UNIVERSITY OF OSLO

PRACTICES IN HIGHER EDUCATION POLICY: *GENDER-RELATED ACCESS AS A POLICY ISSUE IN KENYA*

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ABSTRACT

Over the years, higher education in Kenya has been characterised by gender disparities. A gendered analysis of admissions at University illustrates a low representation of females. But, the Kenyan governments' policies in higher education, should have attended to this problem. Hence, this study seeks to examine the governments' gender-related access policy making processes in higher education.

This thesis discusses how the gender-related access policy making process in Kenya's higher education can be analysed. It highlights the government of Kenya's adoption of gender-related access policies following the 1990 Education For All (EFA) Jomtien Conference, which includes a pressing need of addressing gender equity issues in education, especially in ensuring access to education for girls and women, and removing barriers that hamper their active participation.

Further, this study shows that it is useful to distinguish between different stages in the gender related access policy making process. However, the separations between the stages are not black-and-white and decision-making continues in the implementation and evaluation stages. Consequently, policy making is a complex, iterative process that may not be predetermined from start to finish.

This study indicates the intricacy of coming up with policy issues or problems, policy objectives and policy instruments. However, there are challenges in the implementation of gender-related policies thus this thesis posits competing views in the practices of policy making and implementation in Kenya, by EFA and through the work of non governmental organisations, in this case FAWE. Consequently, this thesis explores the governments' policy making practice with regards to gender-related access policy formulation and implementation in Kenya's higher education.

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Finally, I extend my thanks to all who have in diverse ways contributed to the completion of this thesis.

DEDICATION

To my wonderful parents, Catherine Khavere and Shadrack Maseno.

DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this thesis is the result of my own research work except for the duly acknowledged literature, which is cited. I have not submitted this work in whole or in part for the award of a degree or diploma in any other institution.

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CHAPTER ONE

1.0 INTRODUCTION

Traditionally, females have been underrepresented in higher education. This has been the case the world over, and Kenya is not an exception. Currently, in Kenya, overall there are fewer females than males enrolled in the universities. Further, in certain fields, such as natural sciences, the participation of females is even lower than the average. Since Kenya's independence in 1963, there was a steady increase in student enrolment to tertiary education. However, Kenyan females have lagged behind in relative numbers in their participation in higher education.

The change in the Kenyan universities' enrolment patterns has involved a significant increase in the student population, and consequently, there is a change in student numbers from about 2,500 in 1976 to about 63,000 in 2003[1]. This also means that there is a change in diversity of the student population in terms of age, social background and gender. The range of human diversity now represented at the university has expanded (Kuh 2001:280). However, even though there is an increase in numbers in enrolment of students to the university in Kenya, there is still a problem of gender-related access to university education. Thus, it is of the highest importance that the Kenyan society gets concerned about gender inequalities in higher education in Kenya.

Yet, good policies are fundamental to Kenya's progress in the educational sphere. The Kenyan government has in the recent past recognized gender-related access problems in higher education.[2] It attempts to address the problem through policy making. The process of policy making is discussed in many disciplines, including public policy studies, public administration, political science, sociology, anthropology, business management and international relations[3]. Consequently, there is a wide range of literature on policy with many

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[1] Minister of Education, Prof. George Saitoti. The Standard Newspaper. See www.eastandard.net/hm_news. Date: 17th December 2004.

[2] The Kenya National development plan 1997-2001 section 6.3.3 points to gender imbalances at tertiary levels of education as a problem on the education front. See appendix for education related sections of the development plan.

[3] R. Sutton presents a classical treatment of the interdisciplinary nature of the policy process from a number of disciplines. She shows how the process of policy making is discussed in many disciplines, including political science, sociology, anthropology, international relations and business management. Her aim is to review the

definitions as to what a policy is. But, the term 'policy' is nebulous. A detailed discussion of the concept of policy is presented in chapter two of this study. The starting point for this discussion is that a policy is understood as a public statement from an authentic authority with an intention or objective and means to how this shall be achieved (Gornitzka 1999:14). Policy formulation is a central function of government and the effectiveness of policies concerning gender- related access to higher education in Kenya depends on the government's capacity to manage effective policymaking processes.

A gendered analysis of admissions reflects that the number of admitted females at the undergraduate level is generally lower than that of males in Kenyan public universities. Indeed, in view of these imbalances, this study seeks to explore elements of the government's policy making processes with regards to gender-related access policy in Kenya's higher education. Consequently, this study will focus on the government of Kenya's gender-related access policies directed towards achieving the goals of Education For All (EFA), which includes an urgent priority of addressing gender equity issues in education, especially in ensuring access to education for girls and women.

1.1 BACKGROUND

The participation of the Government of Kenya in the Jomtien Conference in 1990, and its subsequent endorsement of the EFA Declaration, re-enforced the commitment Kenya has on the provision of education to its citizens. The events related to the development of education sector in the country following the Jomtien Conference exhibit how Kenya has tried to domesticate the EFA Declarations. One long-term goal of the EFA declarations was to promote equitable access by females to all levels of education. However, the Forum for African women Educationalists hereafter refereed to as FAWE contends that there has been a very slow pace of implementation of EFA goals in sub-Saharan Kenya, and that for this sole reason this non-governmental organisation was formed in 1992.

different ways we understand how policy is made as she details the main themes in each discipline. Sutton further puts up a glossary of vocabulary relating to the policy process in each of the disciplines. For details, see her report titled, 'The policy process: An overview', (1999) for the Overseas Development Institute.

According to the Ministry of Education statistics on university enrolment by gender, female students in the years 1999/2000 made up less than half of the male student population enrolled. Between the year 1999/2000 and 2000/2001, the total male student population enrolled into the Universities increased by about 1,100. However, the female population, decreased by about 500 as indicated in the table below

TABLE 1.1 Student Enrolments by Gender in Universities, 1999/2000 - 2000/2001[4]

INSTITUTION	1999/2000		2000/2001	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
Public Universities				
Nairobi	8,419	3,523	8,383	3,341
Kenyatta	4,188	3,008	4,510	3,019
Moi	3,483	2,312	4,753	1,960
Egerton	7,131	2,842	5,998	1,968
Jomo Kenyatta(JKUAT)	2,511	626	2,992	1,288
Maseno	2,338	1,385	2,596	1,538
Total	28,070	13,696	29,232	13,114
Private Universities				
Private Accredited	3,186	3,816	3,093	4,050
Private Unaccredited	777	346	876	472
Total	3,963	4,162	3,968	4,521
TOTAL	32,033	17,858	33,200	17,636
GRAND TOTAL	49,891		50,836	

Indeed, females who complete secondary school do not qualify for university admissions in the same proportion as men. The United States Aid (USAID) Kenya, points out that substandard facilities, fewer well qualified teachers, and gender stereotyping in the classroom and in the curriculum, as well as the high costs now associated with university education, account for these discrepancies. Thus, there is a gender gap in higher education enrolment in Kenya.

Figure 1.1 presents the relative increase in the gender gap in enrolment between 1999/2000 and 2000/2001. While in the year 1999/2000, females made up 33 percent of the students enrolled into public Universities in Kenya, the year 2000/2001 marked a decline in female students down to 31 percent.

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[4] Source: Ministry of Education. Enrolment data includes parallel programmes of the respective universities. This table shall be discussed in detail in chapter four of this study. See also http://www.education.go.ke

FIGURE 1.1 Gender gap in enrolments in Universities, 1999/2000 - 2000/2001

Enrolment in 1999/2000

Female
33 %

Male
67 %

Enrolment in 2000/2001

Female
31 %

Male
69 %

A breakdown by gender of those accepted into the public universities indicates that relatively less females get admission and those who do are concentrated within the arts and humanities programmes. But, the policy environment could contribute to gender disparities in higher education. At the same time, it is possible that public education policies are discriminatory against females (Kasente 2000). Given the gender disparities in higher education, it is important in this study to examine the government's policy discourse and policy making practice.

A project carried out by the National Centre for Higher Education Management Systems (NCHEMS, Boulder, Colorado, USA) in collaboration with the Center for Higher Education Policy Studies (CHEPS), provides a strategic setting for this study. It focuses on policy formulation and implementation in higher education. The objective is to develop a conceptual view of the system of higher education and the processes of policy formulation and implementation. Further, it intends to document and analyse good practice based on experience and the literature, in order to provide policymakers and analysts with guidance concerning the agenda on which policymaking should be focused and the entire process of policy formulation and implementation.

By documenting practices in policy formulation and implementation in several countries, the NCHEMS/CHEPS project hopes to train future higher education policy analysts and develop educational materials that will be used in both graduate programs and in the continuing education of practitioners. However, the project's emphasis is on the country level with

particular reference to access and equality (Enders and Maassen 2003:2). Thus, this study would complement this ongoing project by addressing gender-related access.

1.2 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

Over the years, higher education in Kenya has been typified by gender disparities. Indeed the number of females admitted at the university is much smaller than the number of males and continues to be smaller up the academic ladder. Studies from African Universities illustrate this low representation of females at university[5]. A gendered analysis of admissions reflect that admissions of females at the undergraduate level is largely lower that that of males. However, policy in higher education should have addressed this issue. The problem that this study seeks to address is policy making processes in higher education linked with gender-related access in Kenya.

Thus, the main research question of this study is

How can the gender-related access policy making process in Kenyan Higher education be analysed?

Based on the overall research question, the following sub-questions will be addressed.

1. How can the concept of policy in general be interpreted and what are the main stages in any policy process?
2. What are the main developments in Kenyan higher education of relevance for the gender-related access policy?
3. What are the phases of the policy making process associated with the government's gender-related access policy in Kenya's higher education?
4. Who are the actors in the gender-related access policy making process and what are their roles?

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[5] Dr. Regina Karega analysed female children's education at the university by drawing examples from Kenyatta University (Kenya), University of Dar-es-salaam (Tanzania) and Abdou Moumouni University (Niger). She observed the phenomena of females under representation in the three universities at the various levels. For a summary of her findings see 'Statistical overview on girl's education at the university level'. A paper commissioned by the Forum of African Women Educationalists. 2001.

5. What can be said to be effects of gender-related access policy implementation by FAWE and EFA/government of Kenya initiative?

6. How is the implementation of gender-related access policy evaluated in Kenya?

1.3 SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

This study highlights a field that is seldom discussed. This study shall produce new knowledge by shedding light on policy making practices in higher education in Kenya. Thus this study intends to increase knowledge and understanding of actual policy formulation process in relation to gender-related access within higher education in Kenya.

1.4 METHODOLOGY

This study primarily employs a qualitative approach. However, there is unease among some writers concerning the specification of the nature of qualitative research. One important reason for this unease is that qualitative research subsumes several diverse research methods that differ considerably from each other (Bryman 2004: 267). The choice of a qualitative research strategy for this study is because this study did not seek to emphasize quantification in the collection and analysis of data.

There are a variety of sources and methods of data generation potentially available for studies of the policy making process. One main research method associated with qualitative research adopted for this study is the collection and analysis of texts and documents. My thesis is based on document analysis. The term document covers a wide range of sources (Bryman 2004: 381). A number of documents were identified that would facilitate a review of policies regarding gender-related access. For Kenya, these documents include the blueprint or development vision or policy framework, gender policy, most recent country development plans, education policies (sessional papers) for tertiary education and the EFA 1990 Jomtien declaration.[6]

I used official government policy papers on education, government commissions and task force reports relating to higher education, documents from the commission of higher education and from the ministry of education. I also used essential materials available from the array of literature existing on issues relating to policy making, policy implementation,

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[6] Sections from these documents can be found in the appendix of this study.

policy evaluation, gender-related access in higher education, institutional management in books, the internet and journal articles. I read the materials thematically.

Since this study seeks to explore Kenyan higher education gender-related access policy formulation and implementation I used description and analysis of gender-related access policy making process in higher education in Kenya.

In order to secure objectivity and reliability, quantitative method was adopted in data presentation, not only to add internal validity but also to identify broad patterns (Ragin 1994:51). Further, in order to work towards validity and reliability in this study, criteria were put in place for assessing the quality of documents. Validity is the extent to which an account accurately represents the phenomena to which it refers, whereas, reliability corresponds to the degree of consistency assigned to instances by different observers or same observers on different occasions (Hammersley 1990:57-67). According to Scott, the documents used for a valid and reliable study ought to be authentic, credible, representative and have meaning (Scott 1990:6).

The documents analysed in this study, such as government development plans, official documents produced by organizations i.e. FAWE, and education policies in Kenya were obtained in original publications purchased and verified by the Nordic Africa Institute Upsalla, Sweden. Hence, this rigorous verification promoted authenticity and meaning in my study.

Indeed according to Bryman, official documents deriving from the state can be seen as authentic and having meaning that is comprehensible to the researcher (Bryman 2004: 387). However, the problem posed by these documents is that they could possibly be biased. The possibility of lack of credibility of the government documents led me to further analyse the documents in question and corresponding documents such as subsequent government development plans.

As a woman and a Kenyan, it is wise to acknowledge that what I read and observe is also part of my own narrative. However, I take care not to confuse knowledge intuitively present in advance, embedded in preconceptions with knowledge emerging from the research material available.

1.5 SCOPE AND LIMITATIONS

This study was limited to Kenyan higher education for practical reasons. Higher education in Kenya as previously mentioned, comprises university education, technical and vocational education and training, teacher education and training, non-formal education and adult education. However, for this study higher education refers only to university education.

Two problems confronted in this study were that policy formulation is a complex political and administrative process that often crosses sectoral, disciplinary and organisational boundaries. And secondly, getting reliable information on the formulation process was difficult. i.e. policy was decided at a very high level. As a result, it was not easy to get much information on the considerations that eventually informed the policy decision. Access to details on events and discussions within the cabinet or its equivalent was not easy.

This study employed the use of textual analysis and excluded interviews or interaction with policy makers and practioners in Kenyan higher education, which may have provided useful insight to this study in examining motives, interests and perceptions inherent in policy making processes. However, a close study of policy objectives and the normative basis of policies also provided significant information on interests and motives of the policy makers.

Materials on higher education policies in Africa and especially Kenya are very scanty. Not much is published in this area and even those published are but single articles in edited publications or journals. This study focused on one country-Kenya and therefore broad generalizations from this study may not necessarily be made to other contexts.

1.6 THESIS OUTLINE IN CHAPTERS

Chapter two is a background chapter for the entire thesis. It presents us with a treatment of literature on the variety of relevant stages in the policy making process. These stages range from policy formulation, policy instruments, policy implementation and policy evaluation.

Chapter three introduces us to the context within which this thesis is set. It underscores the contextual factors to be considered when discussing policies in developing countries with specific interest in Kenya. This chapter highlights political and educational transformations in Kenya, higher education in Kenya and policy implementation in Kenyan higher education.

Chapter four presents us with an analysis for the thesis on the gender-related access policy making processes in Kenya. It underscores the problem definition, normative basis of the said policy and policy objectives. It also highlights actors within policy making in different governance models. Finally, it analyses competing policy implementation initiatives by EFA and FAWE.

Chapter five as a concluding chapter presents us with consequences for the gender-related access policy, recommendations and sums up with concluding remarks.

1.7 CONCLUSION

This chapter has provided us with a perspective from which to examine gender-related access policy formulation in Kenyan Higher education. Such a survey is a rare piece of work in higher education policy studies in Africa. On the other hand, it goes on to introduce the connections between policy making and implementation. Indeed, for some, there cannot be a policy that excludes implementation (Pressman and Wildavsky 1984). I now move on to the next step, which is to provide the necessary literary background for the entire study.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0 INTRODUCTION

This chapter consists of the literature review for the entire study. It is divided into nine parts. The first part is the introduction to the entire chapter. It presents the term policy and shows that its definition is to date still imprecise because different people use it in different contexts. It also posits the linear and iterative models for the policy making process.

Part two portrays literature on the higher education system. Since this study is on gender-related access in higher education in Kenya, I pay attention to higher education systems, which are unique in themselves. Part two presents a classical piece of work on higher education systems by Clark (1983) and further focuses on his triangle of coordination. In order to show current scholarly developments in discussions surrounding higher education systems' coordination, elaborations to the triangle of coordination are also looked at. The elaborations to the triangle of coordinaton illustrate global forces and international monetary organizations that influence higher education systems and policies in developing countries. Part two sums up with implications for higher education policies given the uniqueness of higher education systems.

Part three introduces gender and feminism, which are crucial concepts in understanding gender-related discrepancies in higher education. Further, this part prepares the way for the discussion of the policy problem by explicating that there are a variety of feminist perspectives which are deliberated upon in chapter four.

Part four puts forward the concept of access in higher education and points out that in developing countries and in this case Kenya, there is still not open access for all secondary school graduates.

Part five expounds on governance and policy instruments in order to show changes in governance approaches since, new governance approaches within a managerial interpretation tend to emphasize tools and instruments rather than agencies and programs. Further this part

introduces us to policy instruments and shows that governments use policy instruments to influence society. The approach by Peters (2001) serves as a crucial link to part six where attention is paid to the role of actors in the policy making process.

Part six submits that policy making is not made in a vacuum and that necessarily there are actors involved in policy formulation and implementation. The role of actors in the policy making process is not constant, but shifts within various governance arrangements hence the link with the preceding part, part five. A detailed presentation of the shifting roles of actors is made in chapter four of this study.

Part seven shows implementation theories as having centred on the realization and non-realization of policy objectives. Thus top-down and bottom-up approaches are presented with the intention of using these to locate the implementation approaches used by FAWE and the government of Kenya.

Part eight displays evaluation frameworks based on the basic definitions of evaluation. This shall serve as a background for the evaluation of the gender-related access policy in Kenyan higher education. Part nine provides a conclusion to the entire chapter.

2.1 POLICY

Policy is not a self-evident term[7]. However, a first essential element in most writers' use of the term policy is some kind of purposiveness. According to Lasswell and Kaplan, a policy is a 'projected program of goal values and practices' (Lasswell and Kaplan 1950:71). For Friedrich, a policy is a proposed course of goal-oriented action within a given environment providing obstacles and opportunities (Friedrich 1962:79). For Ranney, policy is specified in terms of its goals, means, consequences, targets and declaration of intent (Ranney 1968:7).

A second element in the use of the term policy is that it applies to something bigger than particular decisions. It is a chosen course of action significantly affecting large numbers of people (Mackae and Wilde 1985: 12). Accordingly, Braybrooke and Lindblom use policy to encompass both conscious decisions and the course that policies take as a result of

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[7] Within the fields of sociology and political science, policy could also be described as reasoned arguments (See Juma and Clarke 1995), a social experiment or even interactive learning as is the case of participatory rural appraisal methods (See Chambers 1983).

interrelations among decisions (Braybrooke and Lindblom 1963: 249). Etzioni views policy as a form of more generalised decision-making in which whole sets of decisions are considered and the contexts for decisions reviewed (Etzioni 1968: 252). Thus, policy refers to goals and the action taken to realize and maintain them.

National policy-making can be understood as a process leading to public action programmes, which include not only formal decisions, but also chains of decisions or chains of actions that become apparent, when action programmes are implemented in administration and practice. Thus, national policy-making incorporates the components of the policy-process as it is traditionally conceived of, i.e. agenda-setting, problem analysis, analysis of policy-alternatives, decision-making, implementation, evaluation and feed-back (Ham and Hill 1993; Hogwood and Gunn 1984). It also means that policy-making and governance are intertwined.

Since the 1980's, the term governance has been in wide use. However, its definition is still imprecise partly because different people use it in different contexts and partly because the concept is still evolving.[8] Governance as a topic is far much more than 'government'; the governance approach is seen as "a new process of governing, or a changed condition of ordered rule; or the new method by which society is governed" (Stoker 1998:17). According to the World Bank, governance is the way in which power is used in the management of a country's economic and social resources for development (World Bank 1992). Following the Bank's definition, it is fruitful to distinguish three elements in governance, namely, first a country's political regime, second the process by which authority is exercised in the administration of a country's economic and social resources, and third the capacity of a government to design, formulate and implement policies and to discharge its core functions.

2.1.1. MODELS FOR THE POLICY MAKING PROCESS

The linear model is the most widely held view of describing policy-making processes in public policy textbooks. Thus in general, this model assumes that policy makers approach the issues rationally and consider all relevant information. However, for others, policy formulation and its processes are largely encapsulated in a "black box". It is conceptually an untidy subject, coming up in every sector of national interest, yet with no single distinct

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[8] A detailed treatment of governance is presented in chapter four as a background for the discussion of policy instruments.

disciplinary boundary, laden with political connotations and heavily determined by the surrounding environment (Corkery and Bossuyt 1990). Policy makers repeatedly decide on matters without first having obtained full and thorough knowledge of the possible consequences of their decisions (Corkery et al 1995:4). Policy-making is an iterative, haphazard and highly political process (Lamb 1987).

But, is policy-making a rational, linear process or a more chaotic procedure dominated by uncertainties?[9] According to some, policy-making is a sequence of steps, each with an identifiable beginning and an end. This is the variously called linear, mainstream or rational model (Linders and Peters 1989). In this model, policy formulation is a rational outcome of detailed data analysis with choices most favourable to suit the existing circumstances. Decisions are made in a series of sequential phases, starting with the identification of a problem or issue and ending with the set of activities to solve or to deal with it.

FIGURE 2.1 The linear model
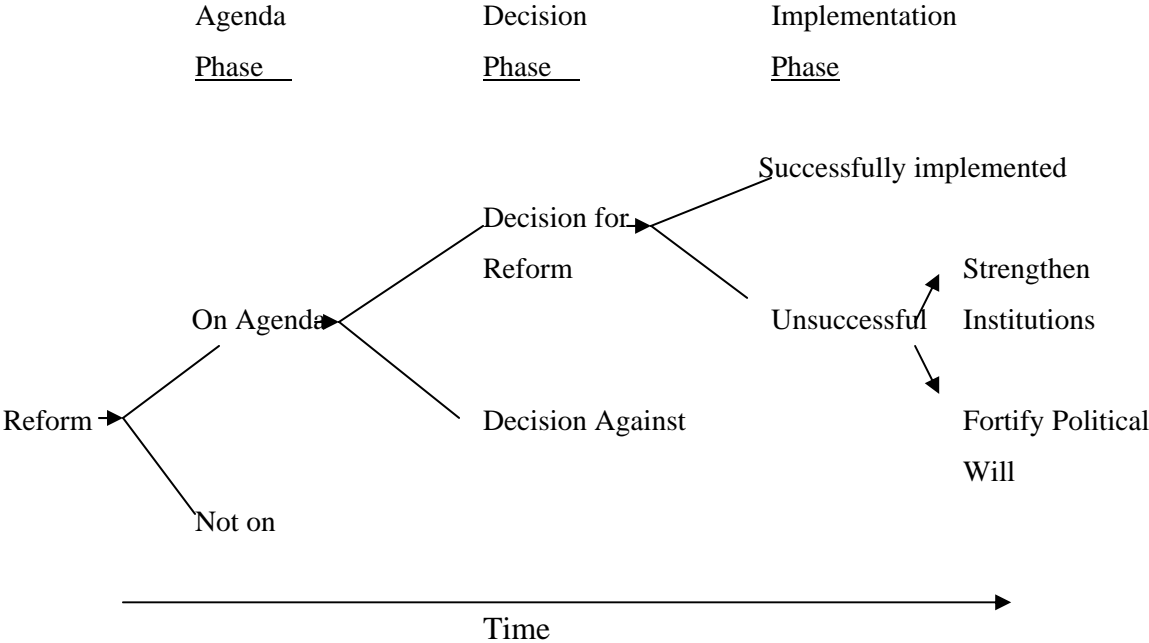
Source: (Grindle and Thomas 1991)

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[9] Policy literature proposes several different theoretical frameworks to describe the policy process. Although no single framework claims to describe the process completely in all cases, most frameworks try to provide useful descriptions of certain aspects of the process.

Grindle and Thomas (1991) developed a framework (see Figure 2.1) that includes two useful features. First, they introduce an agenda phase when an issue is considered for inclusion on the policy agenda. Yet, the process of developing a policy begins when policymakers are convinced that the issue is important enough for them to spend time considering it. Second, Grindle and Thomas show that the process can halt at any stage and may not even be implemented, to mean that the issue may never make it onto the policy agenda. Thus, once a policy is formulated, it may or may not be implemented. The framework indicates that efforts may be required to see that the process advances to its desired conclusion. However, Grindle and Thomas' model does not address the evaluation component of policies. Without evaluation, it is not possible to assess the value of policy programmes and activities. At the same time, Grindle and Thomas' model does not present us with criteria for determining what successful implementation is or is not.

Yet, processes, very much similar to the garbage can[10] decision process take place within administrative contexts where there are arguments on which problems and solutions are presented, argued about, thrown out or even agreed upon. Although policy reforms represent attempts to bring about change, these attempts do not necessarily succeed (Brunsson and Olsen 1993:33). Policy decisions emerging from such processes are likely to set off a chain of unanticipated actions. These arguments come from the iterative model school of thought. The iterative model of policy formulation recognises that, at an early stage in policy analysis, there is likely to be an interaction between technical and political considerations thus, the elimination of certain options as politically unacceptable and the modification of other options. According to Grindle and Thomas, a fundamental element in this model is that a policy reform initiative may be transformed or reversed at any stage in its life cycle by pressures and reactions from those who oppose or support it (Grindle and Thomas 1991).

Therefore, policy-making needs to be able to embrace both what is intended and what occurs as a result of the intention since the intentions of the policy makers may very often not coincide with the policy as it operates in the external world. At the same time, neither policy-processes nor evaluation processes should be viewed as linear, chronological processes. Even

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[10] There is a tendency among postmodernist writing on public administration to see the policy process as having a garbage can character (See Hill and Hupe 2002:198).

though different phases can be discerned analytically in both types of processes, they are rather to be understood as intertwined, sometimes occurring simultaneously, and in different orders.

In general, there is much evidence to suggest that the linear model is far from reality. The policy making process is by no means the rational activity that it is often held up to be in much of the standard literature. One major flaw in the linear model is that policies often change as they move through the bureaucracies to the local level where they are implemented. The linear model fails to consider the complexities of the implementation process and develops a situation in which the practical working out of policy may be very different from the policy originally planned. Yet, for the purpose of sequence and clarity in this study, a seemingly linear approach is adopted as outlined in chapter one. However, while the stages can be placed in a linear sequence, I acknowledge that the process is not normally an orderly process from one to the next but an iterative one. I come back to this in chapters four and five where, I point to the iterative nature of policy making processes.

In most European countries, running public enterprises/sectors is nowadays characterised by what others have called New Public Management (NPM). Common features of NPM are market-like production of services and an emphasis of measurement of productivity, effectiveness, efficiency and quality (Christensen and Lægreid 2001). In short, different kinds of accountability activities have expanded. Parallel to this shift in public governance, public education and higher education have been decentralised, leaving local levels more autonomy to decide on how to implement national goals. Thus, European societies have undergone reforms in the mechanism of governance. Further, the relationship between the government and universities has been profoundly modified.

One example is the significant change in the governance of Dutch higher education after 1978. There was the shift from the traditional central state governance towards self-regulation and marketisation. Accordingly, "the rise of the self-regulation concept in European higher education came at a time when even the involved governments had to admit that the traditional centralised approach did not lead to the intended outcomes" (Maassen and Stensaker 2003:93). In north western Europe, the 1970's reform of higher education systems and policy development was no longer prescriptive as it had been in the 1960's. Rather policy development became the object of empirical analyses (Maassen, Enders and Jeliazkova 2002).

2.2 THE HIGHER EDUCATION SYSTEM

For higher education systems, tasks are knowledge centred and indeed knowledge is the main building block. From an organisational perspective, Clark sets out the basic elements of the higher education system and points out that the knowledge based structure of higher education leads to a high level of organisational fragmentation (Clark 1983: 6-11). Thus, knowledge in higher education institutions is very fragmented in faculties with their various disciplines. Indeed, according to Tony Becher, key distinctions between different disciplines have consequences for higher education, research and practice. Becher regards disciplinary groups as academic tribes, each with their own set of intellectual values and cognitive territory. Further, he classifies disciplines as either hard and pure or soft and applied (Becher 1989)[11].

Higher education institutions have loosely articulated decision-making structures owing to the fragmentation mentioned above. At the same time, the main professional orientation in higher education systems is the academics who handle the knowledge. Traditionally, institutions are run by academics. Within higher education institutions, knowledge is handled by academic personnel who discover, refine, transmit and conserve it. According to Clark, "the discipline rather than the institution tends to become the dominant force in the working lives of academics" (Clark 1983:30). However, this knowledge is specialised and incremental, thereby offering studies to doctoral levels and beyond. The production of this knowledge is an open-ended task with ongoing discoveries within various fields. This knowledge is also autonomous with the various disciplines and it has weighty legacies owing to the disciplines' historical background.

Clark (1983) introduced his triangle of coordination in which he traced the state authority, the market and the academic oligarchy as the forces through which higher education was coordinated as shown in figure 2.2

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[11] Bechers' treatment of academic disciplines takes a disciplinary perspective in order to show how these disciplines socialize students into a culture of the disciplines. However, he has been critiqued by Joan Stark who points out that his typologies are unable to accommodate the new college level programmes (See Stark 1998).

FIGURE 2.2 Triangle of coordination

State Authority

Academic oligarchy   Market
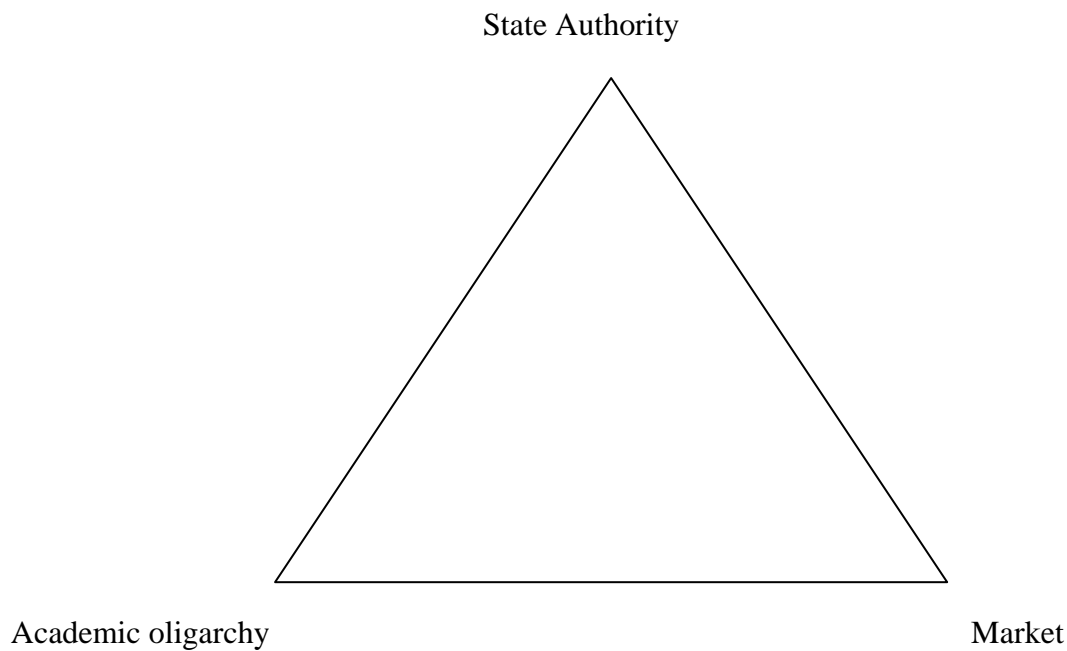
Source :(Clark 1983)

This triangle provides us with a way in which to look at the setting of higher education. According to Clark, the academic oligarchy is the capacity of groups of academic super barons who in both formal and informal settings work together to influence and guide decisions and actions in the higher education system. The market in this case is the absence of institutions that regulate decisions and actions. Rather, there are uninhibited exchanges that link persons and parts. The state authority refers to the efforts that the government makes to steer the decisions and actions of societal actors according to the objectives of the government.

However, Clark places an emphasis on the corners of the triangle, so that universities are either state directed, market directed or steered by an academic oligarchy. Thus, though this triangle has been in wide use, there have also arisen other representations that build upon this base. For example, according to Hölttä (2004), the triangle is better represented as three-dimensional since stakeholders make up one vertex as shown in figure 2.3.

FIGURE 2.3 Three-dimensional substitute of the triangle of coordination

Academic profession

Government

Stakeholders

Markets
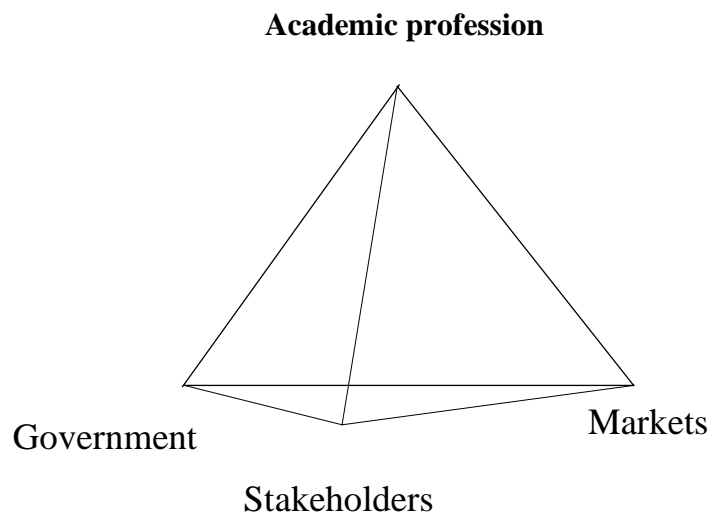
Source: (Hölttä 2004).

Hölttä uses this model, since his focus is on management, administration and leadership of higher education institutions. For him, stakeholders are a crucial component since they interact with the higher education systems. The stakeholders are co-opted into governance bodies of the universities to bring in new input and new values to the establishment. Stakeholders can also be partners in industry who could finance and be related to the academic programme. In general stakeholders as a component answer the questions, for whom does the university exist and which kinds of links are needed by the university system (Hölttä 2004).

According to Maassen and Cloete, new realities have emerged since the 1980's in higher education. These include globalisation and internationalisation, information technology, professionalisation of administration, growth of knowledge, and marketization of higher education policies. These developments are worth consideration. In the era of globalization, higher education moves towards a new mode of management, which has been commonly referred to as New Public Management, which replaces the tradition of collegiality inherited by the academic community.

Maassen and Cloete (2002) consider the significance of the interaction between the coordinates of society, government and higher education institutions. Further, they show that the state, society and higher education are in a network interaction and that none of these can exclusively dominate the governance of higher education. The interaction between government policy on gender and access, higher education institutions, global monetary organizations and the Kenyan society is central to this study. Therefore, the above mentioned reinterpretation of Clark's triangle is fruitful for this study.

Clark's triangle of coordination has been substituted in this study by the triangle introduced by Maassen and Cloete (2002). Figure 2.4 makes clear that there are global forces that impact higher education. This shall be used a background to discuss the role of international monetary organizations on higher education policy formulation in developing countries, to be presented in chapter three.

FIGURE 2.4 A reinterpretation of Clark's triangle

Globalization

Government Policy
[Policy and Steering]

Institutions
[Culture and Capacity]

Society
[Market]

Globalization
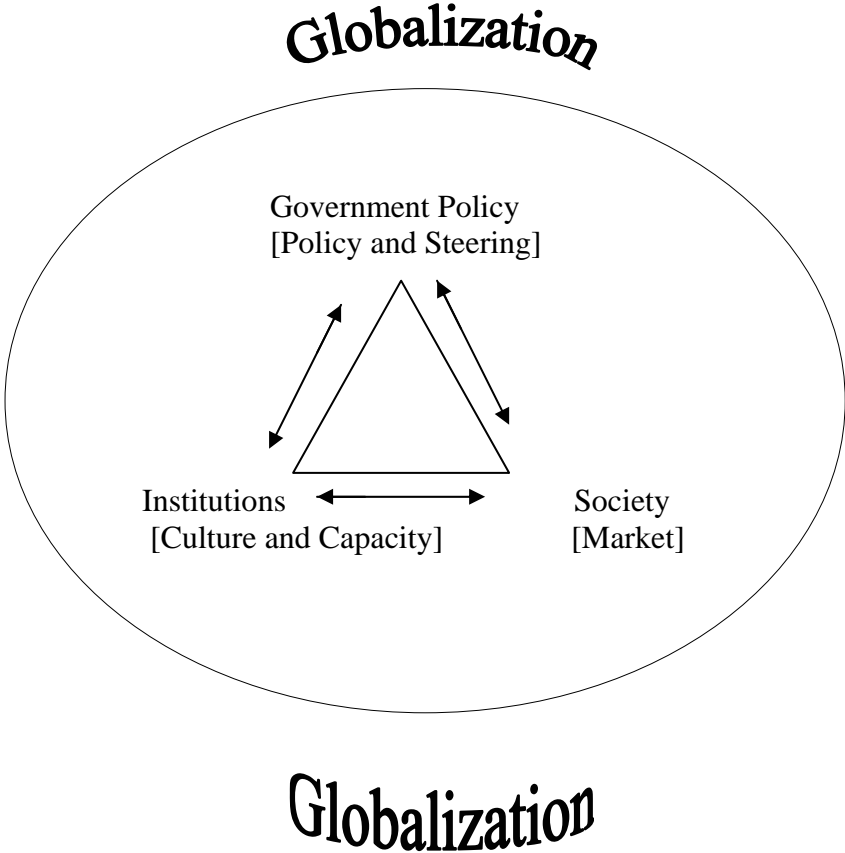
Source: (Maassen and Cloete 2002).

Indeed, there are global, national and local forces with differing strengths that challenge the legitimacy of the nation state on matters concerning higher education. The network relationship referred to by Maassen and Cloete (2002) takes into consideration world market forces, international organisations and global influences on higher education and regional organisations, especially in Europe, but also in other regional blocks (e.g. East Africa). Global influences by international monetary organizations on higher education in developing countries cannot be ignored. This study will examine the same in chapter three.

2.2.1 HIGHER EDUCATION POLICIES

Higher education policies are developed in order to affect higher education systems, which are distinctive since higher education itself is organised and governed in a unique way. Higher education policies function in an institutional environment that is loosely coupled, because of its fragmented organisational basis, vague goals, multiple missions and where change takes place in an incremental grass root way.

Given the complexity of higher education systems as indicated previously, it follows that the formulation and implementation of higher education policies is equally complicated. Firstly, higher education systems are slow to change, thus policy implementation is slowed. Second, policy directives from the Ministries of Education are hardly followed or even shunned by academics, depending on the academics' judgements of their effects since higher education institutions are bottom heavy.

2.3 GENDER AND FEMINISM

Previously, gender had been confined to sex difference debates and sex role debates. Within sex difference debates, the intention was usually to define the nature and extent of sex differences. Sex role debates shifted questions to those of origin, such as biological versus social and historical factors, and those of purpose such as functionality versus relations of dominance.

However, a later notion in feminist theory is that gender refers to socially acquired roles and positions designated as fitting to either males or females at a given time in its history (Clifford 2000:268). Thus, gender may be said to refer to a socially constructed, acquired identity. In general, gender can be defined as socially constructed roles, positions and identities that vary historically and cross-culturally.

Yet, another development in gender scholarship has pointed out that gender too can be understood as a process and that this will have an effect on how we understand the workings of society at both the micro and macro level. According to Lorber, if gender itself is understood as a dynamic process, some will refer to the same process as 'gendering' while others will use the notion 'doing gender'. This implies that both men and women are seen as embodying constructed roles and identities at all levels - the interactional, interpsychic, organisational, institutional and cultural practices of entire societies (Ferree, Lorber, Hess 1999:10-30).

Hebertine Auclert from France is credited with first having used the word "feminism" in 1882 to name the fight of women for political rights (Clifford 2000:11). There are numerous understandings of feminism. Though there are many definitions of feminism, for the purpose of this thesis the definition that is used is articulated thus by Joann Wolski Conn, "Feminism is both a set of coordinated ideas and a practical plan of action rooted in a critical awareness by women of how a culture controlled in meaning and action by men, for their own advantage oppresses women and dehumanizes men" (Clifford 2000:17).

Feminist theory from its inception has been pluralistic in nature. According to Rosemary Tong, "Feminist theory is not one but many theories or perspectives and each feminist theory or perspective attempts to describe women's oppression, to explain its causes and consequences and to prescribe strategies for women's liberation" (Tong 1989:1-10). Tong's analysis sketches about seven perspectives.[12] In addition, she selects what in her view are legitimate approaches by feminists. However, her selection does not take into account among others, post-colonial approaches or even black feminist perspectives. Therefore, her presentation of feminism does not reflect in its entirety contemporary feminist theory. Consequently, this is a challenge to white-dominated feminism and a call for a more broad-based understanding that allows for different cultural/racial communities and politics.

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[12] The use of some feminist perspectives is presented in chapter four.

The above perspective on gender and feminism is fruitful and will be used in this study when it comes to highlighting the gender gap in female enrolment at the university level. It shall also be used as a viewpoint to present the policy problem as shown in chapter four. Further, gender and feminism in this study provides us with a lens through which to point out the size, characteristics and development in the gender gap in higher education.

2.4 ACCESS

Access means ensuring equitable right of entry to tertiary education institutions based on merit. But, theoretically, access is a mixed bag. The literature on widening access is entrenched in economistic and democratization arguments. Discourses combine human rights, and inclusion, affirmative action, economic and social development and international competitiveness.[13] Yet, with regard to post-secondary education, a focus is placed on underrepresented groups such as immigrants, women, refugees and the disabled. As demand for access has increased, many policies and mechanisms are needed to meet this challenge such as policy-making, institutional governance and academic staff development.

At least 4 trends can be observed in developing countries' literature relating to the access agenda and incorporating practical and strategic approaches. The first set of documents berates under-representation in higher education in general and in certain disciplines, including science and engineering. These points of view are framed in human rights or economic rationalities (Makhubu 1998). The second deconstructs the social, organizational and material barriers (Alele Williams 1992; Kwesiga 2002). The third identifies strategies for inclusion (Nawe 2002) and the fourth links access to wider social transformation and a movement away from traditional values (Boughy 2003). Two of these trends will be pointed out within discussions in chapters three and four.

During the 19th graduation ceremony at Kenyatta University, on the 15th of December 2004, the current Minister for Education in Kenya, Prof. George Saitoti, noted that the government was keen to increase access to university. He regretted that despite the increased enrollment over the years since the university was established in Kenya, currently universities were only

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[13] Widening participation is frequently constructed as an unquestioned 'good', with assumed wider social and personal benefits. This is because traditionally, upward social mobility via higher education has been perceived as an emancipatory form of personal and social improvement. The promise of a better life, income and social network has thus fuelled motivation.

able to admit less than a quarter of students who had attained the cut-off points[14]. Certainly, this scenario has arisen as a result of the inability of public universities to meet the ever-increasing demand for places. Due to the fewer places available for students, the problem of access also takes upon a gendered nature.

It has been generally assumed that the expansion of national systems of higher education in Africa would contribute to greater equity in access through increased participation of traditionally disadvantaged groups such as women and the disabled. In many countries expansion was intentionally aimed at achieving these results. This process of change in higher education has been identified as a movement from an "elite" to a "mass access" system (Trow 1974). In many cases, such supply side expansion policies certainly have helped to increase the number of students accessing higher education. However, increasing access has not necessarily led to "mass access" systems in most developing countries, nor has it necessarily led to greater equality of opportunity. There has not yet been any attempt to provide "open access" for all secondary school graduates.[15]

2.5 GOVERNANCE AND POLICY INSTRUMENTS

According to Peters (2001:4-13) the traditional governance model was based on six principles. First: the civil service was a-political, in other words 'neutrally competent'. In addition, politics and administration were seen as separate elements of governance. Second, public management was based on hierarchical principles. Third, the governmental organizations were permanent and stable. Fourth, civil service was institutionalized and governed as a corporate body. Fifth, the civil service was strictly controlled and regulated in detail. And finally, equality was an important principle in governance. But, changes have taken place in the forms and mechanisms of governance, in governing capabilities and in styles of governance.

Peters further discusses alternatives to the traditional governance approach. He summarises his approach as presented in table 2.1[16]

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[14] Minister of Education, Prof. George Saitoti. The Standard Newspaper. See www.eastandard.net/hm_news. Date: 17th December 2004.

[15] The Report of the Presidential working party on manpower training for the next decade and beyond- Dubbed Kamunge report of 1988 section 10.3 points out the policy of admission of students into public Universities. See Appendix for pertinent sections the Kamunge report especially page 75.

[16] These four models are strictly used in this study in order to show the involvement and role of actors in policy formulation. This is presented in Chapter four.

TABLE 2.1 Major features of the four models.

	Market	Participation	Flexibility	Deregulation
Principal Diagnosis	Monopoly	Hierarchy	Permanence	Internal regulation
Structure	Decentralization	Flatter organizations	Virtual organizations	Power hierarchy
Management	Pay for performance; other private sector techniques	Management teams	Managing temporary personnel	Greater managerial freedom
Policy making	Internal markets; market incentives	Consultation; negotiation	Experimentation	Active bureaucracy
Public interest	Low Cost	Involvement; consultation	Low cost; coordination	Creativity; activism

Source: (Peters 2001: 21)

The market model of governance presumes that the government and the state in general have a service-providing role with an emphasis on efficiency and good quality. Here, society controls the state more directly through market mechanisms. This model primarily attends to economic values and norms, meaning that other values and considerations from the centralised state model must be downgraded. For the market model, public reform processes are primarily the result of changes in market processes and user demand (Peters 2001).

But, there is no one new governance model that can solve all the problems that the old governance model had, nor is there any new alternative model that does not come with its own sets of complexities. New alternative models have, though tacitly, some traces of the old model. Indeed with new models of governance, it does not mean that the role of the government and of more or less formalized government decisions should be underestimated. But it means that the playing field has been rearranged towards a more "hybrid" form of steering (Enders et al 2003:30). Therefore, "… in line with the neo-institutional perspectives… it is not assumed that the traditional governance model is abolished

completely…" (Maassen 2003:39). It is therefore to be noted that none of these models in their pure form exists in Kenya or in any other country.

Adherents of the new governance perspectives claim that traditional governance, with its focus on public agencies organized hierarchically and on delivery programs modelled after the command, has been gradually giving way to governance in which collaboration with non-governmental actors becomes the key strategy for addressing public problems and pursuing public purposes. The new governance approaches emphasize tools and instruments rather than agencies and programs; they privilege interdependent networks of institutions and actors over centralized bureaucratic hierarchies. Further, they replace top-down command and control with negotiation and persuasion as modes of regulation; and they imagine a public service focussed on enablement rather than management (Stoker 1998).

Yet, the essence of governance is its focus on mechanisms that do not rest on recourse to the authority and sanctions of government (Stoker 1998; Rhodes 1997). But the problem with this approach is that these new forms of governance imply a blurring of distinctions between the public and the private sectors, and between different professions and disciplines. In essence, there is a delegation of public policy to semi-public organizations, independent regulatory bodies and even non-governmental organizations. Hence the political agency is no longer fixed or well defined.

Increased interest on the topic governance has led to varied discussions such as the one on New public management. Stoker points out two interpretations of governance, the managerial and the systemic. The managerial interpretation sees it as the embracing of new tools by existing formal authorities without any radical changes in the processes themselves. From this perspective, new forms of governance might introduce new policy instruments. The systemic interpretation refers instead to new practices, new types of partnerships and the emergence of self-governing networks that radically affect the existing organizations and processes (Stoker 1998).

Policy instruments include, among other things the government's capabilities to ensure that policies are conformed to. Yet, not all instruments attached to a given policy are dominant. There are some that stand out as leading while some could seem secondary. There are four fundamental sets of tools mechanisms by which government influences society. Christopher

Hood classifies the tools of government in terms of nodality (Nodal point in flow of information), Authority (legal basis), Treasure (Economic resources), and Organization, i.e. the public bureaucracy and its ability to implement programmes and to monitor environments (Hood 1983).

2.6 ACTORS

In any policy formulation process, there are actors. Actors formally contribute to the policy formulation process through their organizational roles, either in their normal work, or as members of official committees or commissions. Some actors, i.e. interest groups have vested concern in a policy issue, for example, parents or teachers. They are frequently organized in associations or groups and are often invited to participate in the consultation process. They may also make informal contributions through lobbying or through the media.

Walt and Gilson and others have considered the many actors involved in the policy process and the different roles that they play. Table 2.2 shows five of the key groups of actors.

TABLE 2.2 Actors and their role

ACTORS	ROLE
Technocrats	Knowledge
Bureaucrats	Institutions
Interest Groups	Representation
Politicians	Power
Donors	Influence

Source: (Walt and Gilson 1994).

Technocrats include scientists, academics, health professionals, and other experts who provide information to identify the extent and nature of the problem as well as technical analysis of its causes and solutions. Technocrats are interested in searching for solutions to society's problems and generating interest and funding to support further research. In Kenya, technocrats interested in gender-related access include the full members of The Forum for African Women Educationalists (FAWE).[17] Full members of FAWE are women ministers

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[17] (FAWE) was created in 1992 as a response to the slow pace of implementation of Education for All goals in sub-Saharan Africa.

and deputy Ministers of Education, women permanent secretaries in education ministries, or directors of education and prominent women educationalists. FAWE is a membership organization with three levels of membership, namely, full membership as mentioned earlier, associate membership and affiliate membership. Associate membership is drawn from serving male Ministers of education who are committed to the FAWE mandate and have been invited by the Executive Committee at its discretion. FAWE National Chapters are affiliate members of FAWE.

Bureaucrats are interested in using the government structure in a manner best suited to addressing issues and often seek to maintain or expand the current bureaucracy. They bring knowledge of government institutions, including how institutions can address the issue at hand. In Kenya, the permanent secretaries of the various ministries primarily play the role of the bureaucrats.

On the other hand, interest groups are generally formed to represent the concerns of particular groups of people (e.g., religious groups, physicians, and parents). They seek to make sure that the group's interests are heard and considered in policy decisions.

But, the ultimate decision makers are usually politicians. Some seek power in order to help solve society's problems while others may be interested in obtaining or retaining power. The Kenyan national assembly consists of elected and nominated members; who are currently 210 and 12 respectively. In the exercise of the legislative power of the Republic of Kenya, bills are passed by the national assembly and become law on the president appending his assent.

Donors often play an important role in policy formulation and implementation. They may sustain the process with funds and technical assistance, provide international recommendations and guidelines, and have significant influence on implementation through their funding decisions. Some current donors to the Ministry of Education include the World Bank, the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) and UNESCO.

In general, within the process of administering any given policy issue, many actors are called upon to make choices about specific allocations of public resources and many others attempt to influence decisions. The actors that might be involved, as already mentioned above, work among the national level planners, regional and local politicians, economic elite groups and

bureaucratic implementers at middle and lower levels. Depending on the goals of each policy and the form in which it is to be administered, actors may be intensely or marginally involved in implementation. FAWE, as shall be elaborated upon in Chapter four, as an interest group, does play an intense role in the gender related access policy implementation in higher education in Kenya.

However, the methods of goal attainment of the actors and stakeholders could be in conflict with each other. The strategies, resources and power positions of each of the actors will determine the outcome of this conflict. For example, the implementation strategies of FAWE when compared to those of The Kenya National Commission for UNESCO, which is also the EFA country committee, are different and this is pointed out in detail in Chapter four.

2.7 IMPLEMENTATION THEORIES

Findings relevant to the understanding of the policy implementation process have been and are being made in a wide range of disciplinary or sub-disciplinary areas. Indeed, even these findings are reported in a wide range of ways in a multiplicity of publications. In addition to direct disciplinary literature, in political science, sociology, and so on, there is a considerable amount of work on implementation issues in substantive areas of concern, such as housing policy and health policy.

There is voluminous literature on the implementation of policy. Some of these studies on implementation examine those factors that contribute to the realization or non-realization of policy objectives. From this perspective, implementation takes place after policy has been packaged up. Such a view is top-down in the sense that policy is introduced at the top by decision makers and transmitted down a hierarchy to those implementing it at the bottom.

In the examination of implementation, there has been a concern to explain what happens and a concern to affect what happens. Within literature on implementation, there has been a development from the longstanding concern to explain and to reduce the gap between policy formulation and policy results. Hence early top-down theorists emphasized issues about purposive action and control over policy processes. Top-down theories of implementation were motivated by the desire to advice policy makers on how to design policies that would have a better chance of succeeding. The top-down approach, also known as the rational model

of implementation has the normative assumption that policy should be made at the top by democratically elected politicians rather than by the civil servants and implementing agencies. Top-down proponents take a dim view of any lack of compliance, seeing it as unruly and possibly unlawful. They take the rational view of the policy process in so far as they have confidence in the top's abilities to coordinate and control the implementation process and believe that they exert a greater influence over policy outcomes than implementing officials (Hill and Hupe 2002).

However, top-down theories have been criticized on a variety of grounds. Policy is not made in a vacuum: there are actors, other organizations and an overarching set of institutional structures within which political outcomes are bargained. Therefore, the top-down approaches do not take into account this rich variety of political interaction. According to Sabatier, top-down approaches run the risk of accrediting anything and everything that happens at the bottom to the effects of the stature or policy in question. The problem of focusing on one particular statute is that the analyst's attention may be channeled away from considering the role of other actors or of inputs from other policy areas or the private sector (Sabatier 1986:30-35). At the same time, in view of changes in models of governance, the top-down debate seems rather dated. Consequently, the top-down emphasis on control becomes irrelevant.

On the other hand, bottom-up theories posit a more complex process of action and reaction, often based on local conditions and circumstances rather than anything prescribed by the top. The perspective is bottom up, in the sense that it starts with implementing agents and examines their behavior and motivations and perceptions, and the personal and structural factors that encourage them to act in the ways that they do. Within this perspective, there is an acceptance of the difficulties faced by those at the bottom. It notes the very positive contribution that they can make to the better delivery of services (Hill and Hupe 2002:51-56).[18]

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[18] There have been attempts to provide an alternative to the top-down and bottom up approaches to policy implementation. Some have termed these as bargaining, synthesizing or negotiation approaches. In general, these alternatives seek to take a more political view of the implementation process and not as the more simple the top-down and bottom up theories assume it is any way mechanical or predictable (See Ham and Hill 1993; Hill and Hupe 2002).

Until a much needed 'southern' conceptual dimension emerges, those from developing countries who wish to engage in policy implementation will have to borrow from the above mentioned frameworks, which derive from decades of research in the North, much of it in the USA. They may not be ideal tools for southern policy makers who in their contexts cannot take for granted political stability, strong democratic traditions, relatively incorrupt civil service or an accessible database of information to guide policy formulation (Peter et al 1995).

2.8 EVALUATION FRAMEWORKS

After implementation, policies may be monitored and evaluated. There are new and better ways evolving to perform these tasks and external participation in these areas is also becoming popular. For example, an external actor like the general public provides information to policy monitors and evaluators, or the policy monitors contact the public for their opinions, reactions and analyses. Monitoring and evaluation can be carried out by joint collaboration, or independent assessments and evaluations can be compared, contrasted and worked upon for new policies or policy reform.

The basis of evaluation as a general social process is to make judgments of worth by assessing the value of policy programmes, activities and products. According to Caro, evaluation can either be informal or formal (Caro 1971). Formal evaluation is a planned undertaking whereas informal evaluation consists of casual and subjective appraisals, which any individual can make of any object or situation.

Traditional policy formulation and implementation very rarely involved external participation. However, as is evident from the literature (Hill and Hupe 2002), external participation can be included in different forms at many different places in the entire process. Evaluation of the implementation process would entail making judgments about implementation of the specific programme in view of the goals and the objectives that had been set. A normative comparison between what is observed and what is expected is then made. According to Hill and Hupe, the definitions of evaluation given in literature vary in broadness.

For some, evaluation of policy is synonymous with policy analysis. Yet, however much evaluation and implementation overlap in practice, to maintain the distinction is important. According to Parsons as cited by Hill and Hupe, evaluation examines how public policy and the people who deliver it may be appraised. Whereas implementation is about how the policy

is put into action and practice (See Hill and Hupe 2002). However, for practical reasons in this study, it is important to maintain the distinction between implementation and evaluation as two successive stages of the policy process (Hill and Hupe 2002)

Since the 1950's, there basically was a positivistic approach to evaluation based on a natural science model. This approach to evaluation tended to be the dominant paradigm in evaluation. In recent years, however, recognition of some of the difficulties with this approach has given rise to a more qualitative approach to evaluation. This approach emphasizes interpretation, illumination and explanation using explanatory models. Since this study will deal with evaluation of the gender-related access policy in higher education in chapter four, what is fruitful for this section on evaluation is formal evaluation within higher education.

Consequently, 'new' evaluation could be divided in view of five basic definitions of evaluation as presented by Gardner (Gardner 1977). This section shall explore these five evaluation frameworks as a background to evaluation of the gender-related access policy in Kenyan higher education by EFA and FAWE.

The first evaluation framework is evaluation as measurement. Here, evaluation is concerned with measuring effects, results or performance using some type of formalized instrument, which produces data that can be compared. This approach includes assumptions that phenomena have significant measurable attributes and that there are instruments available to measure them. Examples of these are the GRE and SAT tests. Thus, the expected outcome from the measurement type of evaluation is a number or sets of numbers, which can be compared and interpreted with reference to another number or a generally accepted standard scale. In general, in situations where high objectivity and reliability are required, where relevant measurable attributes can be identified, and valid instruments can be designed and implemented to measure them, the measurement approach is handy.

Second, evaluation as professional judgement. Here, a qualified professional is asked to examine the phenomenon to be evaluated and then render expert opinion regarding its quality, effectiveness or efficiency. Thus, the resulting statement of the relative worth is the evaluation. This approach assumes that the best judge of the worth of a phenomenon is an expert in the area of the phenomenon to be evaluated. Here, the evaluator is seen as an information processor whose job is to judge and assimilate relevant data. However, if the

evaluator has a personal stake in the process, for example in the case of a fellow faculty member seeking a tenured position, the values brought to bear might be subjective. Thus, in situations where time is short, where a high degree of objectivity is not required and where a relatively simple evaluation design is desired, the professional judgement approach may be most appropriate.

Third, evaluation as the assessment of correspondence between performance and objectives. In this approach, evaluation is viewed as a process of specifying or identifying goals, objectives or standards of performance. Within this approach, the most important decisions regarding a phenomenon to be evaluated is based on its objectives and criteria established for judging relative success or failure in the attainment of those objectives. The intended results of such an evaluation are judgements of worth regarding the policy process, program or phenomenon based on interpreted comparisons between performance data and objectives. In general, if goals are a primary concern, if valid ways to assess performance can be devised and applied, then a goal-oriented evaluation framework should be selected.

Fourth, evaluation as decision-making evaluation. Within this approach, evaluation is the process of delineation information needs, obtaining a plan for the information, and providing useful information for judging decision alternatives. This approach assumes that evaluation is performed in the service of decision-making. Here, evaluation is the marshalling of information for the purpose of improving decisions. The evaluation process in this approach includes the three main steps of delineating, obtaining and providing information. These three steps provide the basis for a methodology of evaluation. The desired outcome of decision-making evaluation is continual exchange between evaluators and administrators regarding information needs associated with critical decisions. There is also a continuous flow of systematically collected, relevant information to satisfy information needs. However, this approach assumes that providing the correct feedback to the appropriate level of decision-making will ensure that the information will be used effectively to control the system.

Yet, according to Joyce Laraine, it is naïve to expect that evaluation findings will automatically influence policy decisions. This is because evaluative data is only one of the many inputs to the decision making process. There are other 'irrational' factors such as public receptivity that must also be put into consideration (Laraine 1980). Indeed, the decision making process is itself a complex political activity involving negotiation and compromise.

Fifth, goal free/responsive evaluation. Responsive evaluation is an iterative process of acquiring information about an institution, program or project, defining issues of importance to the constituencies and describing strengths and weaknesses relative to these issues. Here, stated objectives may or may not be centrally important to the issues identified (Stake 1974). Responsive evaluation seeks to answer the questions, which policy makers have about programmes. Responsive evaluators seek to perform a service by spending a great deal of time finding out what kind of information would be useful to those sponsoring the evaluation. Thus, a large proportion of the time available for evaluation should be allocated to investigating the information needs of sponsors and thereby ensuring their commitment to the study (Gardner 1977).

However, this has been criticised since by identifying a particular client for an evaluation and collecting data relevant to the clients' information needs, the evaluator may be merely aligning her/himself with the most powerful group. Consequently, such an evaluation is inherently conservative. In general, following a responsive evaluation approach, the evaluator is aligning her/himself with the establishment and is eliminating the possibility of any radical reassessment of the situation towards which the policy programme is addressing itself.

2.9 CONCLUSION

In general, chapter two has presented us with a literary background that is fruitful for this study. It has looked into different approaches to the policy making process. It has also presented us with a relevant background of higher education in Kenya with particular reference to policy formulation.

In this chapter, it has been noted that there has been a debate dominated by arguments whether top-down or bottom-up views of implementation are more appropriate. It was noted that the top-down preoccupation with the elimination of the gap between formulation and output contrasted with the bottom up view that the implementation gap was inevitable and perhaps desirable for the participation of other actors in later stages of the policy process. Yet, it was fruitful from a methodological point of view to seek to explain and understand implementation process by seeking alternative perspectives. This is what was referred to as the bargaining, synthesizing or negotiation approaches. Indeed, the bottom-up and top-down perspectives is a useful way of looking at implementation literature as it highlights important

issues. First, about methodology and second, about normative perspectives that influence the study of implementation.

Reform processes in the education sector in Kenya are an integral part of the political-administrative system, which encompasses a complexity of actors, tasks, beliefs, principles, resources and rules. At the same time, the dissemination and the circulation of decisions among actors and stakeholders is a significant element of the policy formulation process. Thus the role of actors is vital in an environment where participatory approaches to policy making are involved.

Indeed, the gender-related access policy in Kenya could not be formulated and implemented in a vacuum. Rather, there were participants from the civil society, the Ministry of Education and politicians too. Yet, it is worth noting that this participation from the Kenyan citizenry came after the gender agenda had been set at the 1990 EFA meeting already. Having presented us with a general overview of literature considered for this study, I now introduce us to the contextual framework within which Kenyan higher education is located.

CHAPTER THREE: CONTEXT OUTLINE

3.0 INTRODUCTION

This chapter presents us with a much-needed contextual background for the entire thesis. It portrays a discussion of changes within the Kenyan higher education and political landscape. Since Kenya is situated in Africa, the broader frame of higher education in Africa and implementation of policies in developing countries is particularly relevant in this chapter. This chapter also deals specifically with the Kenyan environment in as far as higher education transformations, policies and policy implementations are concerned. It points out the implications of higher education policies in Kenya.

3.1 CONTEXTUAL FRAMEWORK

A starting point for this chapter will be to explore policy making in developing countries. Indeed, the content of these policies varies from country to country. Policies as understood and implemented in developing countries differ from the understanding and implementation of policies in developed countries and from country to country owing to the differences in a complex mixture of environmental pressure, historical institutional context and the kind of political-administrative systems. There are contextual factors, which ought to be understood in general terms for the discussion of policies in developing countries.

In sub-Saharan countries, one group of observers notes that there is reluctance by the old political class to loosen its grip on power since they enjoy numerous benefits, which they are not ready to forfeit. There is also systemic political corruption, which has spread rampantly, through to the civil service. There is inadequate capacity and resources of civil society while at the same time there is a general culture of accepting an authoritarian, hierarchical social structure. The public also lacks information and knowledge of their rights (Peter et al 1995).

These contextual factors indicate that the treatment of policies in developed countries say in Norway and Sweden are different from developing countries. Indeed, the Norwegian and Swedish models of governance have weak centres of government and delegate more authority for policy and administrative reform to departments and agencies. At the same time, the

multiparty system in both these countries leads to formally weaker prime ministers in comparison to New Zealand, which has strong political leaders (Christensen and Lægreid 2001:27-28). But, the fashioning of appropriate policies and the mobilization of the relevant constituencies and resources in developing countries are strategic imperatives that call for national, political and policy leadership of the highest order. These are not currently set in place, as they ought to. In general, countries throughout the world, developing and developed vary considerably in their ability and willingness to formulate and implement policies that will generate improved development (Corkery et al 1995:1).

According to Hirschman, developing countries have had to formulate policies in situations in which immediate financial crises have taken precedence over policy issues with more long-term, strategic and development-oriented objectives. These countries have confronted difficulties with a low understanding of the problem thus policymaking has tended to slip from one expedient to another without tackling underlying problems (Hirschman 1975).

Following a study (Corkery et al 1995) based on policy formulation in three African countries, i.e. Uganda, Tanzania and Ghana, findings indicated that policymaking in these countries was reduced to ad-hoc responses to urgent problems, leaving little room for more fundamental and long-term policy analysis, consultation and implementation. Like many other African countries, these countries have a centralisation of policy making. Since independence, top-down policy making based on one party systems and the incorporation of independent institutions by the state was the norm.

In practice, the centralised, top-down approach has usually confined policy formulation to the narrow elite. This small circle has a narrow appreciation of how technical policy analysis and formulation can be. Consequently, the ruling circle has not expressed much demand for policy relevant studies. The lack of demand from decision makers for analysis accounts for the disappointing outcome of past efforts to improve the policy-formulation capacity of governments through training. Further, Ghana and Uganda had a low quality information base. There was a gap in data provision due to the hostile political and economic climate, for instance, the salaries of the civil servants was low and thus their morale was reduced. Thus, there was a lack of cooperation with government officials in getting information (Corkery et al 1995:11-40).

Developing countries lack policy analysis units in government. Sound policy formulation is lacking at ministerial level and even where there are policy analysis units established in some ministries, the staff lacks the necessary expertise. According to the World Bank study of education policy in Africa, the shortage of staff and other resources has reduced vital policy and planning units to the status of statistics offices, concerned primarily with meeting the information needs of external funding agencies. Such units are not able to generate a variety of policy options for review and thus to learn from the implementation of policy decisions (World Bank 1988).

For developing countries, development policies have normally been addressed by governments that have been continually confronted by financial crisis. Thus, very often it has been external organisations that have set the pace and direction of development policies, adding an international dimension to national policy making processes (Mutahaba, Baguma and Halfani 1993).

3.2 EDUCATIONAL AND POLITICAL SECTOR TRANSFORMATIONS IN KENYA

Kenya is situated in Eastern Africa. The structure of Kenya's education system comprises of the education and training sector. This includes at the higher education level, university education, technical and vocational education and training, teacher education and training, non-formal education and adult education. Kenya has 6 public universities and 17 private universities. Undergraduate education takes a minimum of 4 academic years. Currently, the enrolment is about 63,000 students so that on average the annual intake into public universities is about 10,000 and private universities, 6,000.

Public universities were established by Acts of Parliament (some of them with constituent colleges), and private universities by a letter of Interim Authority. In September 1951, a Royal Charter was issued to the Royal Technical College of East Africa, which was aimed at providing higher technical education for the region. The college proceeded to open its doors to the first intake of students in April 1956. The Royal College Nairobi was renamed "University College, Nairobi" on 20th May 1964. On the attainment of "University College" status, the institution prepared students for bachelor's degrees awarded by the University of London, while also continuing to offer college diploma programmes.1st July 1970, saw the

birth of the first university in Kenya, the University of Nairobi set up by an Act of Parliament. At that time, it was a faculty-based university serving a student population of 2,768 (2,584 undergraduate and 184 post graduate students).[19]

The likelihood of a successful transformation process in the higher education sector in Kenya is conditioned by the nature and the magnitude of changes, politically and economically. With the rest of sub-Saharan Africa, Kenya has experienced a period of rapid political change. This was heavily influenced by bilateral donors and international financial institutions, who pushed for change from a single political party system to a multi party system.

Kenya became independent on December 12, 1963. Jomo Kenyatta, head of the Kenya African National Union (KANU), became Kenya's first president. The minority party, Kenya African Democratic Union (KADU), representing a coalition of small tribes that had feared dominance by larger ones, dissolved itself voluntarily in 1964 and joined KANU.

In 1969, the opposition party, Kenya People's Union (KPU) was banned and its leader detained. No new opposition parties were formed after 1969. This lasted until the early 1990's, when several new parties were formed, and multiparty elections were held in December 1992. President Daniel Arap Moi was re-elected for another five-year term. According to human rights observers, after winning the first multiparty election the government of Daniel Arap Moi increased its harassment of the political opposition, bringing spurious criminal charges against opposition politicians, forcing unwarranted restrictions on their freedom of association, and arresting them without charge (Human rights watch July 1994: http://hrw.org/doc/?t=africa_pub&c=kenya visited on 10 February 2005).

After multiparty elections, there was the appointment of the official opposition leader. This was an important step in the right direction for the National Assembly and parliament sessions as an effective check on the powers of the executive. Soon after, there were opposition MP's appointed in the Public accounts committee. This step helped produce critical comments on the auditor Generals annual report and reveal any misuse of public funds.

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[19] For details see the university of Nairobi website http://www.uonbi.ac.ke

27th December 2002 turned out to be a momentous day in Kenya's political history. Mwai Kibaki won the preceding General Elections and was sworn in as President on 30th December 2002. With the victory of the opposition NARC coalition and the election of its candidate Mwai Kibaki as President, this was another step by Kenya towards more democracy. According to some political analysts, NARC is a coalition government experiment[20] on the African Continent. It is the expectation of the Kenyan population that the NARC government will be a more representative government. One possible transformation in higher education owing to the election of a more representative government will be the relaxing of the central government control of the finance and management by the political elite.

According to the Ministry of Planning and National Development, the Action Plan below is the blueprint that will guide the Government's economic policies over the next five years. Thus, the "ECONOMIC RECOVERY STRATEGY FOR WEALTH AND EMPLOYMENT CREATION 2003 – 2007" economic recovery plan with reference to the education sector states,

> Education is a key determinant of earnings and therefore an important exit route from poverty.
> Education improves people's ability to take advantage of the opportunities that can improve
> their well-being as individuals and be able to participate more effectively in the community and markets. Higher educational attainment for a household head significantly reduces the likelihood of a household being poor. Likewise, the education level of mothers significantly affects the health status of the entire family.
>
> The broad objectives of education sector interventions are to achieve 100 per cent net primary school enrolment rate and reduce the disparity in access and quality of education. Secondary objectives are to improve access and quality and to reduce disparities at all levels of education.[21]

The Action Plan above seeks to harmonise strategies for accelerated economic growth with the country's poverty reduction strategies and the ideals outlined in the NARC Manifesto. The plan includes an equity and social-economic agenda focusing on reducing inequalities in access to productive resources and basic goods and services. It further pays particular attention to promoting access leading to the decrease of inequalities at higher levels of education.

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[20] Internal Displacement: Global Overview of Trends and Developments in 2004, Global IDP Database, Kenya. www.db.idpproject.org

[21] See http://www.planning.go.ke/econ_publication.html

3.3 HIGHER EDUCATION IN AFRICA

Higher education includes education carried out after secondary education i.e. post-secondary and tertiary education. Its emphasis is on knowledge transfer and production. Accordingly, higher education is composed of knowledge as the prime material around which activity is organised (Clark 1983:6). Though there is a consensus among scholars on the role of higher education to transmit knowledge and train people to produce qualified manpower, higher education has been met with criticisms. Critics of higher education in Africa, and especially university education point out that university education fosters an attitude of self importance rather than of community service, reinforces the emerging patterns of status stratification, encourages the transfer of Western ideology, high unit cost of higher education to mention but a few (Hinchliffe 1987). But, in Africa, since the 1960's, universities were almost the only institutions of higher education and research.

The functions of higher education, according to Castells include, the recruitment of social elites, first for the colonial administration, later on for the new political elites created with independence (Castells 2001:213). Further, some of the functions of higher education include the creation of new knowledge through scholarship and the transmission of the "high culture" thought to make men truly civilized by shaping of mind and character (Castells 2001:60; Trow 1970:2-3).[22]

However, at a workshop held in 1973 under the auspices of the Association of African Universities' to formulate a new philosophy of university education, the roles appropriate for the *truly African university* were said to include, among other things, the following:

- Pursuit, promotion and dissemination of knowledge: with an emphasis on practical knowledge, locally oriented.

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[22] It is unrealistic to understand culture as one and universal as in a classicist understanding where 'the person of culture' was the one who nourished her/herself in the achievements of the west. However, an empiricist notion of culture understands culture as a set of beliefs, attitudes, values and norms that contribute to a people's self-understanding. Within an empiricist framework, there are a variety of cultures, and not one universal culture, at the same time each culture is important. Indeed, if there are so many cultures in the world, which essentially contribute to peoples self-perception, which could be said to be 'high'? (See Clifford Geertz 1973:89)
Indeed, the classicist understanding of culture is tantamount to cultural domination that consequently misunderstands and misrepresents other cultures in order to make one culture appear the best. Therefore, if university education is aimed at transmitting a 'high culture', whose culture is it to be transmitted? Unless it is the culture of the indigenous peoples, then this is tantamount to downplaying and overlooking other cultures, in the name of civilization and education.

- Research: with an emphasis on research into local problems affecting the immediate community.

- Provision of intellectual leadership: not only the production of knowledge but also its wide diffusion for meaningful programmes of economic and social development.

- Promoting social and economic modernisation; through example and activities outside the university including extension work with small scale traders, artisans and farmers.

- Promoting intercontinental unity and international understanding through providing the foundation to reinforce the positive image of Africa (Hinchliffe 1987:36)

But, these roles could be said to be ambitious and emphasize a need to serve the developmental needs of the society. Yet, global reform trends in higher education have led to vast changes, such that it is argued whether higher education should be a social institution or an industry. The role of the African university presents higher education as a social institution (Gumport 2000). However, in the twenty-first century, there is an imbalance between societal needs demands and institutional capacity of universities. According to Ashby, "… the social purpose of the university in Africa differs from its traditional purpose in Europe. In Europe, universities have stood for continuity and conservation; in Africa universities are powerful instruments for change" (Ashby 1964:98). Further, according to Castells, "… the specificity of the university system in the Third world is that it is historically rooted in its colonial past" (Castells 2001:212).

3.4 HIGHER EDUCATION POLICIES IN KENYA

In Kenya one of the challenges facing higher education is access.[23] According to Clark, "Access became publicly defined in the late 1960's and early 1970's as the most important problem of the many problems brought about by the expansion of the national systems into mass higher education" (Clark 1983:38).

Figure 2.4 introduced us to the possibilities of global forces with differing strengths that challenge the legitimacy of the nation state on matters concerning higher education. It considered world market forces, international organisations and global influences on higher

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[23] A recent articulation of the challenges faced in Higher education in Kenya was by the current Minister of Education in April 2004, Hon. Prof. G. Saitoti, at a Council on Foreign Relations in Washington DC. See http://www.education.go.ke

education. According to Rosa Maria Torres, in her discussion of policy formulation in developing countries, education policy plans are drawn up by international agencies and discussed by few national and international functionaries.

> One salient feature (which was noted with displeasure by several national delegations) was the overbearing presence of functionaries from international agencies at the conference as a whole and on the various panels and committees, especially the two most important and most coveted: the Drafting Committee and the "Futures Group" (Torres 2001).

Sighting in particular the decade from Jomtien-Thailand (1990) to Dakar-Senegal (2000), Education For All, Torres notes that there were significant changes in the world, but these were not reflected in the Dakar document. To her,

> Education for All 1990-2000 was essentially a top-down movement planned, conducted and evaluated by international and national political and technocratic elites, with scant information or encouragement to participate given to citizens, even to teachers and education researchers and specialists. National EFA plans were usually government plans, drawn up and discussed behind closed doors by national and international functionaries. The global, regional and national meetings to monitor EFA were meetings attended by a few familiar faces. Few people knew about the work done by the EFA Forum – the international body monitoring EFA, the secretariat of which was located in the offices of UNESCO, in Paris – or about the composition of its Steering Committee, its meetings and decisions (Torres 2001).

Torres is not alone in this school of thought. According to Brock-Utne (2003), in looking at the formulation of higher education policies in Africa, it is not possible to discuss higher education policies in Africa without discussing the important role of the donors and international agencies, such as the World Bank.

Indeed, the extensive involvement of external agencies in Sub-Saharan Africa impacts on the process of policy formulation. Many countries, including Kenya, have become almost completely dependent on external sources for their development finance. Thus, economic dependency has become the order of the day. According to Corkery, the growing influence of officials of international institutions and donor agencies on policy design, implementation and monitoring without any accountability to the people of Africa is tantamount to an erosion of sovereignty (Corkery et al 1995:16). Therefore, many scholars are in consensus that very often in sub-Saharan countries, it has been external organisations that have set the pace and direction of many policies (Mutahaba, Baguma, and Halfani 1993).

According to the Secretary General of the Association of African Universities, Akilagpa Sawyerr (2002), in industrialized countries, especially the members of the Organization of Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), advanced learning and research are receiving increased attention and investment owing to the acknowledged contribution to

economic development and global competitiveness. However, the same (OECD) countries as donors exercise much influence on the development of Africa's higher education systems. In the 1980's and 1990's they pressed African countries to favour basic education at the expense of higher education.

The argument articulated in the World Bank documents is that, given the generally low coverage in Africa, basic education yields a better return on investment than higher education. African countries have ceded the strategic ground of university higher education under pressure from the international financial institutions and the donor community, as well as their weak economic situation. For the past two decades, African countries have tended to underfund and run down their universities and research institutions in favour of strengthening basic education. To Sawyerr, this is policy bias by African countries and a strategic misstep in part as a result of external pressure form donor agencies (Sawyerr 2002:216-220).

But knowledge is both a resource and a source of power in local and global relations. Higher Education in Developing Countries: Peril or Promise (World Bank 2000), was a publication produced after experts from 13 countries convened by the World Bank and UNESCO to explore the future of higher education in the developing world. This publication argues, "The world economy is changing as knowledge supplants physical capital as the source of present (and future) wealth" (World Bank 2000:9).

Later in 2002, another publication, '*Constructing Knowledge-Challenges for Tertiary Education*' (World Bank 2002) was produced. Apparently, the World Bank had come to realize the importance of higher education after years of emphasizing lower/primary education in its policy programmes in developing countries.

Yet, governments have noted that higher education systems had become so complex and extensive, and that their central government steering was counterproductive. They then moved on to be "selectively intervening" governments (Enders et al 2003:28). A selectively intervening government was to steer from a distance, but not to completely devolve its responsibilities. This is accompanied by the use of new policy instruments, such as granting more incentives to the interest groups, less central planning by the government and less detailed regulation. Consequently, "instead, it is assumed that the government introduces, implicitly or explicitly, the regulatory, policy and funding frameworks within which the

public sector higher education institutions are expected to introduce, adapt or strengthen their management structures"(Maassen 2003:49).

3.5 IMPLEMENTATION OF POLICIES IN THE THIRD WORLD

Grindle has a presented a classical treatment of policy implementation in the third world. This is in an edited book titled, '*Politics and Policy Implementation in the Third World*'. The aim of this edited volume was to develop generalizations on the basis of case study material about how and why content and contextual variables intervene in the implementation process in the third world.

Grindle argues that in the third world the process of implementing public policies is first focused on political participation and competition. This is so because of the characteristics of the political systems themselves such as the remoteness and inaccessibility of the policymaking process to most individuals, and the extensive competition engendered by widespread need and scarce resources. Secondly, political activity is focused at the output stage where the representation of interests and emergence of conflicts occur. Thirdly, political parties in the third world are mechanisms by which elites control mass followings and are vehicles for the personal ambitions of individual politicians. Fourth, interest groups' capacities may be hampered due to limited communication, dispersed membership and lack of education and experience. Fifth, the attitude of leaders in both political and administrative positions that participate in policy formulation processes is illegitimate or inefficient. Thus, Grindle concludes that due to the concentration of political activity on the implementation process, it is likely that policies are more difficult to manage and predict in the third world than elsewhere (Grindle 1980:15-16).

Grindle's study was done in 1980 and there have been changes in the political situation in many developing countries. In the 1980's structural adjustment programmes were introduced that made an impact on the political landscapes of many developing countries. Through donor sanctions and restrictions many countries embraced multiparty systems.

However, many political parties in Kenya tend to look into decisions such as where to focus regional development plans, locate government industries and these highlight the desire to

influence such decisions. Consequently, political parties in many developing countries have found the implementation phase of the policy process particularly suited for their needs.

In developing countries, rather than seeing implementation as an integral part of policy formulation, policy makers tend to view it as an add-on. Further, policy makers tend to assume that decisions to bring about change automatically result after changed policy, instead of planning out the implementation stages (Grindle and Thomas 1991:121).

But this neglect is highly regrettable since developing countries are less able to afford the inefficiencies implicit in the failure to implement policies. At the same time, policies once implemented in developing countries may have a greater and more enduring impact. Consequently, one outcome of the lack of attention to implementation is that cumulative and comparative knowledge of successful or less successful implementation experience is not used in the design of new policies.

Indeed, policy makers looking to research to assist them will unfortunately find meager literature on implementation in developing countries. Worse still, sufficient analytical attention and many aspects of the processes involved are at the moment not yet well understood.

3.6 GOVERNANCE SHIFTS IN POLICY IMPLEMENTATION IN KENYAN HIGHER EDUCATION

In Kenya, there are steering actions of political authorities that deliberately attempt to shape higher education.[24] Indeed, the relationship between the state and the universities in Kenya has been modified, while at the same time, internal governance within the universities itself has been changing. Formerly, there was a prescriptive planning of higher education by the state. In the narrow sense it was a top-down approach.

However, as already mentioned in chapter two, the universities are bottom heavy institutions and the main building block is knowledge. The producers and refiners of this knowledge are

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[24] Otieno James Jowi highlights governance shifts in higher education in Kenya in his thesis titled '*From government to governance: responses by Kenyan universities to the changing role of the state in Kenya's higher education'* (2003).

the intellectuals within the universities. Thus, change in these institutions, following a top down approach is very slow and takes place in an incremental way. Consequently, the question of how these institutions could be best governed came to the surface.

Further on, with the introduction of private universities and the infiltration of international higher education institutions, Kenya as a state ceased to be the sole provider and protector of higher education. Consequently, a part of the authority of the state was delegated to the universities themselves. The universities are given quotas of funds and are to use them without the direct supervision of the Ministry of Education. Indeed, public universities even introduced the parallel degree programmes that were a venture to fundraise and these funds are at the disposal of the university (Otieno 2003).

In general, these governance shifts in Kenyan higher education indicate that there have been changes within the national, regional and international environments of Kenyan higher education that have to be responded to and cannot be ignored. There are societal and even financial arrangements changes that by and large have changed the way that the Kenyan government deals with higher education institutions.

3.7 CONCLUSION

Many of the authors point out, given the size and diversity of Africa, that policies and their implementation can be understood only in relation to a context. Indeed, the setting of higher education in Kenya is based on certain concepts, models of reality and worldviews and these are contextual rather than universal hence the need to focus on the Kenyan context. However, at the same time, figure 2.4 makes clear that there are also global forces that impact higher education in Kenya. This is line with discussions on policy formulation in developing countries as presented in this chapter. Having dealt with the implications of higher education policies in Kenya, I introduce us to an analysis of the gender-related access higher education policy in the next chapter.

CHAPTER FOUR: POLICY ANALYSIS

4.0 INTRODUCTION

Chapter two introduced us to higher education policies in general pointing out that higher education systems are complex in themselves. It further stressed the new realities that have emerged in the era of globalisation and which influence higher education. Chapter three availed to us a contextual overview of Kenya's higher education. Using this background this chapter seeks to discuss the gender related access policy problem, policy objective and the normative basis of the policy with specific reference to Kenya.

Further, it introduces us to policy implementation in Kenya and even more specifically shows competing implementation practices by the Kenyan government and the non-governmental organization FAWE. Based upon Kenyan government implementation practice, its use of policy instruments in the gender related access policy is then discussed. This chapter winds up with a look at policy linkage and actors in the policy making process in Kenya.

4.1 THE GENDER-RELATED ACCESS POLICY PROCESSES IN KENYA'S HIGHER EDUCATION

Problems in access, choice, and persistence in higher education continue to exist in most developing countries. There are still serious questions about students' secondary education achievement, and their access to higher education. Therefore, there are concerns about inequalities of participation and the persistence in higher education of traditionally disadvantaged groups, such as women. As already mentioned in chapter two, one trend observed in developing countries' literature relating to the access agenda berates under-representation in higher education in general and in certain disciplines in particular. Thus, female students in most developing countries have been historically underrepresented in both applications and admissions to university-level education.

In Kenya, where the demand for higher education exceeds the supply, places in higher education are often distributed through competitive examinations without any consideration to their equity effects. In spite of unprecedented growth of higher education during the past two

to three decades, most developing countries in Africa have not provided access to more than one-third of all applicants each year.

But, what is really the policy problem that should lead to policy formulation? For some, the stakeholders of the policy making process, such as politicians, NGOs, scholars, community leaders and donor agencies, present their perceptions of what the problem is. Such presentations are linked to concerns which the stakeholders bring to the surface as a result of their past experiences and their comprehension of the situation. Therefore, stakeholders have an intentional structure of feelings, ideas, experiences, thoughts and concepts, which are activated when they regard an issue as significant in their formulation of the problem. Thus, to them it is possible to influence the agenda of the problems, since problems are a perceptional category (Brunsson and Olsen 1993:35).

For others, what is presented as the problem may not necessarily be *the* problem. Indeed, the distinction between the symptoms and the real causes of the problem is often not easy to delineate. Could the choice by the parent (usually the male parent who is also the breadwinner) to educate a male child to university level while denying the female child university education be a problem of finance or cultural inhibitions? Chapter two presented us with a discussion on gender and feminism, thus, for the radical feminist the real problem is patriarchy as a system, which oppresses women since it is characterised by paternal dominance, hierarchy, competition and power. The relatively low level of female participation at universities is only but a symptom. The radical feminist insists that patriarchy as the rule of the father, perpetuates an ideology that justifies domination of men over women and includes a formal assumption about the inferiority and superiority of women and men respectively. In general, patriarchy in power dynamics creates a hierarchy that legitimates dualism in gender that advantages men over women, giving men privileged positions.

But, could it be that females in Kenya altogether are shying away from university education, and that those females that enrol at a university opt to take humanities and avoid the natural sciences? Could females be part of their own discrimination as a result of their choices? Could females in Kenya be thinking that the university is the males' domain? The psychoanalytic feminist finds the root of women's oppression embedded deep in her psyche, as a result of socialization and the internalization of asymmetrical power structures. However, to the existentialist feminist woman is oppressed by virtue of "otherness". This implies that woman

is regarded as the 'other' because she is not-man (Tong 1989). Therefore, what is really the policy problem in this case? How is the problem "framed" and what are the data?

It is useful to use three major concepts when making an analysis of the problem. According to Lindvig (2004), the concepts of moment, process and structure are necessary when looking into a problem. A moment perspective on the gender gap in enrolment in public universities is to notice that increasingly more males are enrolled into programmes than females on the opening day of the academic year. A process perspective considers what is happening before and after, so that it is noticed that in the walkways and even in the lecture halls of the university premise there are fewer females. However, a structure perspective questions whether it is a coincidence that there are fewer females on campus than males (Lindvig 2004). It is a structure perspective that many feminist queries come from. The structure perspective looks deeply into the question whether the way in which the public universities are built could lead to fewer females in the premises. Could it be that females lack role models given that the bulk of professors and campus heads are males?

This section shall discuss in detail table 4.1 as was introduced in Chapter one, but now with the year 2001/2002 included.

TABLE 4.1 Student enrolments by gender in Universities, 1999/2000 - 2001/2002

INSTITUTION	1999/2000		2000/2001		2001/2002	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Public Universities						
Nairobi	8,419	3,523	8,383	3,341	10,638	4,345
Kenyatta	4,188	3,008	4,510	3,019	10,638	4,314
Moi	3,483	2,312	4,753	1,960	5,469	2,310
Egerton	7,131	2,842	5,998	1,968	6,816	2,284
Jomo Kenyatta (JKUAT)	2,511	626	2,992	1,288	2,565	1,115
Maseno	2,338	1,385	2,596	1,538	2,531	1,518
Total	28,070	13,696	29,232	13,114	38,656	15,887
Private Universities						
Private Accredited	3,186	3,816	3,093	4,050	3,122	4,089
Private Unaccredited	777	346	876	472	949	511
Total	3,963	4,162	3,968	4,521	4,071	4,600
TOTAL	32,033	17,858	33,200	17,636	42,727	20,486
GRAND TOTAL	49,891		50,836		63,214	

Table 4.1 presents student enrolments by gender in both the public and private Universities. Though this study focuses on public Universities, I make few observations regarding the private Universities from the table 4.1. The growth of private university sector in Kenya was fueled by several factors, including the limited opportunities available in public universities; the constant closures of state-funded universities and the need to complement government-managed tertiary education (Brown 2004). Seemingly, all the private accredited Universities have a higher female student enrolment when compared to the male student enrolment. Throughout the three years, 1999 to 2002, the female population in the private Universities increased and remained higher than that of the males. Thus, private higher education in Kenya appears to be female friendly when compared to public higher education.

Female students make up only 30 percent of total enrollment in the public universities. However, at private accredited universities gender parity is evident since women comprise 54.5 percent of the 1999/2000 total student enrollment. It could be said that most women enroll in private universities because they fail to secure admission into public universities, owing to poor performance on the Kenya Certificate of Secondary Education (Ngome, 2003). At the same time, most of the private Universities offer arts degrees, thus, there is an over enrollment in arts programs (Brown 2004).
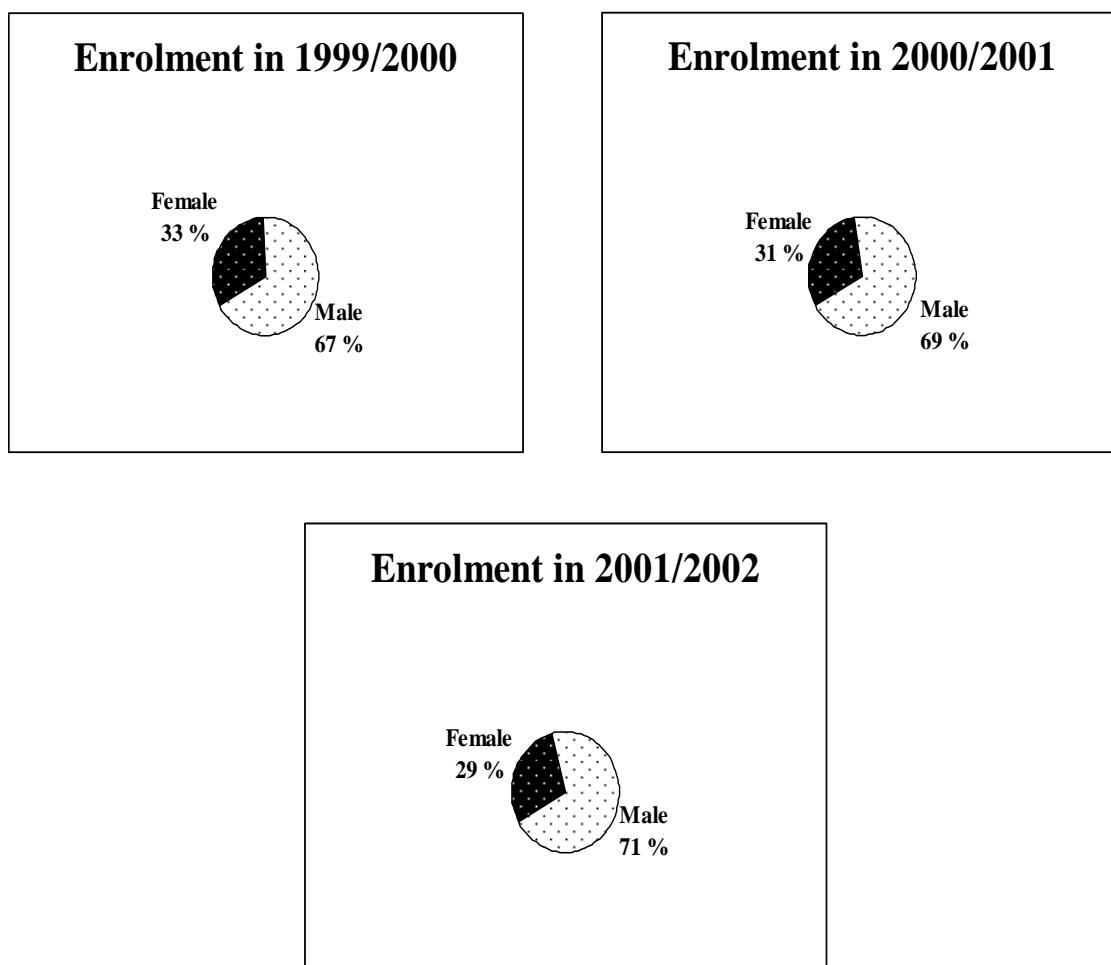
In the public Universities, year 2000/2001 was a relatively stable period in enrollments when compared to 1999/2000. Total enrollments in the public Universities in each of these years was on average 44,000. It would appear that there were insignificant changes in total student enrollment. However, in 2001/2002, a significant increase of the total number of students enrolled was witnessed. This increase was over 10,000 students therefore it is worth noting that the demand for higher education system in Kenya is increasing. Notwithstanding the expansion in the past years, the capacity of the higher education sector in Kenya is still limited and accommodates only 7.5 percent of students graduating from secondary schools (Weidman, 1995).

Public Universities in Kenya have had to cope with this increasing demand for higher education. One option offered by public universities is parallel degree programs which admit self-financing students who meet the minimum admission criteria (an average grade of C+ or

better). This program has flexible entry requirements, the option of condensed programs as well as evening and weekend classes (Brown 2004).

The increase in enrollments in public Universities indicates that the student intake in these Universities has increased. But this increased capacity has primarily profited the male students. Figure 4.1 shows that the gender gap in student enrollment is still increasing in public Universities.

FIGURE 4.1 Gender gap in enrolments in Universities, 1999/2000 - 2001/2002

Enrolment in 1999/2000

Female 33 %

Male 67 %

Enrolment in 2000/2001

Female 31 %

Male 69 %

Enrolment in 2001/2002

Female 29 %

Male 71 %

The differences in numbers between male and female students in public universities over the years have been increasing. The gender gap has widened from 1999/2000 to 2001/2002. In the year 1999/2000, the differences in gender configuration in public universities was about 14,000. In 2000/2001, the gap had increased to about 16,000 and in 2001/2002, the gap consisted of 22,000. Figure 4.1 illustrates this change.

FIGURE 4.2 The gender gap in student enrolment

Student's Enrolment by Gender in Universities
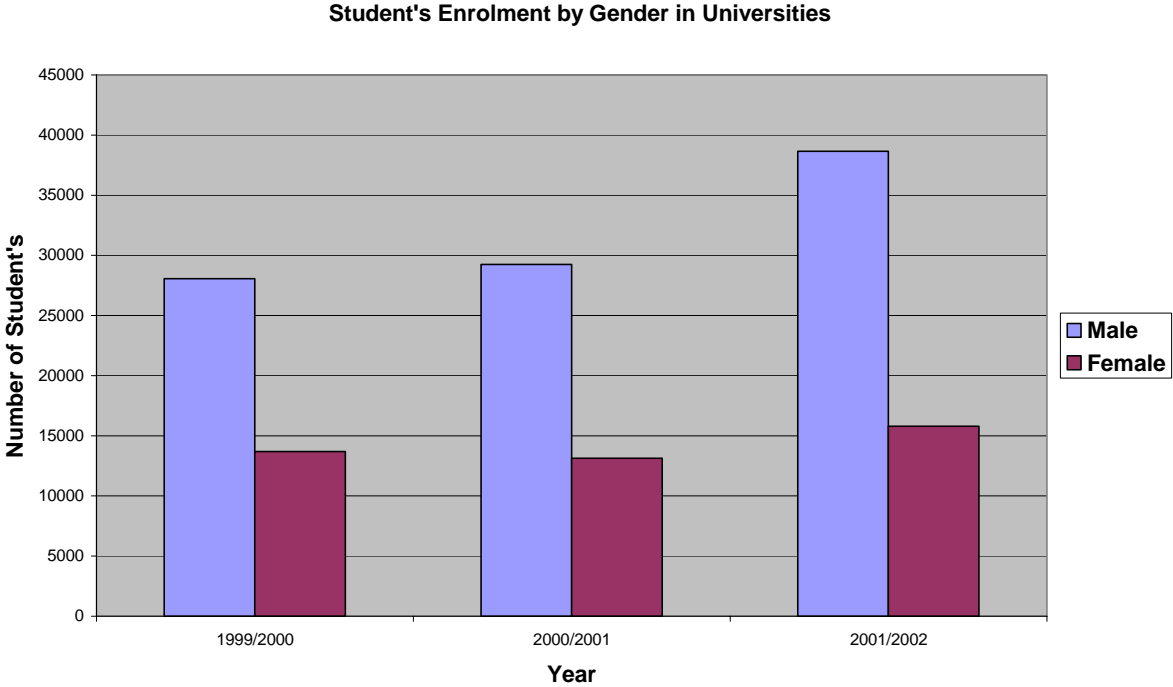
Further, it is possible to see that the gradient, i.e. the size of the vertical change over the horizontal change for the male student enrolment is much higher than that of the female students as shown in figure 4.2.

FIGURE 4.3 The gender gap gradient in university student enrolment

Student enrolment by Gender in Universities
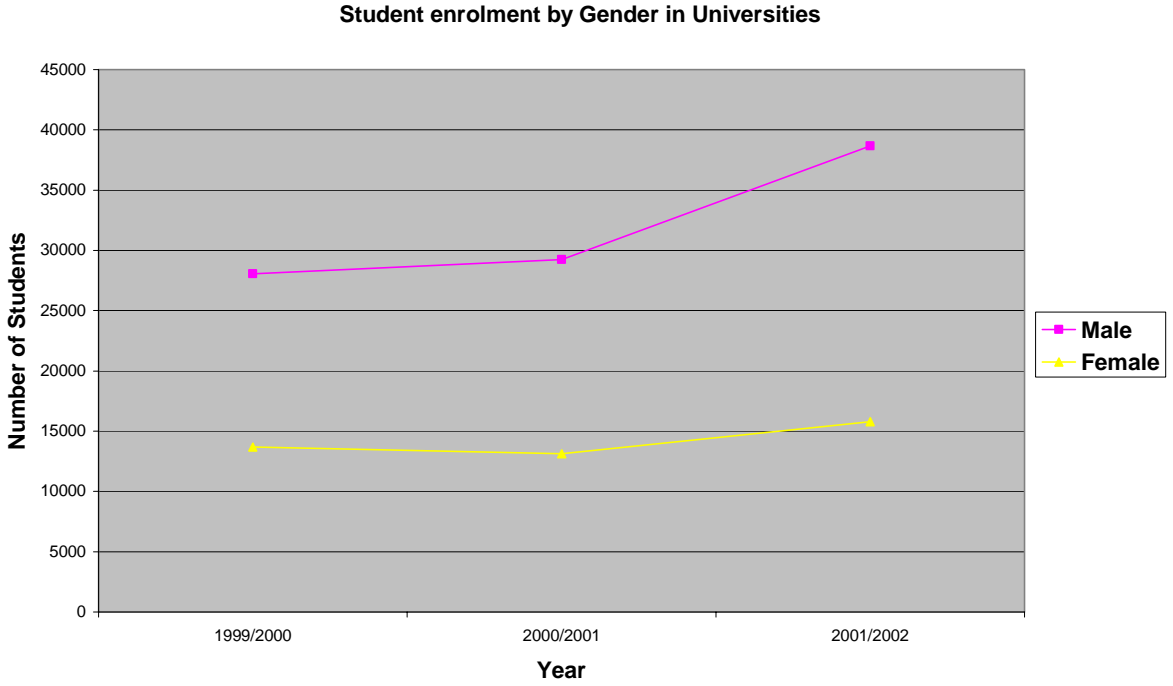
Over the last 30 years, the education sector in Kenya has undergone major transformations. During this time more than ten reviews were undertaken by special commissions and working parties established by the Government. These include the 1964 *Ominde* Commission, the 1979 *Gachathi* Report, the 1981 Presidential Working Party on the Establishment of the Second Public University, and the 1988 Presidential Working Party on Education and Manpower Training for the Next Decade. The reviews have been necessitated by the quest to address the pertinent issues of access, relevance and efficiency of the education system in the country. At the same time, Kenya's guiding philosophy for education is the concern that every Kenyan has the inalienable right, no matter his or her socio-economic status, to basic education (GoK, 1997:135).

Consequently, there have been projects focusing on girls' education.[25] In 1994 a meeting, the National Symposium on Education of the Girl-Child, was convened in Machakos, Kenya bringing together different stakeholders.[26] But why is there a concern for the education of females in Kenya? Educational statistics in Kenya indicate that the higher up the educational ladder you go the wider the gender disparities in favor of males become. Figure 1.1 showed that there is an increasing gender gap in access to university education in Kenya. One indicator of this gender gap is the percent of female enrolment at the university level (Lie et al 1994). In general, women in Kenyan universities make up little more than a fifth of the total student population – mostly clustered in liberal arts studies – reflecting a gender gap widened by dropouts through primary and secondary education.

The articulation of a policy problem is affected by a number of factors. The influence to decide what will or will not be a policy problem has a major impact on the evolution of the policy process. Identifying an issue, bringing it to attention to have action taken is an important political tactic.[27]

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[25] Specific projects on the female child include the support by UNICEF and FAWE. UNICEF has supported most activities on gender and education through, the Girl Child project.

[26] At this symposium through participatory approach, recommendations were made and work plans developed. The specific objectives of the symposium were to: Gender sensitize education policy makers and managers, and develop a consensus on the rationale for mainstreaming gender equity in education; Review the status of girl-child education and identify areas which need urgent attention.

[27] Other factors that influence the articulation of the policy problem are first, the nature of the policy issue, it could be an issue that is thrust on the government by a crisis or one which arises out of a normal process of review and monitoring. Second, the institutional environment within which a specific issue arises.

As indicated, Kenyan females have lagged behind in their participation in higher education. According to an educational administrator from the University of Kenyatta, Grace Bunyi[28], the provision of higher education for a number of women by their families is often seen as a luxury.

Drawing from the objectives of the national meetings that addressed the female child's educational opportunities, it could be said that the statement of the problem includes a significant gender gap in access to university education, therefore a lack of gender equity in access to higher education in Kenya.

4.2 POLICY OBJECTIVE AND NORMATIVE BASIS OF THE POLICY

Since political independence in Kenya, education has been considered a human right and an investment in human resources for socio-economic development. With regard to gender, policy-makers have tried to emphasise a commitment to equal access. But, females in Kenya face challenges that affect their education to higher levels. There are negative social-cultural practices including genital mutilation and early marriage. At the same time, some drop-out is due to pregnancy, whilst some observers tend to notice that the influence of curriculum and curriculum material makes classroom situations not girl friendly. In some areas in Kenya, there is a general negative attitude towards educating female children. Thus, it is important to focus on the persisting under-representation of the female population in education with specific reference to women's limited participation in knowledge production.

For some in the classical functionalist school such as Emile Durkheim, there is a natural and universal stratification of society, and members of society are potentially capable of playing different roles according to their social positions. Thus, one of the main functions of education as a social institution is to make possible the process of sorting out individuals and groups according to their natural ability to learn the differently valued skills that lead them to specific occupations and positions.

However, for others in the conflict theory school of thought, education is an instrument of social reproduction that mirrors the stratification and inequality of society. It is used by the

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[28] See http://www2.ncsu.edu/ncsu/aern/gendaedu.htm

dominant class to legitimise its privileges and to perpetuate the oppression and marginalisation of certain groups. Formal education becomes cultural capital that is transmitted to the inheritors of the privileged dominant social class (Bourdieu and Passeron 1979). In this context, the production of knowledge is neither neutral nor beneficial for the entire society.

Both these positions have a tacit implication of positioning that result from education. For some, this positioning is unjust and unfair while for others, it is unavoidable. Nevertheless, gender inequality in university education in Kenya ought not to be seen in terms of fate, but should be seen as a challenge which can be met and dealt with.

The long-term gender equity goal thus is to promote equitable access of women and girls to quality education through mutually reinforcing interventions.[29] Therefore, the policy objective could be stated as follows: To enhance a more effective, efficient and gender responsive higher education in Kenya by improving access and equality and to reduce disparities at all levels of education.[30]

In addition to the range of lenses that may be used to view policy, various normative perspectives can also be applied.[31] There are many versions of normative perspectives, however, the approach depicted here focuses on policy as an authoritative allocation of values. Accordingly, in this section, I seek to identify the explicit and implicit values embedded in policy, and the likely consequences of these values, such as equity in access.

All over the world, education is regarded as the key factor in overcoming the barriers that women face and the basic tool for empowering women and bringing them into the main path of development. Education must play a vital role in establishing equality and empowering women.

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[29] A Gender Unit was created in the Ministry of Education in 1995 as recommended during the symposium on Female child Education in 1994.

[30] See the Ministry of planning and national development, "Economic recovery strategy for wealth and employment creation 2003 – 2007".

[31] A treatment on normative perspectives of policy is given by Malen and Knapp. (1997) 'Rethinking the multiple perspectives approach to education policy analysis: Implications for policy-practice connections'. *Journal of Education Policy*, 12.

There are grounds for getting concerned about gender inequities in higher education. Namuddu[32] among others has made a very strong case for increasing female participation in higher education institutions and especially within the natural sciences. Indeed this is a policy problem in higher education in Kenya with a significant impact (see Gornitzka 1999:17).

The gender disparity in the enrollment for the natural sciences is a problem. By encouraging those least enrolled in these subjects, we are encouraging a majority to enroll and be focused on the natural sciences, which according to Manuel Castells has not been the case in developing countries in the past. To him this is a necessary step for developing countries, which have devoted their energies in primarily training graduates in the social sciences (Castells 2001).

As mentioned in the discussion on gender and feminism in chapter two, relating to the gender gap in higher education we are interested in its size, its characteristics and development in Kenya's historical and cultural context. Thus, we can look at the vertical and horizontal dimensions of female students' enrollment in universities in Kenya. The vertical dimension consists of how female students go through their studies, whether they enroll for their first degree and complete it, and then move on to masters and PhD level. The horizontal dimension of the gender gap would relate to the fields of study among female students. Here we look at which fields' female students are concentrated in.[33]

But, it is higher education that is charged with the critical role of shaping women and men of the future who would influence the form and content of knowledge. If females are the minority here and are not allowed to be part of this formation, then the content of knowledge will represent half of the human species, the males and will be biased. Thus, there have been calls for gender sensitivity in the shaping of the curriculum since the knowledge produced in higher education institutions should be inclusive.

It is the higher education institutions, in this case the universities, that determine who is eligible to compete with others and earn a bachelor or a masters degree. This means that the

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[32] For a detailed overview of gender disparities in Higher education in Africa see Nammudu, K. (1995). Gender perspectives in the transformation of African: Challenges to the African university. *Women in Higher Education in Africa.* (pp 58-58). Dakar, UNESCO.
[33] For a detailed presentation of the gender gap showing the extent of women's exclusion in higher education and its international character, see a classical treatment by Lie and O'Leary (1990).

universities are gate-keeping institutions. Yet, with the access of females at low levels, it follows that females will lag behind also in other ways, e.g. economically. Indeed, numerous studies show that where the female population has a higher level of education, the children born to them get better nutrition, have better chances to get to school and in general lead a better life.[34] Therefore, it is imperative that females are allowed and encouraged to get into and through these gate-keeping institutions.

Higher education is an ideological machinery of the state and society, and it often controls what is true and what is not. It is therefore dangerous to only have one sex predominant in determining countries' ideologies, because it will tend to produce biased results. Therefore there is need for a balance and symmetry.

Further, the normative basis of the gender-related access policy will also include the promotion, notably through the use of binding legal instruments, of the rights of women as citizens to fully participate in all areas of social development. It will call for efforts to improve the access of Kenyan women to higher education. Gender equity in education is increasingly viewed as an indicator of development and indeed of political maturity. Thus states become more visible in their gender policies.

In the long run, this policy ought to ensure that highly qualified women will participate fully in the decision-making processes of society, through their roles in government, in the community and in the family. Hence, strengthening their leadership capacities becomes vital.

This policy is based on the belief that there is need for a proportionate representation of both genders at university level and in every area of study. It renounces the essentialist notion that represents the female as the "other" and attaches to females all that is inferior in this competitive world. This policy is based also on the belief that an attempt in balancing the genders in the variety of fields in the long run should reduce the wide gaps in levels of incomes between the genders, which will by and large help the society as a whole. Further, this policy is based in the belief that humans, both females and males are capable to handle tasks in every field of study (see Gornitzka 1999:19).

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[34] When opportunities to acquire quality education are opened to girls and women the long-term benefits are significant. Studies indicate that countries with high literacy rate among women and men have lower level of fertility, lower infant and maternal mortality, longer life expectancy and address gender equity issues in development (Abagi, 1998; Colclough, 1986; Cochrane, 1979; Psacharopolos, 1973).

4.3 IMPLEMENTATION IN KENYA

In different cultures and institutional settings, policy implementation takes different shapes and forms. Indeed, a wider range of actors may be participating to enact the policy. But what happens between policy and perceived results? As mentioned in Chapter two, a policy contains both goals and means for achieving them. Thus, for some, there cannot be a policy that excludes implementation nor one that includes all implementation. Consequently, implementation cannot be judged without goals attached to it (Pressman and Wildavsky 1984). Indeed, it is widely accepted that it is difficult and tiresome to sketch a conceptual distinction between policy formulation and policy implementation. This is because policy formulation basically takes place throughout the entire policy process. According to Hill and Hupe, "what is needed is a way of combining the analytical benefits offered by the 'stages' model with the recognition of the interaction between the stages." They think that use of the term 'policy-making' for the entire process, 'policy formation' for the initial part of policy-making, and 'policy implementation' for the latter part of the policy-making process would be more suitable (Hill and Hupe 2003).[35]

Further, the difference between formulation and implementation is also one difficult to maintain in practice. Often times implementation procedures may lead to modifications in policy goals and directions. Indeed, there may be demands that rules and guidelines be interpreted or reinterpreted thus leading to a considerable amount of policy formulation at the site of implementation.

Nevertheless, the expected role of implementation is to establish a link that permits the aims of public policies to be achieved as outcomes of governmental activity. Yet, in real life, implementation is not simply a mechanical translation of stated policies into action programmes but part of "an ongoing process of decision making by a variety of actors"

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[35] Scholars have tried to show that policies are not completely designed once the formulation process is over. Indeed, formulation often continues happening throughout the entire process. Policy formulators may spread out the job either explicitly or implicitly and ask other actors to complete the task of policy specification. Hence, the policy formulation process might well continue in the policy implementation stage (Hill and Hupe 2003).

(Grindle 1980). Certainly, the iterative model of policy formulation includes the amendment of policies in the light of implementation experience.

There are a number of factors that account for the mismatch between policies adopted and services actually delivered in Kenya. These include availability of sufficient funds, commitment of lower level officials to reporting mechanisms, accidents of timing, luck and seemingly unrelated events (Grindle 1980). Thus, implementation, even when successful, involves far more than a mechanical translation of goals into routine procedures.

4.3.1 GENDER-RELATED ACCESS POLICY IMPLEMENTATION IN KENYA: EFA VERSES FAWE

This section will present a treatment of gender-related access policy in Kenya higher education as implemented by the EFA country committee and by FAWE. The Kenya National Commission for UNESCO, which is also the EFA country committee points out its progress towards EFA goals and targets. According to the commission several achievements need to be noted.

The Gender Unit was created in the Ministry of Education in 1995 as recommended during the symposium on the female child's Education in 1994. The Gender unit manages and networks with NGOs, community leaders, other Government Ministries and individuals interested in matters concerning the female child's education.

The Ministry in collaboration with UNICEF has initiated the female child programme whose main objective is to close the gender gaps in education. It has undertaken gender sensitization activities for top, middle and grassroots Ministry of Education personnel and intends to move to communities. All officers in the Gender Unit have undergone some training on the principles of gender and development, and have adequate skills to deal with gender issues in education, including strategic programme planning.

One of the claims of the Ministry of Education is that there has been established a data bank in the Planning Departments, with easily accessible gender desegregated data. Further, the Ministry claims that gender desegregated data are collected annually for monitoring of gender disparity hence, significant empirical and analytical knowledge and information has been generated on the status of girls' education.

The Ministry of Education initiated in 1996 a follow up study to establish guidelines on the readmission of teenage mothers back to school and advised school administrators to assist in the readmission process. This has been accepted as one way of reducing the high drop out rate among schoolgirls. However, these initiatives have often been directives of the Minister of Education. As discussed in chapter two, this is the adoption of a top-down implementation approach which assumes that democratically elected politicians should lead policy making initiatives.

But according to FAWE, there has been a slow pace of implementation of EFA goals in Kenya. FAWE notes that there are gender disparities that disadvantage female children in Kenya. Further, it realizes that gender disparities in education result from public policies that systematically discriminate against girls, and that the policy environments either failed to recognize this problem, or even when they did, frequently chose to ignore its implication to the development processes of their countries and that of the women in particular. As mentioned in chapter two, FAWE presents us with one trend in developing countries' literature relating to the access agenda. This is the agitation towards the deconstruction of social, organizational and material barriers (Kwesiga 2002).

According to FAWE, the critical review of how well Kenya has done in achieving EFA goals, indicates that despite some achievements, unfortunately a wide disparity has emerged between the goals agreed upon at Jomtien and actual domestication of those goals in Kenya. FAWE notes that major issues have emerged which have made the achievement of EFA goals difficult. Among these are increased poverty levels, the implementation of structural adjustment programmes, and the servicing of both domestic and international debt. FAWE assessment indicates that progress since Jomtien has been much slower than anticipated in relation to most of the major targets set for achieving EFA goals. Despite the fact that more educational opportunities have been created in the last decade, many eligible university age female students are still not enrolled in a university.

FAWE contends that EFA goals have by and large not been attained due to a lack of sufficient reliable desegregation of data by gender in Kenya. FAWE points out that there is a lack of political goodwill and that practical gender needs are not institutionalized, consequently, dealing with concerns is ad hoc, not planned for and undertaken technically. At the same time,

there has not been put into place system-wide accountability so that everyone is responsible for gender mainstreaming.[36]

According to FAWE, at the 1996 mid-decade meeting in Amman, Jordan, girls' education (GE) was reported as having made "excruciatingly slow" progress especially in Africa. Regrettably, the 2000 EFA Assessment revealed that in many cases little or no success had been achieved in narrowing the gender gap in education. FAWE sought to establish the basis for gender responsive policy as a foundation of basic human rights and economic development. It went on to analyze the existing policy framework to determine its gender responsiveness and from that foundation, formulate EFA action plans. It went on to carry out needs assessment and gender responsive research and collection of gender-desegregated data. FAWE sought to review curriculum and curriculum materials to make them gender sensitive. Further, it went on to carrying out gender sensitization of all the stakeholders.

Consequently, FAWE set it upon itself to document the situation of girls in education in order to advocate for policy options to improve girls and women's access to, completion, retention and performance in education. It is useful to conceive of implementation as 'a mixture of activities' because implementation activities are often very complex in terms of their types, the aim or effect in mind relating to them and the actors involved.

However, recent research in Africa has shown that information on gender inequalities in education is useful, but that it does not guarantee effective gender interventions. According to Kasente from Makerere University, recent research findings in sub-Sahara Africa lead to the conclusion that gender interventions are unlikely to be effective and sustainable unless they form part of broad packages of social and political reform. Indeed, while gender-related higher education policy is made within broader reconstituting social processes, there is often a struggle for alignment between policy discourses and organizational practices, sometimes referred to as an implementation gap (Kasente 2000).

An implementation gap is an observation made when what is achieved and what is expected are compared. The alternative word for an implementation gap is implementation failure. According to Matland, the implementation contexts will determine the success of the implementation process. He further points out that there are prerequisite conditions for the

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[36] Find details of the same in Chapter five.

application of a top-down model of implementation. In general, Matland shows the importance of the nature of the policy problem and the relevance of the institutional context (Matland, 1995). However, though there could be many incidents of implementation gaps, within the bottom-up theoretical framework, negotiation between levels tends to close this gap.

At the same time, there are also frustrations and concerns about the fragility of initiatives to secure equality in higher education. There is sometimes a contradiction between the declared official discourse of gender equality and human rights and the sociological and feminist analysis of persistent inequalities (Fogelberg et. al 1999). A commonly expressed concern is that gender is not seen as a priority in the context of what is regarded as more pressing.

But some of the reasons that have been put forward to explain lack of success in getting gender onto the policy agenda include structural adjustments that result in cuts in social provision that halts girls' education. There also is a predominance of male policy makers and the weaknesses of gender units within the Ministry of Education in Kenya. Further, gender interventions are introduced in a piecemeal and uncoordinated manner thus leading to limited effective action (Kasente 2000).

Consequently, the implementation gap between declared policy intentions and action for organizational and social change is an ongoing source of disappointment and despair. While governments or higher education institutions make policy commitments to equal opportunities, which are sometimes monitored internationally under instruments such as CEDAW (Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women), these do not always translate into changes on the ground within university institutions.

4.4 POLICY INSTRUMENTS

Chapter two introduced policy instruments as tools used by governments in carrying out their tasks, adapting to, and altering, their environments. Indeed, policy instruments comprise the toolbox (Hood 1983) from which governments must choose in attempting to resolve policy problems. Chapter two also introduced Hood's classification of government instruments.

In order to affect the gender- related access policy in Kenya, the government through the Ministry of Education employs a variety of instruments. A policy instrument of obvious relevance to access is admission policy. Enrollment in public universities in Kenya is a reflection of performance on secondary school examinations. Thus, a rigorous system of examinations at the end of high school exists which determines admission to public universities based on performance in these exams. Yet, in 1993, the Joint Admission Board (JAB) of the public universities lowered the entry requirement for female students (Irungu 2002). Primarily, through its authority, the government has ensured that there are binding rules on intakes into higher education institutions because the differences in gender enrollment are too big.[37]

4.4.1 ORGANIZATION

The government of Kenya also uses the organizational component as a policy instrument in order to affect gender access. The Ministry of Education administers and manages all EFA programmes in partnership with other government Ministries, communities, NGOs, donor agencies, religious organizations and other interest groups.

The Kenyan government has on many occasions used university councils to order university closures, terms and conditions of service for university staff and the implementation of government directives in the number of students to be admitted. Indeed, it is the government that nominates most members of the university councils. While academic staff and students representatives to councils are usually elected by their respective constituencies, key members of the councils, such as the chairman, his/her deputy, the minister for education, permanent secretaries of ministries dealing with universities are nominated by the chancellor (Sifuna 1998).

There has been strong criticism against the composition of the university councils, which are heavily weighted in favor of government. In all the public universities more than 60% of the

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[37] This study does not discuss affirmative action in detail, since it has not yet been officially used when it comes to University admissions in Kenya. However it is important to point out that affirmative action is one instrument a government can use. Through affirmative action, it is possible to work towards increasing female representation at the university. For example in Uganda, affirmative action was legally endorsed in 1995 in the Ugandan constitution where article 33 section 5 grants women the right to affirmative action for the purpose of redressing the imbalances created by history, tradition or custom (Government of Uganda, 1995). However, affirmative action has shortcomings, whether it applies to gender, ethnic groups or religion. It often gives decision makers a sense of having done their duty while structural factors reproduce inequality.

council members are nominees of the chancellor or some kind of nominees by him (Sifuna 1998). Through such an organization by the government that overlaps into university councils of public universities, student enrolment has been impacted upon.

4.4.2 INFORMATION

The government through the Ministry of Education has also employed information as an instrument. As mentioned earlier, the gender unit in the inspectorate within the Ministry of Education is involved in carrying out gender sensitization of community members. It aims to gender sensitize education policy makers and managers, and develop a consensus on the rationale for mainstreaming gender equity in education. At the same time, there has been the formation of a national taskforce on gender and education charged with the task of keeping the Kenyan population informed about issues on gender and education.

The Ministry of Education initiated a female child programme whose main objective was to close the gender gaps in Education. It undertook gender sensitization activities for top, middle and grassroots Ministry of Education personnel and intends to move to communities. Teachers were also sensitized to make them gender responsive to the special needs of the "girl and boy" child learners. Thus, the government through the Ministry of Education had to communicate this message to the general public and emphasize this to the higher education institutions. This would be the government's capacity to send out information.

An adequate and appropriate information basis is a precondition for effective policy formulation. During the Education For all conference in 1990, it was expedient that the Kenyan Ministry of Education is well informed about the EFA Jomtien commitments.
Article III of the 1990 Jomtien declaration titled, 'Universalizing access and promoting equity' stated that

> The most urgent priority is to ensure access to, and improve the quality of, education for girls and women, and to remove every obstacle that hampers their active participation. All gender stereotyping in education should be eliminated (Jomtien Document, 1990).

Indeed the efforts towards equity and access for women and girls depended on political commitment and political will, backed by appropriate fiscal measures and reinforced by

educational policy reforms and institutional strengthening. Thus the Kenyan government through the Ministry of Education agreed to these goals.

Certainly, building a reservoir of data and knowledge is no easy task and is even more complex if it is to be offered in a user-friendly form accessible to those involved in the policy formulation process. Indeed, the general perception is that most countries of Africa suffer from a scarcity of detailed, up-to-date and reliable data.

In Kenya's higher education sector, there is a scarcity of data, which reflects technical and organizational problems at the level of collection, analysis and dissemination of information. But, in some cases, the problem is not lack of data but poor management of the information flow with the production of data exceeding the institutional capacity to target it appropriately to potential users and in general to process it in a user friendly way.

The Ministry of Education in Kenya has tried to make inquiries from the university institutions in order to get reliable information in relation to gender related access. Indeed, the quality of the information base is a critical factor in the process of policy formulation. Thus, as shown in tables 1.1 and 4.1, the Ministry has availed gender disegregated student enrolment information. Therefore, it took the Ministry effort and time to come up with information on enrollment by gender. Getting information concerning access into public Universities broken down by gender was a step in the right direction. However, this was not an easy task since gaps in data provision would arise as a result of a hostile political and economic environment in which for instance the salaries and morale of the civil servants were low.

Currently about 40% of the national budget is committed to education with a higher proportion going to university education. Since 1983-84, the recurrent budget for higher education increased over one and half times increasing even faster in 1987-88, with the double intake of students. In the 1980s 60% of the recurrent budget in education went to primary education and 14% went to secondary and university levels. But the university budget grew to claim 20% of the total education budget in 1990/91 with a corresponding rise in development expenditure (Sifuna 1998). Though the Kenyan government still finances public universities, it is not possible to indicate in this study, exactly how the Kenyan Government uses economic resources as a policy instrument geared towards ensuring the adoption of the

gender-related access policy in university institutions, due to lack of pertinent supporting information.

4.5 POLICY LINKAGE

In order for the Ministry of Education in Kenya to draw on the technical and specialist knowledge of other ministries, such as the ministries of Gender and Sports, and the Ministry of Finance, active linkages are required. These linkages ensure that the interests of these ministries are included in the policy formulation process, and that their cooperation is sought when this is required to implement a policy proposal. The three ministries mentioned above neceassrily interact when it comes to issues concerning promoting gender equity.

Indeed, linkages are central because in many cases there may be several policy groups considering similar or related issues. Given the relative scarcity of policy formulation capacity, it is important to avoid any overlapping of functions leading to waste of scarce resources. To ensure the necessary consultation, institutional mechanisms need to be in place and in working order. It is too late to start setting them up when a policy problem, particularly if it is urgent and critical, demands it.

Where gender related policies cross ministerial responsibilities, there ought to be a possibility of establishing inter-ministerial working groups. In Kenya, there is an extensive use of appointed commissions to inform policy formulation. Commissions may either be public commissions or inter-ministerial commissions. These may also consist of several subcommittees. Sometimes, organized groups as well as interested citizens may be invited to give evidence to them. They may become members of the commissions or subcommittees.

As with interlinkages with other government bodies, the opinions of civil society through formally constituted groups need to be developed and harnessed when necessary. Sometimes, involvement in consultation could appear to be artificial when commissions or committees exclude major actors and interest groups from participating directly in their deliberations.

In general, in order to enhance policy linkage, attention should be directed to improving the process of communication both within and outside the government. Indeed, effective policy

formulation would benefit from increased participation of the various in higher education in Kenya. This would ensure a level of transparency in policy design and the use of participatory methods.

4.6 ACTORS AND POLICYMAKING

In this section I will discuss the role of actors in the gender-related access policy making with respect to higher education in Kenya. I will use the models for reforming government by Peters (2001) as discussed in Chapter two. Since no one model of governance occurs in pure form in any country, this study explores the four models' conception of the policy and the policy process. Precisely, based on chapter two, table 2.1, row four that links policy making to the various governance models, I will examine changes in policy-making actors in Kenya with respect to the market model and the participative model. Therefore, this section provides a brief introduction into the changing role of actors in the policy making process within the above mentioned governance models.

Peters presents in short form, efforts that are being made to make governments work better. To him, these efforts in the industrialized countries have originated internally whereas in less developed countries they have been imposed by external aid agencies as conditions for receiving assistance (Peters 2001:2).

ACTORS IN THE MARKET MODEL

The market model conceptualizes the recipients of government programmes and the public as customers or consumers. By exalting competition, the market approach reduces governing to the level of mere economic action. Consequently, Kenyan citizens would become less significant figures in political theory. Indeed, Kenyan citizens are made a little more than consumers and their role as holders of rights and legal status vis-à-vis the state appears diminished within this arrangement.

Thus, the place of Kenyan citizens as actors and stakeholders is diminished within the policy making process too. On gender-related access, the Kenyan government through the Ministry of Education influences the private sector through market based instruments. The Ministry of Education through the CHE (Commission for Higher Education) established in 1985 is

responsible for licensing private universities. In granting accreditation, the CHE evaluates physical, human and financial resources to ensure that they comply with the guidelines set forth in the Universities Rules, 1989.

The accreditation process is very rigorous and may take several years to complete. Universities which are on the right path towards being granted a charter are given a letters of interim authority (Brown 2004). Hence, the Ministry of Education may explore market incentives and capitalize on internal markets for higher education created by chartering the establishment of more private universities. Table 4.1 showed that there is gender parity in private Universities consequently, such an approach for the gender-related access problem may be fruitful.

Indeed, Kenyan private higher education has a longer history, compared to most of Africa. The private sector's accelerated expansion from the late 1980s is worth noting. Private universities in Kenya grew in number, going from 3 to 17 in just two decades. In comparison, there have been only 6 public universities during the four decades since independence. Through such ventures, it is hoped that the anomaly of gender-related access could be remedied.

ACTORS IN THE PARTICIPATIVE MODEL

Within the participatory vision of governance, policy making does not employ a centralized hierarchical manner. It is not the Minister of Education and his deputy as politicians who influence the policy making process. Rather, decentralization and a bottom-up version of the policy process, is the norm. Here, the political leaders are more involved with providing means for participatory inputs.

In the case of the gender-related access policy in Kenya, it would mean that the concern is in involving the lower level workers. Therefore, the Ministry of Education through its departments mobilizes community members, technocrats and interest groups who shape the policy decisions. There is greater decentralization of existing hierarchies, since the participative approach shares a good deal with the public choice approach. In general, the

participatory state assumes that better policies are made when Kenyan employees, clients and citizens are maximally involved in policy decisions.

4.7 ACTORS IN THE GENDER RELATED ACCESS POLICY

As previously mentioned, the EFA 2000 assessment country report for Kenya indicated that in order to domesticate EFA goals, the Government of Kenya organized national conferences in 1992 in Kisumu and in 1994, the National Symposium on Education of the Girl-Child in Machakos. These conferences were held within a participatory approach. Several partners representing policy makers, politicians, educationists, administrators, NGOs, scholars, civil society representatives of professional bodies, community leaders and donor agencies participated actively in this consultative and planning meeting.[38]

According to the Ministry of Education[39], all EFA programmes are administered and managed by the Ministry in partnership with other Government Ministries, communities, NGOs, donor agencies, religious organizations and other stakeholders. The Director of Education is responsible for all education programmes. The Government emphasizes the policy of partnership in provision of education services. There is a strong and continuous partnership with communities, NGOs, religious organisations, donor agencies and private individual investors.

Consequently, it would be possible to consider that the involvement of the above mentioned groups in the formulation of gender-related access policies positions the Ministry of Education as encouraging a participatory approach. But critics of the EFA initiative insist that the recommendations at EFA consultative meetings were an imposition by external donors to the developing countries that were involved. Therefore, with regards to the gender-related access policy, it is worth wondering whether the Kenyan government through the Ministry of Education employs a participatory model of governance or a top-down traditional model of governance.

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[38] For details visit the website http://www2.unesco.org/wef/countryreports/kenya/rapport_1.html

[39] See http://www.education.go.ke

4.8 EVALUATION OF POLICIES IN KENYA

There are a number of problems inherent in endeavors to make viable evaluations of the implementation process in Kenya. First, outcomes may be influenced by factors that have nothing to do with the policy intervention. Policy implementation ought to create a performance consciousness that translates itself into quite specific actions. This highlights the difference between a policy that is just allowed to happen and one that is directed and controlled.

Policy implementers imbued with performance consciousness will be aware that policy objectives and main events ought to be intended consequences, and measurable and that their unintended consequences should be identified and anticipated. Yet, there are measurement challenges for the evaluator. Quantifiable measures must be developed with necessary data to operationalize an efficiency model. At the same time, it is important to develop measurement devices that allow the detection of more subtle phenomena associated with unintended consequences. But compounding this first problem is the second problem, scarcity of resources.

The very condition that demands policy evaluation is the same one negating it, that of scarce resources. The very data gathering and analysis activities coupled with trained personnel that can inform evaluation of policies are considered too costly. Scarcity of resources affects all aspects of evaluation from data collection to its measurement and the quality of evaluation personnel. Indeed, often policy formulation is begun without an evaluation component. If evaluation is later requested, data collection becomes a complex affair. Thus, when evaluation has not been built into the policy from the start, the quality of the data, their accuracy, completeness and comparability are to some degree affected.

Third, the availability of trained evaluators. If one should think of all the policies that are set in motion by the Kenyan Government, evaluation of all of them would require an army of evaluators. But, where are all evaluators going to come from? Evaluators need a broad interdisciplinary background and a competent understanding of social science methodology. Certainly, not many evaluators can be made available due to their scarcity.

Fourth, evaluation becomes problematic due to the survival of the evaluator. If the job and survival of the evaluator depends on the policy programme being implemented, then how is the evaluator to evaluate it without bias? If the evaluator's current employment is built into

the policy programme how can she/he be divorced from her/his own interests when asked to do an evaluation of the policy programme?

Fifth, a judgement about an outcome may be a judgement about the appropriateness of the policy and not about its implementation. In general, there are several problems inhibiting policy evaluation as afore mentioned. However, there are prospects for overcoming these problems since at all levels of government and civil society, arguments are being made for improvements in efficiency and effectiveness of policy programs.

EFA VERSES FAWE EVALUATION STRATEGIES

Chapter two introduced us to evaluation approaches and framework based on basic definitions of evaluation. In order to take this discussion further, this section presents a treatment of three strategies concerned with the political stance taken by an evaluator, in relation to EFA country committee and FAWE. According to an EFA country committee presentation of its achievements, EFA's evaluators as a part of the Ministry of Education are in an unconditional service to the powers that be, the government of Kenya, which has a major control over the allocation of educational resources. This strategy is termed bureaucratic evaluation. EFA country committee evaluators' stance towards the prevailing distribution of power is an alignment to the establishment.

On the other hand, FAWE's evaluators could be described as either autocratic evaluators or democratic evaluators. FAWE's strategies for evaluation include a stress of their principles and objectivity thus resisting interference in their research strategy. This lies within the scope of autocratic evaluation. At the same time FAWE seeks to be an information service for the community and represents all the interests concerned. Here, FAWE adopts a stance of the community having a right to know and this strategy is the democratic strategy (Macdonald 1976).

4.9 CONCLUSION

Since the World Conference on Education for All which was held in Jomtien, Thailand in 1990, the issue of gender parity has featured prominently in the provision of education at all

levels in Kenya. Several strategies and activities have been put in place and several achievements have been noted.

A Gender Unit was created in the Ministry of Education in 1995. This was as a result of a recommendation during the symposium on Girls Education in 1994. The Gender unit was the focal point for handling gender matters in education while the Unit Secretariat handled the day-to-day work. The Unit operates and networks with other Ministries within the Government, NGOs, community leaders and individuals interested in matters concerning education of the female population.

This chapter has also looked into the policy instruments of admission policy, organization and information. It has shown that governance models help to illuminate change and reform processes in political-administrative systems and that we cannot expect one single model of governance and autonomy to apply to all government agencies in all situations (Christensen and Lægreid 2001:13).

Various actors often define policy problems differently. At the same time, the objectives of a policy are often multi-faceted and perceived differently by the various actors and stakeholders in and outside of government, thus, policy formulation itself becomes very complex. However, in this complexity, some of the normative bases of intended policy reforms are often agreed upon.

It is also important to state that implementation ought to be connected to specific policies as responses to specific problems in society, therefore contextualization is paramount when dealing with implementation. Thus, some have argued that the implementation process could be even more complicated when the country in question is in transition, say it is engaged in a constitutional review process. This raises the question of whether implementation theories per se are able to handle complicated change processes.[40]

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[40] Laurence O'Toole, as cited by Hill and Hupe 2002, analysed the complex implementation situations where there are competing policy goals. O'Toole looked at studies in Hungary as it emerged from communism and went on to point out that theories about policy implementation as developed in the west may be of limited use in some other contexts.

CHAPTER FIVE: CONCLUSION

5.1 CONCLUDING REMARKS

This study has presented us with the policy-making process starting from problem definition and agenda setting to implementation. These stages have been examined, discussed and important theories and models of policy-making have been presented. Significant concepts relating to the analysis and evaluation of gender-related access policy in Kenya's higher education policy have been highlighted, such as the construction of the policy problem, interest group demands and political influence.

This study has shown us the gender related access policy objective which is to advance an efficient and gender responsive higher education in Kenya by improving access and equality and to reduce disparities at all levels of education. Further, the study has presented us with an introduction to Kenya's higher education contextual landscape in order to locate the study within its specific environment. It has shown us that global forces influence higher education systems, well illustrated by figure 2.4.

The actors in the gender related access policy making process have been presented, pitting up FAWE and EFA competing policy implementation agendas. Indeed, table 2.2 has shown that there are number of actors and interest groups and that policies are not created in a vacuum. Both EFA and FAWE take up the gender-related access problem and tackle it in their different various ways. Further, while discussing evaluation, this study showed that EFA evaluators' stance towards the existing allocation of power is an alignment to the establishment. On the other hand, FAWE's evaluators could be depicted as both autocratic evaluators and democratic evaluators.

Gender-related access policy formulation and implementation processes in Kenya's higher education are worth serious research attention. It may appear that the variety of issues that this will entail make the task seem impossible. Furthermore, the very slim comparative literature on educational policy formulation and implementation in developing countries indicates that a large part of the challenge of reaching the Jomtien goals in Kenya lies in increasing our understanding of the depth and complexity of gender-related policy problems.

Gender-related access 'learning for policy'[41] must necessarily include a central concern with implementation. Only then will we see the emergence of well informed and realisable policy inputs which bring closer our overarching, long term goals such as gender equity in our education for all. Higher education gender-related access is a policy problem of national interest and not just an interest of women's movements. Emphasis on promoting women's access to the highest level is promotion of Kenyan national interests because it is one of the most cost effective investments towards improving standards of living and improving social development indicators.

This study has thus presented us with a treatment of gender-related access policy making processes in Kenya's higher education. It has taken a particular focus on the EFA declaration articles, which led to a series of initiatives by the Ministry of Education aimed at amending the gender-related access problems. Further, this study has shown that policy making is indeed a complex, iterative process that may not be predetermined from start to finish. However, for the purpose of clarity and system in this study a rather linear approach was adopted in the presentation of the study. This study has pointed out the intricacy of coming up with policy problems or problems and consequently policy objectives.

Yet, it is not enough that there are objectives for the policy. It is obvious that when a country does not have management capacity, funds, political stability or an incorrupt civil service to guide policy formulation, the possibility of actually implementing the said policy objectives becomes hampered. Certainly, this is the case in many developing countries where it is difficult to put in place measures to ensure conformity to the policy objectives even though there could be policy instruments put in place. Therefore, policy implementation in developing countries is difficult to manage and predict.

The role of actors cannot be downplayed. This study has shown that policy making takes place in a socio-economic and political setting, and not in a vacuum, consequently, there are interests groups that support particular notions. Involving actors is consistent with the current emphasis on adopting a participatory governance approach in addressing issues of policy management.

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[41] See White (1990), '*Implementing policy reforms in less developed countries: A strategy for designing and effecting change*'.

If the civil society is to be effectively included in the policy formulation process, the government has to have a major initiating role. The government of Kenya, through the Ministry of Education has to recognize the need to stimulate public debate on policy problems, through the media in order to encourage more participatory forms of policy formulation.

Yet, there are challenges in implementation of policies thus this study has posited competing views of the practices of policy making and implementation in Kenya, by EFA and through the work of non governmental organisations, in this case FAWE. In general, this study has shown the role of the government in gender-related access policy making process, through EFA initiatives.

5.2 CONSEQUENCES FOR THE POLICY

Though policy discussions are to a large extent about values, those responsible for policy development and analysis need some sense of what they bring to their work. Their own values, shaped by their background - their ways of working, knowledge basis, information sources, contacts, culture and life experiences - influence the way they perceive a policy problem and the approach they take.

Bureaucratic and political processes are steeped in values that influence policy-making. These in turn help to shape, and are shaped by, all the values of society. Gender-sensitive policy may conflict, at times, with the dominant values around which society is organized. Women's experiences and contributions are measured against a male standard rather than in their own right. Those responsible for policy development and analysis must contend with these conflicting and competing values.

Therefore, an appropriate analysis of the consequences of the gender-related access policy ought to focus not just on outcomes, but on the concepts, arguments and language used to justify policy. How needs are interpreted and discussed is intrinsic to policy development and whether the policy "talk" challenges or reinforces existing power structures based on gender.

5.3 RECOMMENDATIONS

Following the findings in this study and the subsequent analysis, I propose a few recommendations that would work towards ensuring that the gender-related access policy making process and implementation are enhanced in Kenyan higher education.

1. Two crucial events laid the foundation for domesticating EFA commitments in Kenya. These are i) National Conference on Education for All held in Kisumu in 1992, and ii) National Symposium on the Education of the Girl-Child held in Machakos in 1994 (Kiugu 1999).[42] The magnitude of Kenya's commitment is presented in a report on EFA[43], whose preparation was made possible by the technical committee members which were drawn from the relevant departments of the Ministry of Education, Ministry of Research and Technology and the Ministry of Home Affairs and Social Services. However, as mentioned in chapter four, gender interventions in the political arena are often introduced in a piecemeal and uncoordinated manner. Therefore, there ought to be political will backed by appropriate fiscal measures and institutional strengthening aimed towards equity and access policies for women and girls.

2. This study showed us in chapter four that there was a lack of a user-friendly reservoir of data and knowledge accessible to those involved in the policy formulation process. Thus, a second recommendation is that there be detailed, up to date and reliable data and research material available for policy makers. At the same time, there should be technical and organizational efficiency at the level of collection, analysis and dissemination of information.

3. There ought to be measures to network with academic, policy, and technical assistance centers that focus on gender in higher education policy. The gender-related access policy formulation should be able to take into account bottom-up views and ideas when the Ministry of Education identifies and publicises gender-related access problems. The Ministry of Education should also ensure that the networks of actors engaged in higher education are involved in the policy formulation process.

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[42] Secretary-general Kenya National Commission for UNESCO.
[43] See Education For All (EFA 2000) Assessment Of Progress Kenya Country Report.

4. There ought to be measures put into place for training the next generation of higher education policy analysts. This is one of the aims of the project carried out by the National Centre for Higher Education Management Systems (NCHEMS, Boulder, Colorado, USA) in collaboration with the Center for Higher Education Policy Studies (CHEPS).

5.4 WAY FORWARD

Though gender-related access policy formulation is a step in the right direction, this thesis is an introduction that opens up for further research in a number of areas. One area is gender mainstreaming[44] of all policies by the Ministry of Education. For this thesis, gender issues were central to the policy in question and played a major, determining role in its evolution. However, though gender implications may not be immediately obvious for other policies by the Kenyan Ministry of Education, they may emerge later. Indeed, gender mainstreaming should be seen as a common thread woven from beginning to end throughout the entire policy process, and not merely an additional heading or section. Through gender mainstreaming it is possible to integrate a gender perspective into every policy analysis and development.

Another area that this thesis opens us up for further research is a study on the effects of government policy on gender-related access problems in Kenyan higher education. Such research should underscore the trends in higher education enrollment over a period of time and link this to prevailing government policies, in order to establish whether there has been an impact on the actual situation on the ground as a result of government policies directed towards amending the gender-related access imbalances in higher education.

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[44] Gender mainstreaming is closely linked to gender based analysis and may be used interchangeably.

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APPENDIX

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