

Gender-Equitable and Transformative Social Policies for Post COVID-19 Africa

*Mapping the Social Policy Landscape in
Uganda, Kenya, Tanzania and Rwanda*

Edited by

Julius Omona

Gender-Equitable and Transformative Social Policies for Post COVID-19 Africa: Mapping the Social Policy Landscape in Uganda, Kenya, Tanzania and Rwanda

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This book first published 2023

Ethics International Press Ltd, UK

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

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Print Book ISBN: 978-1-80441-166-7

eBook ISBN: 978-1-80441-167-4



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Abbreviations and Acronyms

ADB	African Development Bank
APBETP	Alternative Provision of Basic Education and Training Policy
APC	Agricultural Policy Committee
ARDS	Acute Respiratory Distress Syndrome
ASAL	(Agriculture Sector Adjustment Credit)
BEND	Basic Education for National Development
CADIE	Capacity Development of ICT in Education
CBHI	Community-Based Health Insurance
CCTs	Conditional Cash Transfers
CLDO	County Labour and Development Officer
COVAX	COVID-19 Vaccines Global Access
COVID-19	Coronavirus Disease, 2019
CSOs	Civil Society Organisations
DANIDA	Danish International Development Agency
DFRDS	District Focus for Rural Development Strategy
DHS	Demographic Health Survey
DHMB	District Health Management Board
DHMTs	District Health Management Teams
ECD	Early Childhood Development
EDPRS	Rwanda's Economic Development and Poverty Reduction Strategy

EICV	Integrated Household Living Conditions Survey (Enquête Intégrale sur les Conditions de Vie des Ménages)
ERP	Economic Recovery Programme
ERS	Economic Recovery Strategy
ESCR	Economic, Social and Cultural Rights
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organisation
FAWEs	Forum for African Women Educationalists
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
GAHFs	Government-Assisted Health Facilities
GBV	Gender-Based Violence
GDI	Gross Domestic Index
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GER	Gross Enrolment Ratio
GETSPA	Gender-Equitable and Transformative Social Policy in Post-COVID-19 Africa
GLTF	Gender Land Task Force
GMO	Gender Monitoring Office
GNP	Gross National Product
GoK	Government of Kenya
GoR	Government of Rwanda
GoU	Government of Uganda
HEIs	Higher Education Institutions
HIV/AIDS	Human Immunodeficiency Virus/Acquired Immuno-deficiency Syndrome

HMIS	Health Management Information Service
HSSP	Health Sector Strategic Plan
IAS	Institute of African Studies
ICTs	Information and Communication Technologies
IDA	International Development Agency
IGG	Inspector General of Government
ILO	International Labour Organisation
KHPF	Kenya Health Policy Framework
KNDP	Kenya National Development Plan
KNSPP	Kenya National Social Protection Policy
LHRC	Legal and Human Rights Centre
M&E	Monitoring and Evaluation
MDGs	Millennium Development Goals
MIFOTRA	Ministry of Public Service and Labour
MIGEPROF	Ministry of Gender and Family Promotion
MINECOFIN	Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning
MINEDUC	Ministry of Education
MLSP	Ministry of Labour and Social Protection
MMI	Military Medical Insurance
MoDA	Ministry of Devolution and ASAL
MoEVT	Ministry of Education and Vocational Training
MoFPED	Ministry of Finance, Planning and Economic Development
MoGLSD	Ministry of Gender, Labour and Social Development

MoH	Ministry of Health
MoHCDGEC	Ministry of Health, Community Development, Gender, Elderly and Children
MTN	Mobile Telephone Number
NAADS	National Agricultural Advisory Services
NAP-VAWC	National Plan of Action to End Violence on Women and Children
NAWAPO	National Water Policy
NCDs	Non-Communicable Diseases
NCHE	National Council for Higher Education
NCSOs	National Civil Society Organisations
NDP	National Development Plan
NESHP	National Environmental Sanitation and Hygiene Policy
NGADP	National Policy on Gender and Development
NGOs	Non-Governmental Organisations
NIECD	National Integrated Early Childhood Development
NISR	National Institute of Statistics, Rwanda
NOTU	National Organisation of Trade Unions
NPA	National Planning Authority
NPEP	National Poverty Eradication Plan
NRM	National Resistance Movement
NSGPR	National Strategy on Growth and Poverty Reduction
NSPF	National Social Protection Framework

NSSF	National Social Security Fund
NST	National Strategy for Transformation
NWSC	National Water and Sewerage Corporation
OOP	Out-of-Pocket
OPCT	Older Persons Cash Transfer
OSHA	Occupational Safety and Health Act
PEAP	Poverty Alleviation Action Plan
PNFP	Private Not-For-Profit
PPP	Public-Private Partnership
PRSP	Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper
PRT	Power Resource Theory
PSSN	Productive Social Safety Net
REB	Rwanda Education Board
REGIDESO	Region of Production and Distribution of Water and Electricity (Régie de Production et de Distribution d'eau et d'électricité)
RHC	Rural Health Centre
RSSB	Rwanda Social Security Board
RUWASA	Rural Water and Sanitation
SACCOs	Saving and Credit Cooperative Organisations
SAGE	Social Assistance Grant for Empowerment
SAPs	Structural Adjustment Programmes
SDGs	Sustainable Development Goals
SEQUIP	Secondary Education Quality Improvement Project

SIP	Strategic Investment Plan
SSA	Sub-Saharan Africa
SSPTW	Social Security Programs throughout the World
SWAp	Sector-Wide Approach
TDV	Tanzania Development Vision
TFL	Tanzania Federation of Labour
TIQET	Totally Integrated Quality Education and Training
TIVET	Technical, Industrial, Vocational and Entrepreneurship Training
TVET	Technical and Vocational Education and Training
TWG	Technical Working Group
UDSM	University of Dar es Salaam
UFNP	Uganda Food and Nutrition Policy
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNEB	Uganda National Examinations Board
UNESCO	United Nations Education, Scientific and Cultural Organisation
UNFPA	United Nations Family Planning Association
UNICEF	United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund
UNMHCP	Uganda National Minimum Healthcare Package
UNR	Université Nationale du Rwanda (National University of Rwanda)
UNRISD	United Nations Research Institute for Social Development
UPE	Universal Primary Education

UPPET	Universal Post-Primary Education and Training
URT	United Republic of Tanzania
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
USE	Universal Secondary Education
UWASNET	Uganda Water and Sanitation Network
VTCs	Vocational Training Centres
WASH	Water, Sanitation and Hygiene
WB	World Bank
WHO	World Health Organisation
WIEGO	Women in Informal Employment: Globalising and Organising
YWCA	Young Women's Christian Association

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Acknowledgements

The book chapters is a culmination of a research conducted between March 2021-March 2023, with the technical support from the Institute of African Studies, University of Ghana, with funding from the Open Society Foundations of Africa. The book chapters would not have reached this stage without the insurmountable support of these institutions. The unrelenting support of the Director of the Institute and Principal investigator of the GETSPA project, Prof Dzodzi Tsikata, is highly appreciated. Other key persons and respondents from the respective cluster countries who provided information/data both from the Public and Private sectors on the topical areas of Education, Health, Work and Employment and Water, Sanitation and Hygiene are unequivocally acknowledged. We cannot also forget the noble efforts of the authors whose contributions reflect immense scholarship about Social Policy in Africa and in their respective countries in particular. These are: Associate Professor Julius Omona, Dr Samuel Mwangi, Dr Rosemarie Mwaipopo and Mr Charles Rutikanga. You have made an indelible mark in producing the first book ever on Social Policy in the neighboring countries at an opportune moment when these countries are grappling with how to become a Federation. We are profoundly indebted to you for your great zeal and ideas which we believe will greatly contribute to a rich and sound body of knowledge on Social Policy in Africa, especially in post-COVID-19 era.

Foreword

The title of the research “GETSPA” (Gender Equitable and Transformative Social Policy in post-Covid19 East Africa) explores the complexity of the gender issues in the region and the need to align social policies with the post-COVID-19 challenges in East Africa if social policies are to remain transformative and meet the gender needs of the populace. The research was undertaken in response to the realisation that social policies in Africa in general had for long been relegated to the role of residual category in policy making, yet the COVID-19 experience has indicated that during crisis, social policies have been relied on for improving human welfare, not only in Africa but in the rest of the world. Accordingly, this research in the four countries focus on four broad sectors: Education; Work and Employment; Health; and Water, Hygiene and Sanitation because these form the basis of social development in the said countries from colonial time and provide the broadest transformative and intrinsic effects on their economies and livelihoods, including on gender issues. Education (primary level), health (basic) and social protection have, in particular, formed the basis of social policy conceptualisation in these countries during the colonial time and the early years after independence. However, Social Policies still raise a lot of issues to be addressed, and these are what this book attempted to address. The findings indicate progress from colonial period (1940s) to the present day (2023). Though there are differences in the policy outcomes in each of the countries, there are also many similarities in the four countries.

Being a social scientist and Social Worker, it is my honor to write the forword to this pioneering book on Social Policies in East Africa because I believe that this is a great effort in promoting transformative social policies in the region. The trajectory of social policies in the four sectors have been generally transformative from colonial time, to the present day, and ideally being influenced by other ideological differences of member countries and some global agendas such as the UN Conventions, MDGs, SDGs and the profound partnerships witnessed during COVID-19. However, the book raises the questions of governance, government commitment to social

services, democratization of development and affirmative actions that can be harnessed to cause fundamental gender transformation in post-COVID-19 East Africa. The role of the activists and advocates for the vulnerable people should also be leveraged in the development process.

Again, I am honored to be invited to write this foreword and to add my thoughts to many important issues raised in this book. The book is not only relevant to Social Work in Africa, but to all policy makers and practitioners who will find its incisive commentary on various critical issues enlightening. The editor and contributors deserve to be congratulated on this landmark achievement.

Justus Twesigye, PhD

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Chapter 1

Introduction, Conceptual Issues, and Methodologies

Julius Omona, Samuel M. Mwangi, Rosemarie Mwaipopo and Charles Rutikanga

1.1 Introduction

This research was conducted with technical support from the Institute of African Studies, University of Ghana, with funding support from the Open Society Foundations of Africa. This is part of a multi-country research study conducted under the broad research entitled GETSPA (Gender-equitable and Transformative Social Policies in Post-COVID-19 Africa) that has investigated key research questions of the project on social policies in Uganda, Kenya, Tanzania and Rwanda since the late colonial period. This is a response to the realisation that social policies in Africa had for long been relegated to a residual category in policy-making, yet the COVID-19 experience has indicated that during crises, social policies have been relied on for improving human welfare, not only in Africa but also in the rest of the world. Accordingly, this research in the four countries focus on four broad sectors – education; work and employment; health; and water, hygiene and sanitation – because they have formed the basis of social development in the said countries from colonial times and have continued to have the broadest transformative and intrinsic effects on their economies and livelihoods, including on gender issues. Education (primary level), health (basic) and social protection have, in particular, formed the basis of social policy conceptualisation in these countries during the colonial era and the early years after independence. But from 2000 onwards, the conceptualisation broadened as a result of global influence through the MDGs and SDGs. Accordingly, we have defined social policy broadly in this research and have also included work and employment as well as water, hygiene and sanitation because of their transformative effects over

time. For the sake of analysis, the periodisation are thus: 1940–1961; 1962–1980; 1981–2000; 2001–2018; and 2019 to the present.

1.2 The Problem of Social Policies in Uganda

Since independence in 1962 and under varying political ideologies, Uganda has planned to confront the triad problems of poverty, disease and ignorance through a myriad of social policies in education, health, poverty alleviation strategies and social protection. The key ideological regimes since independence can be characterised in these post-independence periods: 1962–1970, under Obote 1; 1971–1979, under Idi Amin; 1980–1985, under Obote 2; and 1986 – today, under Yoweri Museveni. For most of Uganda's post-colonial period, the developmental trajectory was largely inspired by colonial British policy (Seekings, 2013), which focused primarily on agricultural development. The care for, and assistance to, the poor and the vulnerable such as orphans, people with disabilities (PWDs), the elderly, those with chronic diseases, the unemployed, youth and women, therefore, continued to be seen as the responsibility of kin and community, best supported by improving rural livelihoods. The immediate post-independence Uganda up to the 1980s witnessed a period of nationalistic discourse characterised by prioritising economic growth and national unity. Since Museveni took power in 1986, Uganda has mostly pursued a market-friendly and economic growth development policy (neoliberalism). The mid-1990s to the early/mid-2000s is often referred to as 'the poverty alleviation era', when poverty featured prominently in national development thinking. This was the decade when social policy generally returned to global attention in the 1990s after decades of marginalisation in the structural adjustment years in Uganda, just as it did in much of Africa. However, besides its tradition of focusing on health and education, social policy returned with a narrower conception as social protection. In the initial years of the Museveni government, social protection was almost conspicuously absent from the first two Poverty Eradication Action Plans (PEAPs) years of 1997 and 2000 but it, at least, attracted some attention in the second revised PEAP, produced in 2004 (GoU, 2004). It recognised social protection as a cross-cutting intervention to help address risks and vulnerabilities and prevent the vulnerable and

poor people from sinking deeper into poverty (MoFPED, 2004). The non-contributory social assistance in the form of cash transfers has not traditionally played a significant role in Ugandan development and poverty reduction policy, with policymakers tending to focus on economic growth as an engine of prosperity, with opponents seeing cash transfers as unaffordable and counter-productive ‘hand-outs’ that create undue dependence on the state and discourage potential productive work (Grebe & Mubiru, 2014).

From the early 2000s, stakeholders promoted cash transfers with limited success. However, after 2006, systematic promotion of cash transfers started to bear fruit, and from 2010 a largely donor-funded cash transfer pilot scheme, known as the Social Assistance Grants for Empowerment (SAGE) programme, was implemented. Subsequently, some of the obstacles to the earlier implementation of cash transfers have been overcome by the promulgation of a social protection policy in 2015 (GoU, 2015a). Despite the implementation of the social protection policy and other policies, poverty and vulnerability continue to affect large sections of society, with serious implications for Uganda’s growth and prosperity. The poverty and inequality statistics are still alarming, but not surprising (Oxfam, 2017). The poverty and inequality situation in Uganda echoes the biblical truism (Mathew 13: 12) that “[w]hoever has will be given more, and they will have an abundance. Whoever does not have, even what they have will be taken from them”. COVID-19 brought in its wake challenges in several social policy areas, such as employment, education, housing and health, among others. Yet responses from governments, guided largely by social protection ideas, have focused on issues such as food distribution and cash transfers for poor households and support for businesses, among others. Such issues have been riddled with complaints of poor quality, limited scope and geographical coverage because of corruption, which is reported to undermine an equitable response to the pandemic. COVID-19 has also suddenly brought into focus the gender segmentation of paid work, and the burdens of reproductive and unpaid care work for women.

Despite the aforementioned government efforts, what Uganda dismally lacked was a systematic and empirical analysis of the trajectories of education, health, employment, as well as water and sanitation within the

wider political economy and global dynamics from colonial times, including the challenges, processes and outcomes, as well as gender issues. Most importantly, for Uganda to consolidate and build on the successes of the past two decades, transformative social policy responses and approaches are required. These are the gaps identified and recommended in this current project to enable Uganda to achieve the social aspects of SDGs 2030 and to become a middle-income country by 2025, as well as a modern and prosperous country by 2040, as per her vision.

1.3 The Problem of Social Policies in Kenya

The social policies in Kenya have lacked a comprehensive framework since the colonial, post-independence, SAPs, economic crisis post-SAPs and COVID-19 era despite the progressive efforts in poverty reduction and interventions to address vulnerabilities which have been undertaken in Kenya through a number of social and economic policy initiatives. These included the colonial decrees and Sessional Paper No. 10 of 1965 on African Socialism and its Application to Planning in Kenya (Kimenyi, 2002); the Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers (PRSPs) of the 1990s; the National Poverty Eradication Plan (NPEP) of 2001; and the Economic Recovery Strategy (ERS) of 2003 (Freeman, Ellis, & Allison, 2004). Vision 2030 of 2008 and the Constitution of Kenya (2010), however, became the epitome of the approaches to social policy in the country. The social protection policy was developed in Kenya between 2008 and 2010 and enacted in 2011 following the promulgation of the 2010 Constitution. The constitution contains a comprehensive Bill of Rights (RoK, 2010). Article 43 guarantees all Kenyans their economic, social and cultural (ESC) rights. It asserts the “right for every person...to social security and binds the State to provide appropriate social security to persons who are unable to support themselves and their dependents.” This right is closely linked to other social protection rights, including the right to healthcare, human dignity, reasonable working conditions, and access to justice. Article 21 establishes the progressive realisation of social and economic rights and obligates the State to “observe, respect, protect, promote, and fulfil the rights and fundamental freedoms in the Bill of Rights” (RoK, 2010). In addition, the Kenya National Social Protection Policy (KNSPP) of 2011 was conceptualised by adopting the core

social assistance schemes with provisions to address and to harmonise social security and direct support to persons and/or households experiencing severe vulnerabilities and/or extreme poverty (Wanyama & McCord, 2017). It is within these provisions that the social policies in Kenya are framed and anchored. The social protection-related policy is fairly recent, showing the gap in the policy arena. The social policy arena in Kenya in general is coordinated under the Ministry of Labour and Social Protection (MLSP). However, little is known about the terrain of the social policies since colonial times and how these have been shifting within the wider political economy of Kenya and this gap has formed the thrust of the current research. The areas of focus for these analyses are: education; work and employment; health; and water, hygiene and sanitation.

1.4 The Problem of Social Policies in Tanzania

Gender equality and concerns for women's empowerment have featured variably in the formulation of social policies in the United Republic of Tanzania (URT), especially after independence in 1961. The fundamental shifts in social policy formulation, reflecting the social, political and economic transformations that the country has undergone since the country's colonial experience to the current period, have indeed been the context within which gender equality concerns were pursued. Throughout its experience, multiple forces, including the prevailing political orientation in each leadership phase, changing local socio-economic realities, and global processes have affected the nature of social policy and the ensuing mechanisms for social provisioning (TDV, 2005). Within this process, gender responsive concerns emerged just before independence and have been building up since (URT, 2005).

Mainland Tanzania (by then Tanganyika), which is the subject of this assessment gained its independence on the 9th December, 1961, and in April, 1964, the then Tanganyika and Zanzibar united to form the United Republic of Tanzania (URT). Social policy formulation within the country in this regard concerning healthcare, water and sanitation, work and employment and education is pursued independently by each of the two jurisdictions except for higher education which is a union matter.

The current context within which social policy is being pursued illustrates much promise. In July 2020, the country achieved the status of a lower middle-income country, indicating its progress towards the achievements of the goals of its main development agenda, the Tanzania Development Vision 2025 (TDV, 2005).¹ Between 2007 and 2018, the national poverty rate declined from 34.4% to 26.4% and extreme poverty fell from 12%-8% (URT, 2019), and the standard of living also improved as people experienced better access to services such as education, and healthcare which was partly attributed to expansion in social service infrastructure. However, although the severity of poverty has declined, the absolute number of people living in poverty increased (URT, 2019). The mainland Tanzania Poverty Assessment (URT, 2019) established that 14 million people lived below the poverty line in 2018. The poverty line was based on the estimated TZS 49,320 per adult equivalent per month or \$1.90 per person per day. The assessment also established that the vulnerability of people to fall back into poverty was high (WB, 2019). One of the main factors is the rapid rate of population growth which is proceeding faster than the rate of poverty reduction (URT, 2019). Agriculture, which employs at least, one person in about 73 percent of the households of mainland Tanzania was also reported to perform badly (URT, 2016a) and its contribution to GDP declined from 29 percent in 2015 to 26.6 percent in 2019 (URT, 2021). This sector, which employs a large percentage of the women, is largely small-scale, using low technologies, and is predominantly rain-dependent. This makes it vulnerable to shocks or stresses, eventually affecting people's well-being (URT, 2016a). Transforming gender relations within such a context has therefore been a daunting task and women suffer disproportionately higher from poverty than men.

Notably, however, the country has registered significant successes in achieving gender equality and, to a certain extent, gender equity throughout its historical transformations.² The integration of gender

¹ See, Tanzania Economic Update, February 2021. 'Raising the Bar: Achieving Tanzania's Development Vision'. February 2021. Issue 15. World Bank Group.

² Gender equality in this study refers to women and men having equal rights and opportunities in all aspects of life; and gender equity refers to fairness or gender justice in this case, as provided by social policy. Gender-equitable transformative policy goes beyond equality to facilitating the realisation of justice.

equality considerations in social policies in Tanzania is currently a policy requirement in public sector organisational frameworks and practices, and in development plans (URT, 2005). The Constitution of the United Republic of Tanzania (1977), and its subsequent amendments, laid the foundation for gender equality and equity in all spheres of life in the country (URT, 2005). Civil society engagement has also pushed the gender equality agenda forward with significant achievements and has worked with the government to review several policies on gender equality principles (URT, 2016b). In addition, social policy formulation has been influenced by the country's commitment to global processes such as the UN Decade for Women (1975-1985), the UN Convention on the Elimination of Violence against Women (CEDAW, 1986), the Beijing Platform of Action (1995), the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) and key gender commitments of the SADC region, the African Union (AU) and the East African Community (EAC). All these together have indeed transformed the nature of social policies and contributed to transformations of the legal and institutional frameworks, allowing for gender equality and gender equity to be realised to a certain degree.

In addition, commendable progress towards attaining gender balance has been realised, including the area of access to primary and Ordinary level secondary education. In 2016, government-owned primary schools had a total enrolment of 4,225,976 girls. This represented 50.6 per cent of the total enrolment of 8,341,611 children in schools at this level. In addition, 693,756 girls were enrolled in government secondary schools in 2016, representing 50.37 per cent of the total enrolment of 1,377,049 at this level, indicating that gender parity in these levels was achieved due to specific policy measures (Awinia, 2019). The Gender Development Index (GDI) of 2019 shows that females in Tanzania have a higher life expectancy at birth than males, being 67.2 years for females and 63.6 years for males, but that females have a lower mean year of schooling, at 5.8 compared to 6.4 for males. These few indicators are comparatively higher than the average estimates for the sub-Saharan region, as shown in Table 1.1 (UNDP, 2020).