one class to the next.

6.2   Perceptions of some EFA goals as new

According to the female university professor of education, the FPE was a new EFA goal for Kenya in terms of both intent and modalities of imple-mentation. She compared this with the Free Primary Education Pro-grammes in Tanzania and Uganda, arguing that Kenya's programme imple-mentation was relatively new. This notwithstanding, there were instances where the newness of the goals were confused with the newness of funding

or implementation modalities. The SWAp and Poverty Reduction Strategies, for example, were sometimes presented as new EFA goals.

Girls' education prioritised and institutionalised

Among the respondents who identified aspects of EFA goals that they thought were new was the UNICEF Regional Educational Advisor, who revealed that her organisation had indeed considered girls' education to be a new mandate for UNICEF since the Dakar Conference of 2000. Her view was that even though some goals may not be new to government, they could be new to sectoral/organisational missions. This was the case with UNICEF and the UN Girl's Education Initiative (UNGEI), which prioritise girls' education as key to the achievement of EFA. According to the Regional Educational Advisor, UNICEF's role in the area of girls' education fell under the goal of gender equity and UPE. This presented a special responsibility that required UNICEF to embrace this goal as one of its new priority areas in programming. Girls' education in this context was perceived as a new goal for UNICEF, in collaboration with other UN agencies and national governments. The following excerpt encapsulates the Regional Educational Advisor's views regarding the newness of EFA goals for UNICEF:

> I would say those six [goals]; the one, which UNICEF was given specific responsibility for in Dakar by Kofi Annan, the secretary general (UN), was girls' education. … So, UNICEF was given the responsibility in Dakar in the year 2000 to really focus on girls' education and to work with other UN agencies, with all governments in really pushing the girls education mandate. It is linked to these partnerships for girls education, which is UNGEI -United Nations Girls Education Initiative. … Based on that special responsibility, our bi-annual development plan, which we call Medium Term Strategic Plan for 2001, … I think up to this year (2005) has a four-year development plan … In that plan, UNICEF focuses specifically on girls education and for the last four years, the focus has just been on girls education and pushing, the girls education agenda with governments and pushing it also with other UN agencies. (Regional Educational Advisor, UNICEF ESARO)

New educational policies based on EFA goals

From the foregoing, it would seem that EFA goals elicited new ways of institutionalising educational strategies. According to the Assistant Minister of Education, Kenya had been struggling to provide EFA since independence, and new modalities were being progressively developed to enhance implementation and achievement. He singled out, for example, the provision of infrastructure to support the FPE programme, and the devolution of decision-making to ensure that FPE implementation was conducted within the concept of community accountability and local ownership. He said:

> I think infrastructure is something new … because for a long, long time, provision of physical facilities was and has been the role of the parents. But because of the extent of poverty, we are saying it is the right of the communities and the children in those places where poverty is widespread for them to access education. And we don't want to penalize them for poverty and that is why we are going out of our ways to make sure that … we build classrooms; we build schools. The other new thing that we have done in education is to devolve decision-making and decentralize governance from headquarters to the field.

The Assistant Minister explained that the ministry provided money for textbooks directly to the primary schools through the FPE Programme, and expected the school management committees and the head-teachers, as well as the regular teachers, to manage the finances according to guidelines provided by the MoEST. He expounded further:

> We have provided the guidelines for the things that they [schools] need to do, but it is for the teachers and the school committee to decide the process of making sure that every classroom has basic books. … In the past, head-teachers would collect fees from parents, and nobody would know exactly what was happening, and therefore schools will go on without a proper financial base. But I think now we have empowered the committees, to be responsible for the funds … So, that is new,

and we thought that is a big plus as far as accountability and governance [are] concerned. (Assistant Minister of Education, post primary)

7 Influencing Policy and Decision Making

The idea of whether or not organisations perceive themselves as having influenced government policy and decision-making elicited both positive and negative responses. While many of the interviewees were of the view that they had influenced decision-making within the education sector, some of them were not able to give concrete examples of the areas of perceived influence.

7.1 Influencing education policy

Within the framework of UPE, the KAACR felt that it played a crucial role in influencing the formulation of the relevant policies in the implementation of the Kenya Free Primary Education Programme. For example, the Director of KAACR observed that by being appointed to sit on the key commissions that deliberated on FPE, the organisation was able to offer an alternative voice in pursuing EFA through FPE as the right of every child rather than a privilege. The Director explained how KAARC exerted this kind of influence:

> We have … worked quite a lot in looking at the non-formal education and also looking at the policy of Free Primary Education as it is now. So we have had a number of opportunities to sit in different commissions that have been set and present [our] views as an alternative voice to advance education of girls and boys in this country. And like I said, as an organization we treat education as a human right. It is no longer a need where you go begging, that you have to do this; please if you don't mind. It is not charity, it is the responsibility of parents, and where parents cannot manage the state has an obligation, so

we are saying the state has an obligation to fulfil education as a human right to every Kenyan right. (Director KAACR)

Using research to influence policy

The Director of Concern Worldwide (CWw) was of the view that the government also tended to influence organisational policy and decision-making, and vice-versa. He claimed that by working in close conjunction with the Elimu Yetu Coalition, which he perceived to be quite influential in educational matters, his organisation was able to participate in influencing government policy-making. According to his view, influencing policy and decision-making needed to be worked out from the grassroots experiences that bore realistic lessons. Accordingly, his organisation aimed at influencing decision-making at local levels, and eventually at national levels. He cited partnership with the local District Education Office, through which research on basic education was conducted among marginalized communities. He explained:

> … This year we did a big study on marginalized children in Suba [to find out] what are the factors that affect children and bring about marginalization. … So we hope to publish that and to make recommendations out of it. Hopefully that would get to the point of not only influencing national policy [but also] at the district level where we are already influencing policy. We are working with, the DEO as one of our partners there. … The whole analysis of what's happening in education in Suba, the analysis of the programme; they are part of that analysis team, so that we are finding that the district education planning is becoming more responsive to the needs. Definitely at the district level we are already having an impact in affecting policy, decision-making, and resource allocation and a higher profile for out of school children. … We would hope in future to be able to influence policy at the national level. (Director, Concern Worldwide)

Gender issues and girls' education policies

Issues of gender equality emerged as central to institutional mandates.

According to the Director of KAACR, his organisation played a critical role in the formulation of gender policy in Kenya, and the eventual constitution of the Gender Commission by the government in 2004. The policy supporting readmission of adolescent mothers into the education system is another area where KAACR felt it played a role in policy and decision-making. The views from KAACR on this matter are captured below:

> … Let me say that KAARC as an organization has played a critical role; first of all in the formulation of gender policy, and finally the Gender Commission [of Kenya]. But I will focus majorly on gender and for the girl child, which brought out policy on the girls [and] the readmission of girls who conceive while in school. … The girl might have made a mistake, but I should not punish her forever because she conceived at one time. We should be able to give her an opportunity to go back to school [and] that has been an effort that KAARC worked to make sure that those girls are readmitted. (Director KAACR)

The director of KAACR did not underplay the difficulties involved in ensuring that education policies related to gender issues were implemented. He recalled the many occasions when the organisation had to intervene when schools rejected adolescent mothers who sought re-admission. This bias against the schooling of adolescent mothers was apparently based upon dominant arguments that schools were meant for girls, not mothers. There was hardly a single voice, however, arguing for responsible fatherhood in terms of taking responsibility for the costs of lost opportunities for adolescent mothers and their new responsibilities of motherhood. It is in this context that the Director of KAACR explained the organization's role in ensuring that the school re-entry policy for adolescent mothers was made functional:

> I know schools where the heads of schools refused [to readmit adolescent mothers], but we would still work around and see how we … work with the Ministry of Education to ensure that if such a girl sought admission, even if not in the same schools,

they are readmitted in other school and they can continue with
their education. (Director, KAACR)

Linking policies across borders

The UNHCR Community Development Officer (CDO) explained new organ-
isational EFA strategies that focused beyond the formal classroom to
include a curriculum for repatriation. In this respect, for example, the
UNHCR articulated a new goal of training teachers who would help in con-
tinued implementation of EFA back in the Sudan. The Community Educa-
tion Officer (CEO) for UNHCR conceded that the teacher capacity for repa-
triates was inadequate in terms of sustaining momentum toward education
for all children in Sudan. This necessitated consistent consultations with
ministries of education in both Kenya and Sudan, so as to develop a con-
sensus about investing in teacher capacity as the best way forward in min-
imising educational wastage and ensuring a blend between the Kenyan
refugee experience and Sudanese expectations. Thus, an influence on the
curriculum policy for teacher training in the refugee camps was inevitable.
The CEO explained his perception of this policy as follows:

> … What we have agreed is that, we need to kind of create a
> safety belt by training more teachers in Kenya using a modified
> curriculum that blends the Kenyan and the Southern Sudan
> proposed curriculum. And then with this, we are focusing on
> training all the teachers in Kakuma refugee camp to make sure
> that they are ready to go back to Sudan as trained teachers, but
> with the specific needs of Southern Sudan. And that is one of
> the new perspectives in that, we are looking at creating a
> resource; a safety belt that would support children upon
> return, so that even when they leave the Kenyan school, they
> are not going to drop off when they cross the border and then
> have no continuity, because repatriation will surely come one
> day. But we want to ensure that even as there is this transition,
> the children do not feel left out but they continue across the
> border and continue schooling. (CDO, UNHCR)

Special education curriculum and EFA

In order to enhance inclusive education in the pursuance of EFA goals, the Director of the Kenya Society for Deaf Children (KSDC) described the organization's role in influencing the development of a curriculum that is responsive to children with hearing impairments. The Director praised the Kenyan government for including the society in every major education forum where decisions were made, and where the society was able to make an impact. Some of the forums that the society participated in included curriculum meetings at the Kenya Institute of Education (KIE) and the Kenya Institute of Special Education (KISE). The Director explained in a relatively modest way how his organization made a contribution in the area of special education, and quipped about the self-praise he was making:

> We can't say—of course—that is for somebody else to evaluate. [However], you can say that we were focused on ensuring that the quality of education in Kenya, particularly for the disabled and the HI (Hearing Impaired) in particular. … We were lucky that the Government; the Ministry of Education recognizes the society as a major player in this area and we are included almost in every forum where education decisions are made. For example, if you talk about curriculum development, I am a member at KIE special education course panel and when we wanted to make sure that the deaf have their language taught; Kenyan sign language taught; we lobbied the stakeholders. (Director KSDC)

The Director of the KSDC observed that the society was represented in workshops when the KISE curriculum and the Special Education Ministry policies were being developed. He also noted that the KSDC was represented in the board that finalised curriculum decisions. Consequently, being able to participate in every phase of decision and policy-making activities placed the society in good stead for making favourable influences in the formulations of relevant policies. He narrated thus:

> I was personally invited to go back and push the cases so, …

> when there was need for change, the society again is represent-
> ed in the KISE council. I sit on the KISE council and so we are
> able to do that [influence decisions]. … I was personally there
> in the syndicate that was formulating what was supposed to be
> appearing in Special Education curriculum. Now, there is a task
> force on special Education. The society was represented. What
> I can say is we have influenced policy because of representa-
> tion. (Director of the KSDC)

7.2   Difficulties influencing government policy and decision-making

In many instances, the interviewees described various difficulties that they
experienced in trying to influence government policy and decision-making
with regard to education. For some organisations, it was clear that they did
not perceive the idea of influencing policy as being part of their priorities or
immediate mandate. Few of the organisations claimed that since they are
relatively new, it is too soon to evaluate how much their activities may have
influenced government policy. Other organisations blamed presumed hostil-
ity from government toward incorporating ideas from CSOs into the
process of policy-making. Generally, government was also described as
being slow in responding to ideas on policy issues that emanated from
CSOs.

Government attitude and bureaucracy
According to the KAACR, the current political regime in Kenya was more
open to influence from CSOs compared with the former one, which was
perceived as being suspicious of the civil society organisations. Apparently,
the government thought that CSOs did not have the government interest at
heart, and were perhaps hell-bent on destroying it. CSOs were also report-
edly perceived to have the money, but lacked ideas worth of policy consid-
eration. In addition, the fact that CSOs addressed issues of human rights
was construed as problematic to the government, which was often por-
trayed the organizations as anti-government. Therefore, because of the
apparent conflict between the government and the CSOs, ideas generated

by the latter were sometimes blocked, and the chances of alternative voice being heard were muffled. According to the Director of KAACR, however, positive changes were experienced in the new political dispensation that was perceived to be more tolerant to progressive transformations within education. The Director had the following to say in the context of this issue:

> One of the challenges, which I would say that we have faced, particularly if I look at the past regime, was the attitude the government officials had about the civil society organizations. They believed that we have money, and have nothing we were saying; that we have no entity of our own … because [we] are offering an alternative voice. … So the attitude has been that … money has been poured to finish the government. The NGOs are fighting the government. That attitude has been a very big challenge. Two, … this country is not used to talking about human rights. When you talk about human rights, … their official [position] has been that we are spoiling our children; that human rights are no longer an issue; it is not an African issue. But all along we have persisted and said what is wrong about education. If the Ministry of Education is offering education that is what we are saying is the human right of a child. So, what is it that is strange? What is it that is Western?

Other examples of how CSOs encountered difficulties in influencing government policy came from Action Aid Kenya and the Girl Child Network, who supported the view that the government was either slow or had a negative attitude toward civil society organisations. The director of Action Aid, for example, observed that even though the *modus operandi* of CSOs was at blame to some extent for the failures in influencing policy, the fact that government was resistant to voices from outside itself also contributed considerably to those failures. These claim were also corroborated, moreover, by the Girl Child Network. As a way of demonstrating the difficulties that entailed changing any *status quo* in Kenyan education, the Director of Action AID cited some tangible examples as follows:

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Some of the barriers are our own internal. By internal I mean the way we work among ourselves as civil society organizations. But then, some of the barriers have also been in the workings of the government. I mean the whole bureaucracy of the government; it's very difficult to influence change in the government. I mean it takes a lot of time. It has taken us a lot of time to have the Children's Act enacted, it has been a long process and still, as we speak, the Education Act… we are still referring to the education act of 1964 for something. … There are still not sufficient things for example in terms of budgetary process; it's still a government process. It's still exclusive in terms of what say, the people can have or what the civil society organizations can have and even influencing changes that are even more favourable to education, for example. (Director, Action AID)

Government influencing organisational policies

Interestingly, some of the organisations claimed that instead of influencing government policy, it was government that seemed to influence their organisational policies. The Community Development Officer (CDO) of UNHCR, as well as the Regional Educational Advisor of UNICEF, expounded this view explicitly. With regard to the UNHCR, the schools in the refugee camps used the Kenyan school curriculum adopted by the UNHCR. This notwithstanding, however, it was pointed out that although UNHCR had injected aspects of gender issues and peace education into the curriculum for both teachers and refugee students, this did not amount to influencing education policy in Kenya. Rather, the UNHCR policy on education had to accommodate the Kenyan policies on education. The UNHCR CDO explained the *status quo* as being dictated by the fact that the UNHCR does not have specific education programmes. He proceeded to say:

Our needs are dictated by the needs of the refugees, and the legislation in the country that they are hosted. So when we are looking at the curriculum we have borrowed the Kenya curriculum to suit the refugee needs, so mainly we have borrowed more from the Kenya curriculum, but our influence can only be

felt in the areas of our operation where we have given an opportunity to the local community to mingle with the refugees. We have added value into the Kenyan curriculum in our areas of implementation by co-opting other subjects like gender training, peace education. These are things that are not common in the Kenya curriculum. … We've made an effort to make sure that our teachers are trained in that area and some of these are Kenyan teachers. So our contribution is that in these areas, which are like a drop of ink in the ocean, then they would have positive effect on the people they encounter or get in touch with. But talking of influencing the education policies in Kenya, I can say that this has not been done to such extend because our focus is refugees.

The Regional Educational Advisor of UNICEF ESARO quipped that a question regarding organisational influence on government policy would be better placed if it were directed to the government, which was perhaps best suited to make appraisals. However, she clearly supported the view that it was government that seemed to influence the policies of organisations rather than the other way around.

Traditionally, it seemed that UNICEF might not have focused seriously on how it influenced government policy, but rather on its programming activities at community levels. In this context, the Regional Educational Advisor expressed the need for her organisation to shift away from being perceived as that of a big NGO, and toward its rightful image of a United Nations agency that was potentially capable of influencing government policy on important issues concerning children programme support—a key strategy in the relatively new SWAp. In addition, UNICEF hoped to influence girls' education more through the United Nations Girls' Education Initiative (UNGEI). Further, she argued that by pooling money alongside that of large organisations like DfID and the World Bank, UNICEF would be in a position to jointly influence policies on the up-scaling of girls' education, which was its top organisational priority. The Regional Educational Advisor hastened to add, however, that UNICEF would still continue to support grass-

roots programmes in response to its Medium Term Plan of 2006.

The idea of organisations influencing government policy was perceived as a challenge. This was particularly the case in the framework of SWAp, which tended to downplay individual organisational identity in terms of funding support.

8   Programme Funding

This section addresses issues of programme funding from the perspective of government, donor partners and civil society organisation (CSOs). Of importance is the link between programme financing, emergent funding modalities and the influence (real or potential) that such modalities tend to have on the ways in which organisations and institutions conduct their business in education. Notably, the Ministry of Education and donor participants—as well as the CSOs—had much to share in this regard.

8.1   MoEST perception on programme funding

Support for physical infrastructure and teaching-learning materials
Instructively, the MoEST identified the World Bank, DfID and UNICEF as the major funding players of its programmes. In addition, CIDA, OPEC, and WFP offered considerable support to the education sector in the running of specific programmes. Further, the Africa Development Bank, according to the Assistant Minister of Education (post primary), was scheduled to join other development partners in supporting education programmes in the country.

According to MoEST participants, the programmes that attracted high priority in donor support included those that dealt with infrastructure, textbooks and other learning materials, as well as girls' education and school feeding. In particular, school feeding programmes were perceived as critical not only in attracting children to schools, but also for retention and

improving participation through the enhancement of student health. Both the Director of Basic Education and the Senior Deputy Director in charge of non-formal Education observed that activities relating to the improved quality of basic education, as well as the achievement of EFA goals and gender issues, tended to attract considerable financial support. For example, the World Bank was one of the strongest sponsors of activities under the FPE programme. The Assistant Minister of Education summed up these observations by saying:

> Textbooks [are] mainly [where] we have a lot of World Bank and DFID for primary school textbooks. UNICEF is supporting the construction of low cost classrooms in North Eastern Kenya and other places, as well as of course providing materials and supporting the girl child education very strongly. The World Bank is supporting programmes of ASAL; arid and semi-arid areas. OPEC is also supporting that, [and] the construction of primary schools in disadvantaged communities. So, some of the examples of donors that are very strongly involved such as the Development Bank are also coming in very soon to support other programmes but they'll mainly be youth [related] via youth polytechnics and secondary education. But DFID, World Bank, UNICEF [and] the Canadians; these are organizations that have been very, very strong, in supporting primary education. Yes, both in terms of providing resources to purchase the material, [and] also for training and the World Food Programmes, of course — with the school-feeding programme. (Education Assistant Minister, Post Primary)

Teacher quality

In addition to infrastructure and teaching-learning materials, the improvement of teacher quality was a key area that attracted donor support as a factor contributing to the achievement of EFA goals. According to the Director of Basic Education at MoEST, donor funding was relatively strong specifically for the in-servicing of teachers, where substantial funds were earmarked from DFID for the improvement of teacher development activities. This clearly underscored the idea that teacher quality had a direct

impact on the quality of teaching and learning for children and young people, and that investment in this area would enhance and hasten the achievement of EFA goals. The Director of Basic Education cautioned, however, regarding the imminent dangers emanating from over-stressing the teacher education programmes in ways that would revert the country back to the traditional pitfalls whereby most of the education budget was often allocated to teacher development costs and remuneration. This concern seems to make sense in the light of contemporary questions raised with regard to whether it makes more economic sense to shorten the lengthy institutional training of teachers, and perhaps spend more resources on in-service training. It is argued that such a strategy would allow teachers to learn more on the job through what is referred to as hands-on training in real school situations, as they concurrently offered the much needed services (Japan Education Forum III, February, 2006, conference presentations).

Educational Innovations: mobile schools and non-science curriculum

With support from donor partners, the Ministry of Education Science and Technology has been directing resources to marginalized communities such as the urban poor, and the pastoralists who need to access education through types of schooling that are culture-responsive and community-friendly. Accordingly, the Ministry of Education designed an investment programme for nomadic communities aimed at ensuring that all of the children in question acquired knowledge and basic skills, even as they travelled around with their parents in search of pasture. This was realised through a novel programme on mobile schooling that facilitated the use of camels to allow schools to follow the children in their ever-mobile lifestyle. Details of how the mobile school project functions are captured in the words of the Director of Basic Education in Box 4-3. For the mobile school project the Ministry targeted ten ASAL districts, including Ijara, Garissa, Mandera, Wajir, Marsabit Moyale, Turkana and some bits of Kwale. In each district, the Ministry aimed at establishing at least ten mobile units, resulting in a total of 100 units. The schools were reportedly proving quite popular and effective in attracting children who had previously not been attending school because of poor accessibility. Based on the fact that the nature of

Mobile School Project

These (mobile) units will comprise at least a teacher or two, learning materials, a mode of transport if it is a camel, if it is a donkey; we are also providing water, and lighting. So each education kit, will, will amount to 300,000 shillings, which we have already factored into the budget. We have also done some piloting. In Wajir already we have seven mobile schools. I have already visited two of them myself personally. I have been with the children, I have been with the parents and it's a very exiting program.

Director of Basic Education (MoEST)

nomadic pastoralist life works against the traditional stationary school, the mobile school was perceived as a creative strategy through which the Kenyan government provided alternative means of accelerating and achieving education for all children.

In extending education to marginalized and deprived children, the relatively new MoEST investment programme designed a non-science curriculum that would target secondary schools in the ASAL districts, as well as those in non-formal educational settings. Thus, children in such schools would be able to learn and confidently sit for national examinations, even minus the science laboratories that are relatively expensive to establish and maintain. The Director of Basic Education at MOEST observed that all pupils in secondary schools were currently expected to do pure sciences, which tended to disadvantage schools in the informal settlements and in the ASAL. Hence, the development of a non-science curriculum would ensure that all children, irrespective of their socio-cultural and economic settings, could attend secondary schools without being deterred by a lack of science laboratories.

8.2   Donor perceptions and programme funding

Views from the UNICEF ESARO, Concern Worldwide, Reach the Children, Commonwealth Education Fund, and World Bank revealed that the SWAp

Box 4-4

We help in a small way

… we buy text books for the orphans; we do uniforms also for orphans. Sometimes we come across orphans in a particular community particularly in rural areas who, maybe (a child), is about to sit for their KCPE examinations. These are bright children but they are having trouble like studying. So we try to see how we can help in a small way sometimes we buy like lanterns for these kids.

Director, Reach the Children

funding modalities of educational programmes was gradually responding to the MoEST strategies—particularly in the area of textbooks, infrastructure and other selected programmes/projects. In addition, another area of funding priorities was support for needy children in pursuing education. As captured in a section of the interview in Box 4-4, for example, the Director of Reach the Children explained how his organisation funded children from poverty-stricken households—thereby enabling them to attain an education. A founding member of Mothers Rural Care of Orphans also claimed that due to the organisational savings, it was often possible to meet specified school costs for children at any level of their schooling from nursery to secondary school. She noted that although primary school education was free, certain required expenses such as school uniforms, shoes and books tended to keep children from attending school.

According to the World Bank Education Consultant, the Bank's funding priority for Kenya was the FPE programme that was introduced in 2003. The Bank's Education Consultant described the funding of its six-year-old ECD programme, which had eventually been diversified in order to respond to the country's FPE through the Education Sector Support Programme (KESSP). Teacher capacity development and research were among the key priority areas of support for the Commonwealth Education Fund (CEF) Fund, which worked with the government on policy matters, budget implementation and tracking the effectiveness of programme performance.

UNICEF provided a relatively elaborate picture of the programmes that

were in its funding priority. According to the UNICEF ESARO Regional Educational Advisor, the organisation tended to focus on funding projects and programmes related to girls' education. Another area of focus was HIV/AIDS education as a means of prevention, care and protection of both uninfected and infected persons (children and teachers). This involved the teaching of life skills to children at basic education levels. It also included support for different countries to develop national life skills frameworks aimed at better coordination of the capacity development programmes. This was particularly geared toward prevention of HIV/AIDS, within the broader context of the gender and sexuality issues that tended to negatively influence trends in girls' education.

The broader issues of child protection and HIV/AIDS are so interdependent that it was difficult to talk about one and not the other. Particularly, the issue of orphans and other vulnerable children (OVC) was described as a major priority for UNICEF by its ESAR Educational Advisor. Also of central concern was the issue of violence against children, particularly in schools and educational settings—an issue that prompted UN Secretary General Kofi Annan to commission a global study in 2005-6 on violence against children in settings including school, the community, and care centres. As part of this study, UNICEF ESARO commissioned an inquiry into the issue of violence against children in schools and educational settings. The UNICEF advisor noted that this was a crucial priority area, as evidence from research in the region had shown that violence against girls—particularly sexual violence such as rape and sexual pressure from older men—had resulted in some girls getting infected with HIV, and others leaving school because they felt physically and emotionally threatened while in school or en route between school and home. Clearly, violence is intricately linked to issues that affect the achievement of EFA—thus justifying the funding priority for UNICEF.

Another key area of funding for UNICEF is girls' education, as well as related research in the context of gender and sexuality as they relate to HIV and AIDS. Within this priority area, education researchers are encouraged to document good practices in education for helping to combating violence

and HIV/AIDS in ways that could be shared, replicated and scaled up within and across countries. The Educational Advisor underscored UNICEF support for baseline studies that form the basis of designing projects, and offer guidelines for monitoring project progress. She argued that without baseline data, and in the absence of evidence-based information, it would be difficult to know the *status quo* at the start of a project—thereby jeopardising meaningful comparisons that help determine project impacts and outcomes. UNICEF also supported operational research and programme evaluations based on this understanding.

Partnerships are critical to UNICEF in terms of its decision on which programmes are to be funded. Such partnerships include not just the national governments and other donor partners, but also the children who are the real beneficiaries of educational enterprise. An example of partnering with children was cited in the Girls Education Movement (GEM), which UNICEF launched in 2001 and which is reportedly functional in several countries of the ESAR. Since the children do not own material resources, they contribute their time and skills in ensuring that the programme thrives.

In GEM, the girls and boys intervene on behalf of other children who are out of school by talking to their parents and/or suggesting guidelines to enrol the children in the school. The programme educates the children on how to empathise and contribute to their own families, their school and society in various ways—not the least of which is via different types of income-generating activities. The GEM members also act as role models to other children, and explicitly practise harmonious gender relations by working with boys as allies in enhancing gender equality in education. In addition, the school provides a space for GEM members to address pertinent issues such as sexual abuse, conflict resolution, early marriage and academic improvement of girls' performances in traditionally defined male subjects such as maths, science and technology. Despite its slow start in Kenya, GEM was portrayed as a success story that was bound to contribute positively to the achievement of the EFA goals, which was also the case in countries such as Uganda, Zambia and Tanzania.

9   Programme Funding Modalities

The question on funding modalities invited responses that covered diverse issues related to the actual processes of soliciting and allocating funds to particular programmes. The interviews revealed that many of the respondents may not have been conversant with the concept of funding modalities, however, and hence appeared to talk more about their sources of funding rather than the actual processes involved in allocating the funds to particular projects or programmes. In such instances, researchers found it prudent not to pester the interviewees in ways that would embarrass them. Nonetheless, in the few interviews with donor participants, the interviewees praised what they deemed as effective funding modalities that promoted partnerships and institutional self-reliance.

9.1   Self-reliance and modes of fundraising

About one-third of all respondents presented narratives of funding modalities within their sectors of operation. The major mode of funding was organised either from within the organisation or from external fundraising, as was explained by the ANCEFA, Concern Worldwide and KSDC. According to the Capacity Building Coordinator of ANCEFA, in addition to internal funding from member subscriptions, external funds came from benefactors such as UNESCO, CEF, DFID, the Dutch Government, and Oxfam in the United Kingdom. The procedures, particularly for UNESCO, involved the development of proposals for specific programmes that were then submitted for consideration. Much of the UNESCO funds were used to support research and other activities aimed at facilitating partnerships with the Ministry of Education, and working with parliamentarians who had clear intentions of influencing policy and decision-making. The coordinator explained:

> ... First we rely on members' subscription. But which is not much because members only pay I think three hundred dollars a year. If you look at thirty members, that is not much to run a regional organization. So we have resorted to fundraising from

outside the network, … attracting support from international agencies that are supporting education. … For capacity building work, we've also got support from UNESCO, for some particular policy based programmes… like whenever we have what we call Forum For African Ministers of Education …MINEDAF, then we get support from UNESCO to mobilize [action] work with the ministers.

The ANCEFA emerged as one of the few CSOs that worked with teacher unions to generate funds towards the improvement of education from the teachers' perspectives. The Director further explained how activity-specific funds were generated via support of international donor organisations such as the Netherlands.

The Director of the Kenya Society for Deaf Children (KSDC) was quick to point out that self-support was the main funding modality for the organisation. He argued that it was prudent to raise funds from within the organisation before moving out to solicit funds elsewhere, and he also stressed the idea of self-help as the best way to begin a funding process. Using actual examples, the director explained:

> It's unfortunate because I thought you were going to ask what support we get from within so that we tell the outside people that this is what we are able to do for ourselves and this is the gap that you can fill. … If it is a project of 10 million coming to KSDC, their government will tell them that this is 10 percent of that [which] will be 1 million. Their role will be for example to go and organizing walks and to raise 1 million. Once [we] raise the 1 million the government will give you the other 9 million so long as you are within the EFA goals, for example. (Director, KSDC)

Partnerships with the corporate world were also increasing, not just in terms of funding, but also in prioritising programme areas in the new funding modalities. This procedure underscores the new thinking with regard to

diversifying funding strategies, and the reality that funding could not be confined to government departments in isolation. This way, the corporate world is able to work more closely with civil society organizations, and support their commitment to advance education. The CSOs, including the KSDC, were required to show their activity plans by indicating where they were coming from and where they planned to go. They also needed to show the aspects of their work that were government-funded. The Director of KSDC acknowledged this kind of support, saying:

> .. we are happy that now corperate social responsibility is coming in, Mobil oil, Barclays Banks, Celtel, Safaricom; they are coming in. They have not given us money directly but Mobil Oil for example, has been setting aside 4.6 million for the disability areas. (Director, KSDC)

Organisational newsletters also formed part of the funding modalities for some of the CSOs, as was explained by the director of KAEA. He observed that even with external funding coming from organisations who had specific areas of support priorities—such as CARE Kenya, the African Literacy Group and Fair League—KAEA members contributed to the fund pool through newsletter and journal subscriptions. This approach increased the financial base, which was apparently impressive to funding partners including the Kenyan Government. The director explained how this modality functioned as follows:

> … Since KAEA came into being, we have so many supporters … we call them partners. We don't call them donors. For example, the KAEA Newsletter and KAEA Journal … we have people who have supported us and DVV (German Organisation) … So these are the people who have been assisting us in that work. CARE Kenya has also been a partner. On capacity building, that one has been through CARE Kenya. … On advocacy, we have been assisted by… Fair League; we have been assisted by African Literacy Group. There are groups, which have assisted KAEA since, … but the group, which has assisted

KAEA all through, is DVV, Germany; it is a German group.

Civil society organisations (SCOs) and funding partners

There were instances when CSOs were cited as the major sources of funding. The UNHCR, for example, as a United Nations organisation dealing with externally displaced persons, attracts a substantial amount of funding. According to the Community Development Officer, these funding sources comprise a host of CSOs and donor agencies that participate in generating funds in order to support activities aimed at alleviating the conditions facing refugees. Some of the donors were identified as the International Rescue Committee, Lutheran World Federation, Jesuit Refugee Services, National Council of Churches of Kenya (NCCK), UNDP, UNFPA, GTZ, Randicap International, World Food Programme, and UNICEF—which all help develop common objectives in educational and health programmes for children and young people. For refugee-related activities, mainly in the area of reproductive health, education and life skills, the different funding organisations and agencies were required to manage their funds collectively. Reportedly, however, the WFP provided no cash—but instead gave only food for consumption within refugee camps.

9.2   Partnerships with national governments

In an un-recorded interview, an education consultant with World Bank indicated that the FPE had, to some extent, influenced the Bank's funding priorities. This resulted in an increased grant in 2005 that was higher than the traditional loan of US$ 50 million, as well as chances of continued support.

UNICEF observed that because its partner was usually the state government, it was important that any funding modalities include close negotiations between the two parties. This way, UNICEF would be able to design what it called 'thematic funding' in areas such as girls' education, HIV/AIDS, life skills, child protection, and so on. In such partnerships, UNICEF was able to write proposals within selected themes and raise funds from Western government agencies such as the Norwegian Development Agency, the Swedish and Dutch governments JICA (Japan), and others. After receiving

the money at its headquarters in New York, countries requiring funding (including Kenya) would be invited to write proposals within a specific funding theme that outlined the objectives, purpose, type of activities, indicators and budget. The regional office appraised these proposals, ranked them, and recommended financial allocation to specific countries. After this, UNICEF used the successful proposal as a guide in monitoring the funded programmes and projects. The Regional Educational Advisor explains in this regard:

> Since each country has its own proposal for girls' education, what we then do is we use that proposal to help to monitor the girls' education programme in that country. And we monitor what is going on with girls' education once a year through what we call education network agencies, where we bring all these countries together, so that we see what is happening and then of course we also go and visit these countries, and find out what is happening on the ground.

Another funding modality for UNICEF was described as the NATCOM (National Committee) approach. This funding was not generated at UNICEF headquarters, but through efforts at the ESAR office via a project named *Schools for Africa* that comprised the six selected countries of Kenya, Uganda, Eritrea, Tanzania, Zambia, and Malawi. The Regional Educational Advisor for UNICEF apparently initiated this programme, which eventually attracted funding from Germany and other National Committees that raised funds for UNICEF in Europe, America, Canada, and Japan, among others. The funds were directed to the support of child-friendly schools in the six selected countries. According to UNICEF, other countries including Switzerland and Italy also gradually joined the programme (See Box 4-5). In order to benefit, countries were required to adhere to proposal-writing guidelines provided by UNICEF. The regional office was then responsible for monitoring the programmes in the schools that were funded.

Box 4-5

We fundraise for our projects

Last year, we as a regional office through the regional director, started these schools for Africa. The money has been raised by the regional office and the Germans; but also the Swiss have now joined, the Italians are joining. This is another, example of how some of these projects at country level, we raise funds for.

Regional Educational Advisor (UNICEF ESARO)

9.3   The Sector Wide Approach (SWAp)

While only a relative few of the 24 respondents made reference to the SWAp as a programme funding modality, the comparatively explicit exposé of how the SWAp functioned in the Ministry—and how this fit within the Ministry's mission as expressed in the KESSP—was noteworthy. Among the donor partners, UNICEF ESARO was also quite explicit about its operations within the SWAp, as was the Director of the Girl Child Network.

Perceptions of SWAp as a funding modality

According to the Senior Deputy Director of Education (SDDE) in charge of NFE, the SWAp was the logical way of resolving some of the funding problems that the MoEST had experienced in the past while dealing with different donor partners who seemed to conflict with each other in terms of programme funding methods. The SDDE observed, however, that the fact that the government had embraced the SWAp helped bring together planning partners in the education sector, as well as development financing partners, in ways that were conducive to the success of the Kenya Education Sector Support Program (KESSP). In this context, the SDDE observed that the MoEST organised its EFA priorities, which were then presented to its funding partners. Based on this observation, the MoEST persuaded its partners to pool resources that would be earmarked for education development. The Senior Deputy Director of Education underscored the value of pooling the finances, even as some of the partners chose to retain some of their money for specific project activities. The SDDE gave examples of how the SWAp

funding was meant to function for the MoEST, commenting as follows:

> Currently we have 23 investment programmes in the Ministry and all these are funded from a common pool. Some donors have said, 'we shall retain some small percentage for ourselves so that we can, maybe, come in when there are issues like disasters'. For example …, UNICEF has said that they are going to give about 50 percent of their resources; the rest they will keep … USAID have also said that they want to use their money in their own way but with ministries concurrence. But ideally, the way forward now is pooling all the resources together; getting money from ADB, getting money from the taxpayer, getting money from World Bank, getting money from OPEC, and from all the others —put in a pool and since already we have the investment programmes, we know secondary education program will require this amount of money, teacher education will require this amount of money, the other programmes will require this amount of money. Then the money now can be disbursed from that common pool. (SDDE, Non-formal Education)

The Director of Basic Education at MOEST concurred with her colleagues, presenting the SWAp as a new government policy that was meant to coordinate donor partners. She observed that the genesis of the SWAp was driven by a need to respond to traditional practices whereby donors would decide on their particular focus in education, and proceed to fund the same without due reference to government programme priorities. The Director expressed satisfaction with the SWAp, arguing that it had the potential to enhance donor collaboration in unprecedented ways. The gist of her views is captured in the excerpt below.

> The donors are not having a field like they used to have; I think we have coordinated them in a better way so that we also avoid duplication, so that we avoid doing programmes that have been done before. (Director, Basic Education)

According to the Director, the Ministry responded to the EFA challenges by inviting all Kenyan stakeholders to a national conference, where they could address their concerns for education and participate in developing ideas on how to redress the perceived challenges. The outcomes of this conference are contained in Sessional Paper Number 1 of 2005, which gave rise to the Kenya Education Sector Support Programme (KESSP). Following the formulation of SWAp and KESSP, some of the donors reportedly started to respond by putting their money into the pool that combined with government capitation. This arrangement enabled the Ministry to solely disburse the monies (from both the donors and government) to support programmes of its choice, including early childhood, primary education, non-formal education, and even secondary education. This was in the form of bursaries and infrastructure, as well as teaching and learning materials (TLMs). Box 4-6 captures the essence of the Director's views as she shared some details regarding the benefits of the SWAp for the Ministry.

The views from the Assistant Minister of Education (post primary) regarding the functions of SWAp as a modality for financial partnerships converged with those of his colleagues. He described the SWAp as key in helping to respond to educational issues, both holistically and systematically.

Box 4-6

We call it Sector Wide Approach to Planning.

What we have done in the past two, three years, is to develop what we are calling a Sector Wide Approach to Planning, where we started with a national conference in education. Kenyans and stakeholders of all walks of life came and made major recommendations of what they want in all the programmes. And what we did is to prioritise or to take those priorities and make them into a sessional paper, which was debated in parliament and was agreed on and those formed the priorities for anybody, whether it is the government, or donors … So the donors as they come now, they have to follow the priorities that are already made by the ministry of education and other stakeholders as partnership. And those are contained in our KESSP document, because KESSP is the implementation of the sessional paper.

Director, Basic Education (MoEST)

According to him, this was a progressive idea despite the apprehensions that it created regarding donors' willingness to sustain their support of programmes identified by the Ministry as opposed to their own self-engineered programmes. He said:

> You know the idea of sector-wide approach is to see education in a total context … The problem really is whether, or not, you can get these donors once you have agreed; this is the comprehensive plan. Are donors willing to put in their money in the basket and … support whatever programmes that we agree on as a Ministry. So, sector-wide approach is just to look at issues comprehensively over a long period of time. It's a good idea, but it's all a good idea if we all agree that we must sit down, agree on programmes, put resources together and begin to address those problems from the resources that are available in one place as a ministry, as opposed to resources coming from different donors identifying what they like. (Assistant Minister of Education, Post-primary)

The UNICEF ESARO Regional Educational Advisor could not agree more with her MoEST partners as she explained the challenge for her organisation to adjust to the new funding modality outlined in the SWAp. She observed that SWAp was relatively new in Kenya, and she also revealed that it had only been a couple of months earlier that UNICEF had put its money into the Sector Development Plan, with the clear understanding that it would be allocated to the Girls' Education Programme as a priority area for EFA through both UNICEF and the Kenyan Government. By being specific about its funding preference, UNICEF would be in a position to know the kind of concrete government priority to which it was contributing. The Educational Advisor's explanations confirmed the apprehension expressed by some of the key interviewees in the Ministry of Education. This was particularly so for the Assistant Minister, whose thoughts were as follows:

> Our idea is that that money is going to focus on the UNGEI (UN Girls Education Initiative) activities. We thought that if we put

our money there; that the money is not just DFID money, World Bank money, it would give us a place at the table upstream. So … I think that is good. But at the same time, it doesn't mean all the money for education from UNICEF is going to be going into the basket. We also still want to have some money in projects. So that is a challenge, which we really have to keep working at, especially during this new Medium Term Plan, which starts in 2006. … In that plan, the theme for education is basic education and gender equality, which means that we can still push the girls education issues, by looking more at equality issues because we are thinking of 2015. (Regional Educational Advisor, UNICEF ESARO)

Among the CSOs, the Girl Child Network (GCN) was of the view that in the context of the SWAp, there was a need to streamline the implementation of programmes and projects that the government put in place. The Senior Programme Officer GCN was explicitly critical of the government tendency toward what he described as the production of 'well-documented' or 'well-researched documents' whose implementation proved difficult in at the practical level. He claimed that the ministry tended to get bogged down in the process of prioritising the allocation of resources, whereby the already developed areas continued to get more funding than those that were developed less. In fact, it was difficult to ascertain through the interviews whether or not this claim had merit. Based on these expressed reasons, however, the Senior Programme Officer of GCN felt that the SWAp ideals were impractical on the ground—mainly because the funds may never benefit those activities that were the most needy. Clearly, while his doubts echoed those of the Assistant Minister, the reasons offered were undoubtedly at variance.

10 Funding Modalities Influencing Institutional Operations

For many respondents—particularly those who did not have much to say

regarding the funding modalities in their organisations—the question of whether or not funding modalities resulted in institutional operating changes did not seem relevant. One respondent claimed that new funding modalities did not necessarily influence operational changes in the organisation. S/he argued that 'a beggar remains a beggar', thus implying that the apparent changes would be superficial and of no essence or consequence if governments did not endeavour to become self-sufficient as much as possible. The respondent observed that because of the dire financial needs, some organisations were likely to become dishonest by designing temporary transformations geared toward attracting the available funding—but eventually fail to deliver expected outcomes. In addition, the director of the KAEA expressed the view that because funding partnerships involved one party giving and the other one receiving, it was unlikely that any operational changes would be substantive or long-term.

Notably, only those respondents who clearly defined how various funding modalities functioned for their programmes appeared keen to discuss the changes that were influenced by those modalities. In this context, seven of the interviewees thought that their current funding modalities influenced some changes in their operations. These changes include improved processes of designing and implementing programmes, as well as the engagement of experts to guide the process of critically analysing programme progress and monitoring the effects. Secondly, some of the interviewees said that the new funding modalities required them to revise the ways in which they managed their finances. Thirdly, others seemed to perceive the new changes as related to new forms of relationships with their beneficiaries, particularly at the levels of organisational decision-making and programme planning. These observations notwithstanding, the GCN Senior Programme Officer was of the view that changes would vary according to the nature of projects involved.

10.1   Changes in organisational operations

As encapsulated in Box 4-7, The UNHCR Community Development Officer revealed that his organisation had adapted new modes of partnerships that

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Box 4-7

Our beneficiaries are planning partners

… We have realized that we need to consider our beneficiaries as planning part-ners, so that we do not plan for them, but we plan with them … We've implemented an initiative where we are looking at gender, age and diversity in mainstreaming our operations.. … We are looking at people at risk, vulnerable persons and all that, so that when we plan, we do not plan for them but we plan with them. … This is a process that has been adopted by many development agencies in our circles, where you have to talk to the community, talk to the beneficiaries, talk to the chil-dren and learn and understand whether they really like what you are doing, and whether it meets their needs. And then, having captured their feeling … then you can design the project to fit the needs of the community rather than sitting in the office and designing a project thinking that is what the community needs.

Community Development Officer (UNHCR)

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required all refugees—in their many diversities—to be involved in all pro-gramme activities that affected them. Within this framework, a renewed sensitivity toward social differences such as gender and age were fore-grounded in the process of organising life in the refugee camps of Kakuma and Daadab. The greatest changes were reportedly evident in the area of EFA, because many of the funding partners insisted on participatory strate-gies of working with the refugee communities. The UNHCR benefited from a sense of programme ownership because of this experience, which it attributed to the fact that all stakeholders were part and parcel of the func-tions in the refugee camp.

In the MoEST, for example, the Director of Basic Education explained that new funding modalities of the SWAp had ushered in operational transfor-mations such as the Joint Financing Agreement, where all partners needed to sign for a chosen mode of operation in terms of financing and reporting. She explained this practice as a welcome *departure* from traditional meth-ods, allowing donor partners to follow their unique ways of conducting business with the Ministry of Education. According to the Director, each donor partner had its own reporting and financing system, which became cumbersome to follow. Hence, a review and consequent development of a

new funding modality logically became necessary. The Director expounded on some of the challenges as follows:

> The Districts and the Ministry would be accounting for this donor and that donor in different ways. So we have all agreed that we are going to have one financing modality and one procurement modality. Incidentally, the procurement modality is as per Kenya Government procurement systems. So that is much easier for both of us as well as the beneficiaries because we are not going to be split amongst all the participating donors and sponsors. (Director, Basic Education)

The Assistant Minister of Education (post primary) agreed with his colleague that new funding modalities brought about positive operational changes that were geared toward greater transparency, accountability and effectiveness in funding educational programmes. He argued that the new models of funding had helped create an atmosphere of trust and goodwill between the Ministry and the donor partners, forming a positive basis of cooperation for both partners. However, he sounded apprehensive about some of the donor partners who may not wish to work conjunctively with others and who might prefer to continue supporting certain programmes outside of the SWAp framework. He urged patience in the process of developing the capacity that was required to make the systems function effectively. He explained:

> … There are still some donors who do not subscribe to that; who still have to only identify a project and support it. That will be good but of course the ministry, we also have to have the right resources of people. We have to be more accountable than we are, to be able to be trusted with that common basket and we have to have people who are much more qualified, and confident to deal with the issues that go with it. So, I would say we need a little bit more preparation, we need a little bit more training, but more importantly, we need much more capacity and goodwill from donors that are not used to working together

under one umbrella in terms of the way they support a country.
(Assistant Minister for Education, Post Primary)

In addition to discussing the new funding modalities of EFA programmes, some of the interviewees wished to discuss issues that they perceived as a pertinent link between EFA and Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). This, they argued was an important agenda in any study of EFA because the MDGs embraced two important EFA goals almost in their entirety (namely, numbers two and three). They also contended that most funding institutions focused on the MDGs because they covered a wider range of developmental issues such as education. Hence, to this group of respondents, focusing exclusively on EFA was narrow and unrealistic. The researchers respected this observation, and provided space for subjects to discuss the link between EFA and the MDGS.

11 Linking EFA with MDGs, plus Other Emergent Issues

As is expected in qualitative studies where research subjects are allowed to claim space to introduce their agendas or pertinent issues that they consider to be of interest, this study presents no exception. It was commonplace to encounter participants who introduced issues such as the MDGs, and pursed the agenda of linking these with the EFA goals. Other issues that emerged have also been analysed and incorporated in this report. Notably, many such issues have tended to lean towards the priority areas of the organisations concerned.

11.1 Linking EFA goals with the MDGs?

The decision to detach EFA goals from the MDs had been endorsed during the initial activities of designing this research in mid 2005, but was later discarded as a superfluous undertaking. This was based on the understanding that EFA goals were relatively comprehensive in addressing educational issues, as compared with the relatively broader Millennium Development

goals. During fieldwork, however, it became increasingly clear that many of the MoEST personnel and some of the donor participants—as well as some CSOs representatives—found it illogical to separate the two sets of goals. It was argued that MDGs encompassed EFA goals in ways that linked education to other developmental concerns. Because of this, and in synch with qualitative research approaches that allow modification of field process as dictated by continuous analysis of research processes, the researchers provided space for concerned parties to discuss this perceived link. For this to happen in a systematic way, the researchers designed an annexed question posed as a penultimate query that reflected this concern. Because of the late inclusion of this item, however, only one fifth of the participants were able to address the issue.

According to the Regional Educational Advisor of UNICEF ESARO, EFA needs to be located within the broader MDGs since education cannot succeed in isolation from other development agenda. She argued that children need to be healthy and free of the challenges posed by poverty and HIV/AIDS, and that they also must be able to live and learn in healthy environments. In the same timbre, the Assistant Minister of Education stated that MDGs place emphasis on universal primary education, which is crucial in the achievement of EFA. To him, the MDGs identified primary education as part of its core concern, which would contribute to one of the targets of EFA if achieved. He explained further:

> … The Millennium Development Goals, the part of education… the section dealing with education is really dealing more or less [on] universal education; you know achieving that, so in that sense they are related … It's basically looking at the same, but the main, the real important thing as far as education is concerned is that, if we can achieve that Millennium Goal that relates to Education For All, it would have much, much impact [on] the achievement of the other goals. So in many ways, I think this would be the most important goal in that it has a bearing on virtually all the other goals and for me, that is what I would consider to be the more important thing.

The Assistant Minister for Education observed that two of the MDG goals (those on UPE and gender) were fortunately already the goals of EFA. He stated that for a holistic achievement, the Ministry of Education would be obliged to participate very closely with other partners that focused on the other goals. The Ministry of Education also did not separate the goals of gender and UPE, but rather treated them as if they were part and parcel of the same goal, addressed in an integrated and comprehensive regular programme focusing on Education for All. He also underscored gender issues as key within the process of pursuing the achievement of EFA goals.

EFA and MDGs in the context of gender

The Assistant Minister underscored the concern that since the education sector focused on ensuring that all children and young people received a basic education of good quality, it was imperative to ensure that educational outcomes take the gender dimension into account. Importantly, he argued further that unless the *entire population moved together*... socially, economically, and in terms of health and education, it was difficult to achieve any of the global goals that were being pursued. He cited the goal of equality, which he also argued needed to be pursued using a multi-faceted approach that included other sectors of development such as health, environment and others as proposed in the MDGs. He explained thus:

> In terms of EFA, you know goals like ... for instance, equality. I think it is extremely important, and the reason is, part of the world has only had a section of the population working, and by work here I mean, economically viable activities, and basically this has been men. What women have done has not usually been taken into account. They have not been involved fully. And women constitute a big portion of the population... actually more than half. And, equality in these terms also means incomes...if we measure our GDP by incomes, or outputs or whichever other yardsticks. (Assistant Minister, Education)

11.2 Other relevant emergent issues

Refuges, gender and EFA

Considering that refugee education takes into account cross-border diversities, the UNHCR interviewee explained the need to pay due attention to gender and cultural issues in order accelerate the achievement of EFA in a broader perspective. Toward this end, the UNHCR found it prudent to de-gender activities such as sports that tended to attract more boys than girls to school. Girls were encouraged to not only attend school, but also to participate in the sporting activities. By underplaying the competitive nature of sports and highlighting the cooperative aspects entailed, the UNHCR managed to transform sports into a forum where girls met and shared their problems as well as enjoyed playing with each other. With the boys, they emphasised an approach that tended to enhance self-esteem and confidence.

Guidance, counselling and parenting

Another strategy used by the UNHCR was to counsel and provide guidance to girls with regard to the value of education. This approach was also used to encourage girls to attend school in groups, partly as a security measure against gender violence, as well as to provide a social and educational support system. In particular, guidance and counselling were key activities of the refugee school system, which had to deal with traumatised children and their parents or guardians (for those who were lucky enough to have them). The UNHCR also reportedly organised school activities that involved the participation of parents of refugee children as stakeholders. The empowering of children's duty-bearers played an important role in enabling both teachers and parents to effectively embark in the caring and supporting of their children.

Of importance was the view that parents needed not only to be sensitised about EFA, but also to be educated on how to participate through improving their own education and that of their children. For example, the Deputy Director of the Kenya Alliance for the Advancement of Children stressed the roles of parents—particularly in the nurturance of all children and their

role in the care and protection of children. These roles, he explained, lay not only in by providing uniforms, food and shelter; but also in being able to understand how their children learned and matured into adulthood. In addition, he stressed that parents should be empowered to promote norms and values that would help all children to adapt life values, and grow in dignity and without undue frustrations. The Director argued that the success of FPE was strongly dependent upon the involvement of parents in the management of schools. Hence, the strengthening of the PTAs and school boards needed to be redefined in order to ensure that parents and teachers were clear regarding their roles in the context of EFA. The Deputy Director further observed that a review of the approximately 40-year-old Education Act would create room for greatly enhancing the EFA agenda. In addition, schools needed to work cooperatively with well-informed parents, as observed below:

> … Their (parents) role in taking care of children is not only providing the uniforms, providing food and shelter; but also being able to understand how their children grow, and how they can promote the values that will help the children to adapt in life, is critical. And therefore the link between the school and the parents is critical. The success of FPE is going to depend strongly on the involvement of the parents in the running of the schools. (Director KAACR)

Government policies on EFA programme support

There was an expressed perception that government was to blame for the ways in which it developed educational policies without planning for the necessary and adequate resources to effectively implement them. For example, the Senior Programme Officer of the GCN argued that checks and balances were necessary to ensure that government was able to reach each of the marginalized areas without appearing to focus only on regions that were historically better endowed in terms of the provision of education.

Accelerating EFA via FPE and NFE

The idea of FPE in the country was challenged by a female professor of

education, who expressed her doubts regarding the effectiveness of FPE in the achievement of EFA goals by pointing out that so-called free education was not accessible to all children. She argued that the government was obliged to eradicate all of the factors that kept children away from formal education, including poverty and poor (or lack of proper) sanitation. According to her, non-formal education tended to be of low quality because it was located outside the MoEST, where she thought it rightfully belonged.

She raised the question as to why non-formal education remained outside the Ministry of Education, and stressed the need to provide the students in those schools with equal attention regarding education policy formulation and budgetary provisions. By clearly articulating the link between the non-formal and formal education, the Kenyan government was perceived to be on the right path of enhancing EFA in the country. Such a move required the government to transfer all non-formal structures from the Ministry of Social Services to the Ministry of Education. The Senior Deputy Director of Education in charge of NFE, however, addressed this concern by clarifying the existence of a policy that would relocate NFE within the MoEST where it seemed to naturally belong. Once approved, the policy would ensure that each group with special needs was catered for within the Ministry of Education with respect to education.

Because of the current situation in the way that Ministries were organised, the Senior Deputy Director of NFE conceded that non-formal education learners seemed to receive a raw deal in terms of actual educational processes, as well as the outcomes and benefits accrued. Even though the system of managing NFE was gradually changing, the Deputy Director was critical of the fact that these learners were traditionally categorised as private candidates, and were required to pay for their education as well as pay double for their national examination—even when children in public schools paid much less or nothing in terms of schools levies. Although the MoEST was reportedly changing the policy in order to accommodate the supplementary costs of non-formal education, it was pointed out that with regard to the achievement of EFA, the discriminatory modality of funding support was already a barrier to children in difficult circumstances. He

explained thus:

> We are making a barrier to already a disadvantaged child. … In
> the Ministry of Education we have approached now the Senior
> Management Committee. Senior Management, once it clears
> the policy, a good document [as] a good concept paper, then it
> will have brought the informal sector [of education] to the for-
> mal. And that is my business at the moment, I'm trying to chase
> that; to see that we do not have two classes, one class of chil-
> dren who are out there and having so many difficulties and us
> (MoEST) making life even more difficult for them like charging
> them more and making life more miserable. We want to bring
> all of them on board. (Senior Deputy Director of Education,
> non-formal education)

Free primary education and the dynamics of socio-economic conditions

In addressing EFA goals that would be achievable through UPE, the Senior
Deputy Director of Education (SDDE) for NFE described the government
policy on Free Primary Education as the ideal and most practical way of
providing education for everyone. He argued that this was the one educa-
tional strategy that would guarantee education to children who would oth-
erwise not have been able to enrol in school. He also observed that the FPE
posed various challenges, however; some of which were related to condi-
tions of poverty and deprivation of material well-being for many families
living in the informal settlements and marginalized districts where there
were few or no schools at all. In such cases, the SDDE contended that
directing the children to go to schools that did not exist, or were unwel-
coming, would be tantamount to expecting the impossible. In poor urban
settlements, the nearest schools would often be across the street—
although in most cases such schools were not accessible to children from
deprived socio-economic backgrounds. Box 4-8 captures a gist of his
views—the implication of which is that children from such backgrounds
were likely to face difficulties in coping with social environments that they
were not accustomed to, and in which they were likely to feel alienated and

uncomfortable. Generally, according to the SDDE, high levels of family poverty and deprivation worked against the FPE programme, consequently hampering the objectives of EFA in the ASAL regions of the country, as well as the informal urban settlements. The issue of poverty had many implications for EFA, which did not escape the arguments advanced in the interviews. For example, the SDDE argued that many poor children were systematically excluded from the school system because:

> Even if you tell them (parents) to go take their children to school …, the children will not walk to school naked. They require some bit of clothing. … For children, they need to be in decent uniform; they also need to have their tummies full, because for someone with an empty tummy, education is secondary. And they would rather go to the streets and beg, or go to the plantations and work and then think about education tomorrow when their tummies are full. … In the rural areas, and especially in the ASAL, the schools are very spread apart. So as much as you declare that education is free, a three-year-old child, a four-year-old child, will not walk for ten to fifteen kilometres. So they cannot access that free education. (Senior Deputy Director of Education, MoEST)

Box 4-8

The children shall feel out of place

So, even when you tell the children to go to school, where do they go? There are no schools. The nearest schools are across the streets and they are not meant for those children. These children are used to unique environments. Even if you took them to those classes, they will not learn, they are not used to that life, they are not used to electricity; they cannot learn. Secondly there are not even enough places in those schools. At the same time, … they will be out of place, even if they were offered a place.

Senior Deputy Director Education (NFE)

Walking the talk for EFA

The Assistant Minister raised similar concerns, cautioning about the danger of having more talk than resources directed at the achievement of EFA. He wondered aloud that perhaps there was too much rush to deal with a problem without a comprehensive situational analysis. He stressed, therefore, the need for a proper analysis of the problems that continued to hinder achievement of EFA. In the case of the Senior Deputy Director of Education cited above, for example, the Assistant Minister stressed the importance of government by ensuring that adequate human and material resources were available for the effective implementation of EFA.

It is significant to note how the concerns of personnel within the MoEST converged on pertinent issues regarding EFA policy and its implementation in the country. This suggests a relatively coherent functioning of the Ministry, which was evident in the transparent and seemingly honest ways that views were expressed and exemplified in the words of the Assistant Minister as he analysed issues in the context of EFA such as FPE, special needs education, and poverty. He observed:

> We may tend to talk a lot on what we want to achieve, and we don't give it the rightful share [of resources]. And of course, for instance, to have every child go to school, we tend to assume that if we tell children to go to school, they'll just walk and go to school. We don't ask ourselves, do we have the schools? Do we have the classrooms? Do we have the teachers? Suppose half of the children who walk to school are special needs children? How do we take care of them? So I think these are the issues, and that is why we are not able to attain our goals. If we could go first into serious assessment of the problem, I think it couldn't be a very big problem.

The above views notwithstanding, the SDD of Education summed up the concerns for EFA goals by saying that Kenya's response through the FPE and KESSP was basically a *very bright idea*, and that he could see a *light at the end of the tunnel*. He commended the government for putting in a lot

of resources aimed at the expansion of educational facilities, building new schools and rehabilitating old ones. He rationalised that because of this overt effort, the international community had responded positively and offered considerable support in the various educational programmes and projects—thus helping Kenya to accelerate its efforts towards the achievement of EFA goals.

12 Discussion and Conclusion

12.1 Discussion

This study provides insights into two pertinent conceptual issues that gave impetus to the research design and implementation. The two relevant issues are, firstly, that Education for All (EFA) is not a necessarily novel concept in Kenya. Rather, it has been in operation within educational discourses since its political popularisation at independence in 1963. The concept was located within the national slogan that called for the elimination of the three perceived enemies of development (namely poverty, illiteracy and disease). This was further articulated in the sessional paper No. 1 of 1965, which sought to universalise primary education by ensuring that all children of school-going age attained a primary school education.

Secondly, this study reveals that the majority of education stakeholders who were in decision-making and policy-making positions, and who availed themselves for interviews, were conversant with and rationalised the key concepts under investigation in the context of their institutional operations. Concepts such as education and education for all were defined in relatively acceptable and broad terms. These reflected the acquisition of a specific minimum package of knowledge, skills and attitudes, which should be accessible to every human being regardless of age, gender, regional origin, disability, religion and ethnicity (among other natural and social human diversities). Of additional importance was the observation that many of the participants not only portrayed considerable knowledge of the meaning of the concept of EFA, but also appeared well-informed of the six EFA goals

as documented in the Dakar Platform of Action of 2000. It is also noteworthy that several of the participants were able to identify and explain these goals with impressive detail. The fact that a few of them appeared confused about the six EFA goals does not negate the observation that they possessed general ideas regarding these goals as being aimed at ensuring that everyone had access to some form of basic education. This notwithstanding, this study provided the interviewees with a chance to reflect not just on their organisational/institutional engagements, but also on their level of knowledge. They also were provided space to express and weigh the direction of their attitudes towards the EFA goals agenda, and how it fit within their work as education stakeholders who were charged with policy and decision-making responsibilities.

Conceptualising EFA and UPE

While knowledge related to the concept of EFA may be taken for granted, evidence reveals a few instances when this concept and that of UPE were treated as unanimous (in other words, some of the interviewees presented the two as if they were synonymous). While confusion of the two concepts may raise questions regarding their application or use, the possible cause of the apparent confusion lies in the fact that both concepts address issues of primary education. Indeed, EFA goals aim at achievement of UPE—but within a specified timeframe. This notwithstanding, many of the interviewees defined EFA in broad and inclusive terms that allowed fluidity and flexibility in the provision of education—thus capturing not only the individual development aspect that includes life-long and continuing education, but also the more diverse societal gains that accrue from both formal and informal education.

The need to define a minimum package of education to be achieved within a given framework of localised EFA priorities was presented as an important strategy. This was particularly the case on the part of some of the donor community fraternity, who were of the view that such definitions would provide much needed directions and understandings of actual milestones covered (or yet to be covered) in the endeavour to attain EFA goals. This observation is critical insofar as even though many of the education

stakeholders were conversant with the actual statements of the EFA goals, the implementation of those objectives would prove problematic unless they were interpreted and defined in localised terms that bore meanings to the local educational situations. It is in this context that many of the CSOs and the MoEST outlined their respective programme priorities such as girls' education, adult education, education for marginalized communities and so on, with clear project activities. The sum-total of these different strategies of providing education to different categories of Kenyans is bound to contribute positively to the attainment of Education for All. By instituting the KESSP and working within the SWAp, the MoEST appears to be on the right track in domesticating the EFA goals within the diverse national challenges that have dogged the education system over the years.

EFA and quality issues

Quality education founded on the human rights perspective has clearly received attention within the broad conceptualisation of EFA, as well as the particular attempts to localise the EFA mandate in Kenya. Arguably, in order for every child to enrol, participate equally and remain in school—as well as enjoy and even benefit from educational outcomes in ways that promote and enhance human dignity—the educational processes and environments need to be made learner-centred, all-inclusive and non-discriminatory. Evidence adduced in this study shows, for example, that the presence of qualified personnel, adequate and learner-friendly infrastructure, and learning-teaching materials are necessary conditions for the attainment of education for all. In addition, accessibility to education, gender sensitivity and responsiveness, and the alleviation of material deprivation are all pertinent to the provision of quality EFA and the overall attainment of EFA goals.

Clearly, the implementation of education for all has faced many challenges along the way—not in the least of which has been the lack of an adequate allocation of resources, and at times the direct interference of the country's priorities by funding organisations such as the World Bank and the IMF. Ignoring ideas on home-grown educational ideas and lacking sensitivity toward local needs, particularly with regard to household poverty, these institutions often imposed alien economic agendas that sidelined local

needs, jeopardised the quality of education, and effectively hampered the achievement of EFA—particularly the universalisation of primary education in Kenya. This scenario is part of the reason why the achievement of Education for All continued to remain a mirage over time.

Negotiating the EFA agenda within specific poverty contexts and cultural lifestyles

Poor socio-economic conditions, particularly the deprivation of material well-being at the family level, have emerged as a key nagging concern in the implementation and domestication of EFA goals. In addition, nomadic lifestyles amongst some Kenyan communities also presented challenges for the EFA goals agenda. Because of the heavy reliance on donor funding to supplement education budgets, Kenya has suffered the effects of paradigm shifts in donor priorities that have jeopardised the implementation of educational programmes—particularly in the primary cycle. Disruption of support for primary education, which is designed to be comparatively more accessible to many children, has had far-reaching implications in the achievement of EFA over the years. Hence, attempts to domesticate international declarations such as the Dakar Platform of Action—let alone the Jomtien—have encountered economic challenges in addition to political ones.

Arguments advanced in this study reflect the contextual significance of historical factors that have continued to retard the achievement of EFA in Kenya. The effects of the global economy on education programmes in Kenya in the 1980s and stretching into the 1990s, for example, was marked by considerable economic challenges—particularly with regard to the achievement of UPE. Findings of this study reveal that because these challenges have yet to be surmounted, the negative implications of poverty on education have persisted. Unlike in yesteryears when the infamous Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPS) and the funding conditionalities imposed by the WB and IMF forced the government to introduce cost-sharing measures in education that disfavoured poor families, the Sector Wide Approach (SWAp) to programming is perceived as a progressive funding strategy that locates governments and their ministries at the core of pro-

gramme partnerships and budget negotiations. Hence, since SAPs were identified as a detriment to the provision of education, the SWAP is perceived as an accelerator of the EFA agenda.

In view of the above observation regarding the institutionalisation of EFA goals within sector programming, the KESSP—which has over twenty programme priority areas—is clearly a viable strategy in recovering the lost direction toward attaining the EFA for the country. With the introduction of SWAPs, the MoEST is able to prioritise its educational activities and then implement them with the collaboration of development partners. Evidently, this is a turn-around compared with the modes of operations from the recent past, when donors defined their funding priorities with a total disregard of local situations and proceeded to implement educational programmes and projects without meaningful reference to the relevant ministries concerned.

Further, dealing with cultural lifestyles such as the nomadic type has posed great challenges to the adoption of EFA and the achievement of the pertinent goals. As is confirmed in this study, the role of NFE as a strategy for EFA cannot be underrated. This strategy has given rise to the establishment of mobile schools, where the schools must actually moved to the people in response to their nomadic lifestyles. This is evidence of noble directions taken by the government in response to the diverse needs of its people. In this context, it is understandable why only a few of the interviewees described the Dakar EFA goals as new, while the majority of them portrayed them as old goals with new strategic orientations as characterised by defined targets and the SWAp funding modalities.

Influencing policy and decision-making

The idea of who influences whom within the dynamism of implementing EFA and working towards the achievement of EFA goals in local contexts emerged as relatively complex. In the new political and economic dispensation in Kenya, the SWAp is perceived as key toward enabling government to influence dominant trends amongst funding partners in ways that had not happened in the past. Traditionally, donor agencies would factor in their

priorities, and then proceed to design and implement educational projects of their choice in regions of their choice without due reference to the local perception of the prevailing problems. This is no longer a welcome approach as the Kenya government has embraced the SWAp, which requires that funding be done through sector and programme support—not through individual projects. All key stakeholders are also expected to participate in negotiating the funding partnerships. Findings presented herein demonstrate that on the one hand, education stakeholders perceive the SWAp and programme support approaches as favourable to government and Kenyans because they provide the political space to influence decisions in open, transparent and accountable ways among all partners involved (including donor organisations).

On the other hand, while donor organisations claimed to support the SWAP and thus enhance local ownership, some of the MoEST and CSO personnel perceived donors as reluctant to relinquish the power and control that they had exercised over governments over time. They claimed that many of the donors, even as they participated in the SWAp, continued to hold onto their special project areas (outside the SWAp arrangement) through which they retained their identities at project level. This way, they effectively deprived the MoEST of its mandate as the implementer of its programmes. In this politico-economic alliance of donors and governments, only time shall tell how long mutual trust shall hold and how far this partnership shall thrive and accelerate the achievement of the EFA goals. According to evidence demonstrated herein, it is credible to assume that many of the donors were concerned about maintaining an identity aligned to the nature of their support to particular projects. They were possibly anxious of being lost in the so-called joint basket of funding, whereby bigger donors would find it difficult to distinguish themselves with the assumed smaller donors. In the context of this apparent identity crisis, MoEST appeared convinced that SWAp was the most appropriate funding strategy to ensure government ownership and control of its development programme.

Prioritising programme funding
Prioritising programme funding modalities calls for well-founded partner-

ships and strategic planning of activities. In an attempt to accelerate and enhance the achievement of EFA goals, the MoEST identified various programme priorities within its KESSP to guide its budgetary manoeuvres. This is unlike in the past, when the government waited for donor-initiated support that was defined outside its locally defined programme priorities. According to this study, the MoEST has identified from amongst its priority areas—regardless of emergent donor preferences—the issues of infrastructure and improvement of Learning and Teaching Materials (LTMs) that are key within the EFA goals agenda. Although these are not new areas of priorities for the country, it is the first time that prioritisation has been exercised by the Ministry of Education rather than by the WB, CIDA, OPEC, JICA or UNICEF. The greatest challenges posed by this new funding strategy are the need for close coordination of ideas, resources, and—above all—dialogue and understanding. This notwithstanding, the MoEST is undoubtedly better positioned to analyse and categorise the country's educational needs, assess the material and human costs involved, and invite support from development partners to dialogue and work with them in the allocation of budgets that are derived from a common basket.

In the same tenor, the MoEST is in a position to invite other government sectors that are relevant to the provision of education to participate in a truly Sector Wide Approach (SWAp) that enhances educational programming and funding support. Through the SWAp, different partners have the opportunity to interrogate the details of what it takes to provide education for all that is of good quality. In this study, for example, it has emerged that that when donors (and even government) provided stationary to be used at schools and food to nomadic communities (particularly from the North Eastern Province), enrolments, participation and performance did not improve in any significant ways. This may therefore be safely described as an investment in futility, even though such investments yielded high identity profiles of the donors involved. Expecting that most students in the said provinces would remain in the schools, amidst threats of banditry and other security concerns, as well as separation from the material and emotional support of their families as they traversed the regions in search of food and pasture, is logically unconvincing. In this context, the introduction

and implementation of novel concepts such as the mobile school system, which responds to cultural and economic needs, is clearly an appreciable strategy to accelerate the achievement of EFA. This is the case not only locally and nationally, but also perhaps regionally and internationally.

Arguments advanced in this study underscore the fact that a multi-sectoral approach to programme funding is likely to have a greater impact on the achievement of EFA than would a single-sector approach. For example, unhealthy children are most likely to miss school or to perform poorly. Again, children and teachers alike face commuting difficulties where there are no roads by which to access schools; thereby affecting enrolment and participation as well as delivery by teachers. This argument also applies to the lack of water and sanitation facilities, where personal hygiene is critical in retaining adolescent girls in school throughout the term. In this context, the MoEST would be well-advised to co-operate with the Ministry of Health, Ministry of Roads and Public Works, and Ministry of Water in planning for the provision of quality education.

With regard to teacher quality, capacity development was identified as a key priority area in which programme funding was directed. Arguably, when teachers are ill-equipped in terms of knowledge, pedagogical skills, professional orientations and attitudes towards work, their engagements and outputs are compromised. This has implications for learning processes and outcomes that are likely to disillusion the learners and their families in ways that could elicit apathy, disinterest, failure and even dropping out of school altogether for both girls and boys. These factors, singly or jointly, are inconsistent with efforts to achieve EFA goals.

EFA goals and Millennium Development Goals
Even though the original objectives of the study did not seek to establish links between EFA goals and MDGs, it was clear that many of the interviewees—particularly those from the MoEST and from donor organisations—were keen to discuss the perceived linkages. Some of them actually demanded to discuss the MDGs in relation to EFA goals, arguing that MDGs were the driving force within international funding modalities. MDGs are

seen as more comprehensive in locating education on the same platform with other development agenda, which include poverty and disease (amongst other elements). Allowing participants to pursue agendas that they deemed as pertinent and of interest to their work is commensurate with qualitative research approaches, whose basic mandate is to establish meanings that people attach to issues under investigation.

In contextualising EFA goals within the framework of the MDGs, it was apparent that funding agencies considered the MDGs as a superior launching pad for the provision of EFA—perhaps because the MDGs were a creation of the United Nations through its 5th Session of the Millennium Summit in September 2000. Discussions revealed, however, that even as the interviewees explored the link between the two sets of internally agreed-upon goals, the EFA goals remained clearly at the core since they focused exclusively on education. Nonetheless, MDGs also had their place in the conceptualisation of EFA. Without the realization of education for all, it would be difficult to envisage the attainment of the MDGs in terms of forging global partnerships, eliminating abject poverty, ensuring gender equity and equality, empowering women, eradicating diseases such as malaria, and combating HIV and AIDS (among other identified goals). Also, ignoring the MDGs would present a conceptual gap in terms of locating education as the foundation of all other developmental concerns.

12.2 Conclusion

It is clear that the concept of Education for All is not new in the Kenyan discourse on education, as the concept has evidently been present throughout the history of education in independent Kenya. The relatively new components of the concept of EFA are found in the adaptation of the defined targets and time frames as articulated in the Dakar Platform of Action. As Kenya lags behind in achieving the EFA goals, questions arise as to whether the Dakar time frames have been realistic for the domestication of the targets. Also begging for an answer is the question about the role played by the Kenyan Government in the rationalisation of the said EFA targets, and the time frames *vis-à-vis* the mobilisation of required resources. In view of

this, the government should continue to utilize the MoEST to provide EFA by focusing on strategies that are localised, as well as culturally sensitive and responsive. In addition, the MoEST should continue to develop home-grown ideas and yardsticks with which to monitor and measure its sucesses with respect to defined targets. Comparing its achievement on a global platform is useful only in as far as it reflects proportionate and relative local achievements.

Secondly, while research findings suggest that most of the decision-making processes cited in this study were guided by reasonably relevant and accurate information and knowledge on EFA, it is not obvious that all personnel charged with decision-making and policy formulation in the area of education were adequately versed with the Dakar EFA goals *per se*. Evidence shows that a few of them were confused about the goals and were uncertain of the actual content, let alone the set targets and time frames for goal achievement. This observation calls for organisational self-appraisal aimed at ensuring that all policy makers operate with adequate understanding of the overall EFA agenda.

Thirdly, while the persistence of gender disparities in education remains a major area of concern, the fact that all stakeholders were cognisant of this fact—and also freely articulated their strategic responses toward eradicating gender inequalities—is an indication of the relatively high level of awareness and positive attitudes with regard to gender issues. The challenge for the EFA agenda, however, continues to hinge on policy strategies for poverty eradication, bringing on board marginalized communities, mainstreaming gender and gender budgeting, enhancing adult education and literacy skills, and additional factors that result in discrimination against particular categories of people.

Fourthly, with the inception of the KESSP and the adaptation of the SWAp to programming, communication between education stakeholders and others participating within the broader sectoral dialogue appears to have improved in the last two years. This situation creates room for operations that are transparent to all partners, and in which the accountability of

investments in education is rendered possible, systemic, holistic and con-
ducive to the achievement of EFA goals. Whether such achievements need
to be measured against locally and/or internationally determined indicators
is an issue for continued interrogation.

Lastly, this study has yielded evidence regarding the existence of progres-
sive strategies in the domestication of EFA goals. Metaphorically speaking,
then, the MoEST is located in the driver's seat, from where it is now possi-
ble to direct negotiations toward the achievement of locally defined educa-
tional priorities with respect to global targets.

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Interview Guide

Professional Biography
1. Please tell me about your job and yourself.

EFA conceptualization
For all respondents:
1. Please define "Education for All" in your own terms.
2. What do you think "education" means, when you talk of Education for All?
3. Who do you think "all" means, when you talk of Education for All?
4. What do you think the internationally-agreed goals of EFA are?
5. Which EFA goal(s) is/are new to your country?
6. Are the said EFA goals integrated into the government's educational policy?
6-1. If yes, what do you think influenced the integration?
6-2. If no, why do you think it has not been integrated?

For the staff of donors and civil society organizations:
7. Do you think your organization has any influence on the process of educational decision-making?
8-1. If yes, please explain.
8-2. If no, why do you think it has not been influential?

Programmes-in-charge
For donor staff:
1-1. What programme(s) do you support/fund in relation to EFA goals?
For government officials:
1-2. What programmes are funded by donors in relation to EFA goals?
For all respondents:
2. Please explain how your programme is aligned with EFA goals?
3. What kind of funding modalities were used for the said programme?
4. Do you think these modalities resulted in changes in your operations?
5-1. If yes, please explain.
5-2. If no, why do you think the modalities did not result in changes?

Open discussion
1. If there are any other issues you have not mentioned and would like to touch upon, please tell me.

Letter of Cooperation to Institutions

Date; _____
Ref. No. _____
The Ministry of Education
Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia
Addis Ababa

Dear Sirs,

We are pleased to introduce Dr. Yacob Arsano, assistant professor of political science & international relations and Ato Ayalew Shibeshi, associate professor of educational management, both of them from Addis Ababa University. The two senior scholars have set out to conduct an interdisciplinary and comparative study on the discourse of **Education for All** (EFA) from the context of Ethiopia. The study is undertaken under the auspices of the Department of Political Science & International Relations of Addis Ababa University.

As you may well know, in 1990, the **World Conference on Education for All (WCEFA)** was held in Jomtien, Thailand. A set of development goals agreed then came to be called "Education for All (EFA)". Subsequently, the assistance programmes of donor organizations and educational policies of the developing countries were framed. UNESCO, the World Bank, and UNICEF led the move towards EFA, especially in sharing the short-term needs to secure resources for their educational programmes, for which purpose the **WCEFA** was very successful.

These EFA goals were reconfirmed in Dakar in 2000 among representatives of major bilateral and multilateral donors and governments of developing countries. Meanwhile, most of EFA goals were integrated into the Millennium Development Goals (MDG), which came to be employed as the backbone of comprehensive social and economic policies of developing countries. Respective Governments were required to develop national plans of action to achieve EFA goals, which operated to further enforce the adoption of EFA goals to national policies.

The two scholars are doing a comparative study of EFA together with their counterparts in Kenya and Tanzania to help the global discourse on the progress and prospects of EFA. Among others, their study looks into issues

like: to what extent is their adaptation of educational ideas between the three countries? Is there motivation for borrowing and lending educational policies and models among the three countries? More specifically, the research questions include:

- How do the actors involve EFA in policy-making in the respective countries?
- What were their motivations to adopt EFA?
- What are the perceived changes caused by the introduction of EFA in Millennium Development Goals?
- How are EFA goals linked to the aid modalities such as budget support or sector-wide approach?
- To what extent is the discourse shaped by contemporary global forces vs. historical development in each country.

We believe that the study being undertaken by the two scholars is relevant and timely, especially in view of Ethiopia's national efforts to attain the Millennium Development Goals by 2015. Therefore, we sincerely request the cooperation of your esteemed organization to kindly provide access to the two scholars and their research assistant Ato Demissie Gudissa, to pertinent data, including access to interview key personalities in the organization.

Sincerely

Dr. Kassahun Berhanu
Chairman,
Department of Political Science & International Relations
Addis Ababa University.