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A multilateral approach towards education:
the case of the East African Community

-Master Final Thesis-

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Introduction

"Education enriches people's understanding of themselves and of the world. It improves the quality of their lives and leads to broad social benefits to individuals and society[1]".

The role of education has witnessed a growing recognition in the past century. Since then, governments have been investing increasing amounts of money in it. It seems they realised the close interconnection between education, economic development and competitiveness in the global marketplace. As States understood the importance of educating people, national educational policy packages were enacted. In fact, throughout the first half of the past century, education was perceived as a quintessential domestic affair.

However, shortly thereafter, States' global trend on education switched towards a complementary approach. With globalisation (second half of the 20th century), States began to perceive the importance of complementing education through the support of regional organisations. Therefore, a multilateral approach towards education grew steadily complementing the traditional domestic perspective. UNESCO had a key role in this process: it worked for the conceptualisation of a new idea of education. Thanks to its actions, States changed their perspectives on education. They began to understand it as a life-long learning process, essential for their citizens and for a healthy society.

Regrettably, developing countries found it extremely difficult to implement education throughout the 20th century. Various factors and historical reasons hindered the progression to good education systems. East Africa, in particular, was affected by its problematic colonial background. The region, mainly colonised by the British, has had many difficulties since the post-independence period. Assuring effective and non-discriminatory education policies has been extremely hard. The struggle partly derives from the colonial education heritage and the way it affected the East-African society. Certainly, the way in which colonials westernised the region made it impossible for East-Africans to restore pre-colonial education. Then, the region faced the complex task of adapting the precarious colonial education system to a rapidly evolving society.

The study aims at analysing the potential benefits that a multilateral approach towards education would entail, with a particular focus on East Africa and its historical background. To do so, it will first address the importance of education for societies and the essence of multilateralism in the 21st century. The study will then analyse the relationship between education and multilateralism in the first chapter. Moving forward, the analysis will assess the effects of multilateralism on education by providing some concrete examples of multilateral regimes that adopted a common education area (or any similar measure). The core of the study will be the analysis of the *East African Community (EAC)*. Its particular colonial

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[1] OZTURK, I., "The Role of Education in Economic Development: A Theoretical Perspective", *SSRN Electronic Journal*, Vol. XXXIII, 2001, No. 1, p. 39-47.

background of integration makes the case study particularly interesting and unique. The whole study will be focused on providing an answer to the following question: "is a multilateral approach to education suitable to the EAC reality?"

1. Education and Multilateralism: A conceptual framework

1.1 Education as the basis of the society

"Obtaining a quality education is the foundation to improving people's lives and sustainable development". Sustainable Development Goal n°4 (SDG4) states that education is the basis for a better and sustainable future society. In fact, no other goal which implies a certain degree of development can be achieved without a decent educational basis. Gender equality, climate action, economic growth and reduced inequalities are in no way achievable if quality education is not implemented. It probably is the challenge of all challenges.

Yet, why is education at the basis of society building? Analysing the OECD 2017 report on Education[2], it is evident that, individually, employment prospects improve for adults who have gone beyond compulsory education. In particular, across the OECD members (the Western World and some other few countries), 86% of tertiary-educated adults are employed. People that have been to College, University or any other kind of High Degree Institution, are 10% more likely to find a job than secondary-educated adults.

Yet, this is not the relevant advantage. Not only does education pay off individuals financially, the public sector also benefits from a large proportion of tertiary-educated adults. People that are easily employable and earn more are also supposed to pay more taxes and social contributions in general. It is truly important for policy-makers to invest in education: the labour outcomes deriving from tertiary education outweigh the cost the State has to assume to finance it. Returns are not only of a financial nature (increased productivity boosting economic growth); they also entail social and political improvements (such as higher social participation in democracy, better health and well-being), which will be addressed shortly.

Is education, then, worth to be financed just if a State can afford and implement tertiary education? There are a lot of countries which do not have an extended structure of tertiary education. Some less developed countries, indeed, struggle to assure even the most basic levels of education to their citizens. It is easy to understand in which way primary and secondary education are related to national income and society building. People without a basic education are not able to understand and carry out processes that are necessary for boosting a society (quality institution building, developing innovative ideas to boost economic development, etc…).

According to the UNESCO 2010 report on education[3], each additional year of

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[2] OECD. *Education at a glance 2017*. [online] *OECD Publishing*, Paris, 2017, p. 88, 104, 118, 136. [Accessed on 3 April 2019] Available at: <https://www.oecd-ilibrary.org/education/education-at-a-glance-2017_eag-2017-en>
[3] UNESCO*, Education counts: towards the Millennium Development Goals*. [online] UNESCO Digital Library, Paris 2010. [Accessed on 25 March 2019] Available at: <https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000190214>

schooling raises a country's average annual gross domestic product (GDP) growth by 0.37%. Having children around the world not learning basic skills therefore translates into a loss for States and for the international community in general.

According to the same report, education has also been identified as one of the indicators for determining peace within societies. If conflicts might derive from lack of education, it is possible to state that this lack can generate a cost for the State (the one deriving from an internal/international conflict).

Another relevant element of education is the social outcome: education and health have a strong interconnection considering that better-educated people have lower morbidity rates and greater life expectancies. Indeed, people with higher education have better salaries and are more attentive to what they eat, which strongly influences their health. Moreover, education systems are likely to reduce the rate of depression, since educated people work under better conditions.

The last element which is necessary to take into account when considering the importance of education in the society-building is the political aspect. Democracy's devotion for education is spread and well-known to everyone. Yet, what is it based on? An immediate and superficial explanation could be the following. Being democracy based on voters, when voters are not educated it is hard to elect governors wisely and to check their work. Nonetheless, there is another, deeper explanation. Democracy, indeed, is not just a form of government. It is a context in which individuals interact and exchange experiences. These points of contacts between individuals stimulate the variety of actions and the release of the capacity to understand how the world works[4]. It is evident how, in a society with stratified social classes, there is an absolute need of equal educative and intellectual opportunities. A society with strict constraints between social classes is just interested in the education of its higher components, while a mobile society is fully connected and passing from one class to another is not just possible but common. The mobile society has more chances to progress compared to the fixed one, because its components are more active and more able to face mutable challenges. Such a society has a deep interest in providing every component with decent quality education. Vice versa, individuals would be overweighed by changes which they are involved in and they would not be able to understand their meaning and connection. This might result in a general confusion in which a small number of people would get to the top and would be able to address the whole direction of the society.

These are the main reasons why education is the key element for the building of a healthy society. Even though many people are aware of the importance of education, they are not always able to analyse the reasons in an analytical way. The arguments listed above might therefore help in understanding how important it is to focus on education. It can be considered as the cornerstone of the society-building and its development.

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[4] DEWEY, J., *Democracy and Education: An Introduction to the Philosophy of Education,* United States, Macmillan, 1916, p. 128-134.

As previously mentioned, more and more States have been approaching education through a multilateral perspective in the last decades. They are, indeed, forming regional coalitions or organisations in order to achieve a better quality education, especially at the higher levels[5]. These actions are based on the idea that a collective approach to pursue a common goal is more effective than a unilateral approach. The phenomenon of complementing education through a multilateral approach can be addressed as *multilateral education.* Even though it is a growing trend, it has no official definition yet.

Therefore, this study will define multilateral education as the set of policies that States and/or International Organisations adopt collectively to implement and reinforce education at the domestic level. It consists of several and variegated practices, such as the harmonisation of education systems and curricula among States and the establishment of common education areas. From now on, the term multilateral education will be referred to in this respect.

Far from being the main approach, multilateral education still represents a complementary perspective to such a quintessential domestic matter. As it will be further developed, education has always been mainly considered an internal affair.

Once multilateral education has been defined, the study will aim at discovering how important it is to approach education through a multilateral perspective. It will, indeed, be structured in order to address the following question: which importance does multilateralism assume in the implementation of education? This question will particularly focus on the East African Community. As previously mentioned, its history makes it an interesting region to analyse.

1.2 Multilateralism in the 21st century

Having dedicated a short introduction to the analysis of the crucial importance of education in society-building, it is now time to analyse *multilateralism*. Multilateralism is a situation that refers to cooperation among several countries. It was defined by Miles Kahler[6] as "international governance", the global governance of the many. This definition is opposed to bilateralism, a practice which is believed to result in discriminatory policies of the powerful over the weak and in the increase of international conflicts. Multilateralism has also been defined as "the practice of coordinating national policies in groups of three or more states"[7]. Thus, it has a wide spectrum and a malleable nature: what is, then, multilateralism nowadays? In order to understand the essence of multilateralism, it is necessary to describe briefly its history.

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[5] Further explications will be provided in the next chapter.

[6] KAHLER, M., *Multilateralism with Small and Large Numbers*, Cambridge University Press. [online] International Organization, Vol. 46, 1992, p. 681. [Accessed on 28 March 2019] Available at: <https://www.cambridge.org/core/journals/international-organization/article/multilateralism-with-small-and-large-numbers/F92DF0397D019061F9E8759C326CBEEB>

[7] KEOHANE, R., *Contested Multilateralism.* [online] The Review of International Organisations, 2014. [Accessed on 31 March 2019] Available at: <https://pdfs.semanticscholar.org/e517/57cfd1ecdf0c9690a49ece86aabecb2398dc.pdf>

One of the earliest examples of multilateral cooperation can be traced back to the Congress of Vienna (1814-1815), when European powers redraw the borders after Napoleon's fall. This event generated the very first form of multilateralism, the Concert of Europe. It was a European system of balance of powers, repeatedly used in the 19th century to regulate the interests of European States and to alleviate tensions among them. Without entering into details, it is sufficient to observe that the 19th century was one the most peaceful periods that our continent has ever lived. Industrial and colonial competition between European countries probably was the main factor that broke this equilibrium, generating the instability that resulted in World War I. After several decades of war and tension, the majority of world's States agreed on the creation of an organism to promote world peace and maintain security around the globe: the United Nations (UN). The structure and scope of this organisation were similar to the ones of the League of Nations, an organisation created just three decades before. The reason why the international community was able to implement and maintain the UN is simple and straight-forward. The latter, indeed, enjoyed the membership of the two main powers that would have shaped the world, both politically and economically: the United States and Russia. Along with the political institutions of the UN, the international community was able to create the World Trade Organisation (which evolved from the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, GATT), the World Bank and the World Health Organisation. After World War II, the GATT allowed third-state parties to receive an equal treatment by introducing the principle of the Most Favoured Nation (MFN)[8]. In the trade policy, this principle makes the market an indivisible whole: indivisibility is, then, a core principle of multilateralism.

Along with the principle of indivisibility, multilateralism is characterised by the principle of diffused reciprocity. After WWII, Western Countries established the North-Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) which constituted a system of collective defence. Consequently, if any member state of the organisation was attacked by an external part, all the member states would agree to act for mutual defence (notably, in the context of the Cold War). In this system, member states would not require to be refunded of the expenses that were necessary to defend the threatened member of the organisation. Moreover, they agreed to maintain or reach defence spending of at least 2% of their Gross Domestic Product (GDP). Their recompense lied on the fact that, if they were attacked, they would be provided with the due support from the others. Bilateralism, on the other hand, lies on a specific and immediate reciprocity with an explicit balancing of obligations between each pair of actors.

Yet, the type of multilateralism described above is the "ideal" one. Although the aftermath of World War II has witnessed a huge growth in the number of international institutions based on multilateralism, this model has not always been respected in an accurate way. It encountered several challenges, notably after the fall of the Soviet Union.

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[8] Most-favoured-nation treatment (MFN) is the guarantee of trading opportunity equal to that accorded to the most-favoured nation. It is a method of establishing equality of trading opportunity among states by converting bilateral agreements into multilateral ones.

First of all, this event generated the primacy of the United States over the world (both economically and politically). Consequently, the American presidency began to opt for unilateral and bilateral policies that permitted to have more control over weak countries[9]. Secondly, multilateralism has challenged several times the principle of national sovereignty. Many multilateral policies have already eroded national sovereignty, especially in the recent decades. This is why "countries are unlikely to keep embracing abstract obligations that clash with concrete regulations of national interests[10]". Further, another important challenge to multilateralism is one of economical nature. Multilateral trade is indeed subject to a crisis deriving from raising protectionist and unilateral policies. "The original sponsor of post-war multilateralism in economic regimes, the United States, turned towards unilateral action in trade and other negotiations as a result of dissatisfaction with the outcomes of multilateral approach"[11]. Besides, after the United States lived as the predominant world leader for a few decades, it is now time to share the global leadership along with China and India as "emerging" economies.

We live in an interconnected world and we need global institutions and rules more than ever. Yet, multilateralism will need the support of the main actors[12]: China, the European Union, India, and the United States still have to find the right place in the new economic order. Briefly, multilateralism in the 21st century has not been stabilised yet. Its future will depend on multiple factors and diverging national interests.[13]

Considering the factors listed above, multilateralism is likely to live a deep crisis in the next decades. In a period in which advancing technology and climate change are producing ethical and political concerns that will need strong global governance, a weak multilateralism is a serious concern.

1.3 Conceptualising education after World War II: from an exclusively domestic affair to a transversal and multilateral issue

It is in the context of an ailing multilateralism that the historical shift in the global approach to education will be addressed.

The *United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation* (*UNESCO*) was founded as a specialised agency of the United Nations in the aftermath of WWII, the greatest

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[9] HOOK, STEVEN & SPANIER, J., *Chapter 12: America Under Fire, American Foreign Policy Since World War II*, , United States, CQ Press, 2017, p. 305.

[10] HOFFMANN, S., *"World governance: beyond utopia"*, Daedalus, vol. 132, 2003, no.1, p. 27-35.

[11] MCLEAN, I., MCMILLAN, A., *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Politics,* Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2009, p. 519.

[12] The main actors were used by calculating the GDP, the population and the military expenditure. These metrics represent a reality that is, sometimes, vague and incomplete. Indeed, the central role of world actors also depends on others factors. Nonetheless, it is a good starting point to understand how much influence a country possesses.

[13] DERVIŞ, K., *"Global power is shifting. Is it the end of multilateralism?"* [online] World Economic Forum, United States, 2018. [Accessed on 28 March 2019] Available at: <https://www.weforum.org/agenda/2018/07/is-this-the-end-of-multilateralism/>

era of multilateralism[14]. The existence of a specialised agency in this sector is a clear proof of the multilateral approach that education has been subjected to since WWII. UNESCO was created to contribute to social and education renewal in Europe and, especially, in a war-torn Germany. Shortly thereafter, it functioned as a mediator between Eastern and Western countries in the context of the Cold War. Later on, it shifted its attention to developing countries in a globalised world. Since then, it has been committed to fighting poverty, under-development and to contributing to peace-building. Education has been one of the main instruments to achieve these goals. Yet, why does education need a multilateral approach?

Until WWII, education had always been considered as an exclusively internal affair. Apart from sporadic interventions on part of missionaries (funded by States) in the European powers' colonies[15], no multilateral policies were adopted in the sector of education. Moreover, it was conceived as important just on the basis of its usefulness at work. Education, indeed, was only necessary to teach people how to carry out tasks in an industrial society. There was no knowledge of the correlation between education, GDP and a healthy society. Consequently, public expenditure on education was extremely low, mainly based on primary education and geographically restricted[16]. In addition to this, WWII weakened State education systems in those countries where education was already conceived as a key-factor for society's growth.

For these reasons, UNESCO assumed a key-role in "conceptualising lifelong learning as a global education paradigm[17]". According to the organisation, education did not have to be relegated to the little information which was necessary to carry out specific tasks. Rather, it had to be the basis to form a healthy and balanced society. A poor education system, in this sense, had serious repercussions both on State's economy and people[18]. Education, then, just as any other important policy, needed to be dealt with as a transversal issue.

Article 1 of the Constitution of UNESCO is distinct and straightforward on the reasons why education is not supposed to be just an intra-national issue.

> "The purpose of the Organisation is to contribute to peace and security by promoting collaboration among the nations through education, science and culture in order to further universal respect for justice, for the rule of law and for the human rights and fundamental freedoms which are affirmed for the peoples of the world, [...]".

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[14] After WWII, multilateralism emerged as the new world order and international institutions were created with the mandate of keeping peace, protecting human rights and promoting international cooperation. A third global war was the hypotesis that States feared the most.

[15] The argument will be further deepened in the next chapter.

[16] Education was considered as a partially important issue just in some world areas, such as Europe and North America. Sub-Saharan countries, for instance, did not realise the importance of education for a society. Some of them have been lagging behind and still have high illiteracy rates.
ROSER, M., "Financing Education". [online] OurWorldInData, 2019. [Accessed on 25 March 2019] Available at: <https://ourworldindata.org/financing-education>

[17] ELFERT, M., "Six decades of educational multilateralism in a globalising world: The History of the UNESCO Institute in Hamburg", International Review of Education, Vol. 59, 2013, No. 2.

[18] Ibid

UNESCO's statement clearly declared education to be such an important factor for peace and security that it could not be left to individual State's willingness. European (and later global) education policies, from then on, were to be made under the watchful eye of the organisation. Moreover, making education an international issue (in the respect of quintessential domestic matters[19]) would have generated a free flow of ideas, publications, researchers and educators in the field of education.

In 1960, UNESCO's General Conference adopted a resolution on the role of education in economic and social development. It recognized that assistance in development would be totally ineffective if not coordinated with the development of primary, secondary and higher education. It also established that educational projects should have the same consideration as aid offered for economic development[20]. Once the correlation between education and international development was clear, boosting international development through the implementation of education became a key objective of UNESCO.

Therefore, under the umbrella of UNESCO, education gradually became a transversal issue. As described above, the reasons why this happened are various and variegated. The importance of education for society and for States and the role of education in development cooperation are, without any doubt, two important factors to consider when analysing the historical shift of perspectives in education.

Although UNESCO introduced a different approach towards education, it is important to specify that it has never stopped being a primarily domestic affair. The existence of multilateral education, indeed, did not prevent the subject from being a key internal matter still. Since the creation of UNESCO, then, the world witnessed two different and co-existing approaches toward education: the traditional domestic approach, which is conducted by the State; and the multilateral approach, which is adopted by several States (usually operating through an international or regional organisation).

1.4 Education and UNESCO's effectiveness in the last six decades

This part of the chapter is going to address the impact that UNESCO has had on multilateral education. As the only UN agency which encompasses all aspects of education, UNESCO has had a key-role in shaping education and its multilateral approach. Even though sovereign States have the real power to implement educational measures, the organisation (along with other entities) has supported and coordinated on their actions. To sum up, UNESCO had, has and will have a major influence towards education and its implementation.

Throughout its history, UNESCO has had to adapt and reconcile different objectives in a changing world. It started operating in the context of a war-torn Europe and then passed through the Cold War before reaching a really globalised world. In essence, UNESCO has

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[19] Article 1.3 states that the Organisation is prohibited from intervening in matters which are essentially within their domestic jurisdiction.
[20] General Assembly Resolution 1515 (XV), *Concerted action for economic development of less developed countries,* A/RES/1515 (15 December 1960)

had to respond to the demand of new situations, always respecting the broad mandate without neglecting any sensible area. As obvious, implementing education at a global level is a long-term objective and it still has a long way to go. Yet, has UNESCO been effective so far?

As every international organisation, it has a lot of partners (coming both from the private and public sectors) allowing it to carry out its projects. Since 1945, UNESCO has taken several decisive steps towards a more inclusive education. Education, indeed, is at the heart of many instruments: the most important one is the *1960 Convention against Discrimination in Education*. Its strength is mainly evidenced by the recognition under international law[21] and the frequency with which its main elements are mentioned in other instruments related to education by the UN. The Convention establishes the essential elements of the *right to education* with international obligations. Article 4 of the Convention, for instance, declares that State Parties need to provide primary education free and compulsory, that secondary education must generally be accessible and that the actions must be carried out respecting the principle of non-discrimination.

UNESCO monitors its Conventions and all its standard-setting instruments for education with the support of governments and other non-State actors. Therefore, UNESCO aims at supporting member States through the adaptation of international obligations to the domestic system and by raising awareness within the countries.

Nonetheless, the right to education is part of the *economic, social and cultural rights*. It means that education can only be achieved through a gradual progress on part of States, which need to implement and enforce it. A good quality education system, indeed, depends on the development level of a given country. No international obligation is enough to impose such a complex right to be implemented. This is the reason why, in the end, "the core responsibility devolves upon governments" - declares the organisation on its own web page. Indeed, the translation into the domestic system is a responsibility that lies with sovereign States. Concretely, it means that UNESCO can just boost and coordinate cooperation through Member States. It cannot impose States to implement measures which require further development in the background.

In addition to the main Convention against Discrimination, UNESCO informs national policy design in the field of culture through several Conventions on the protection of cultural properties and diversity[22]. These conventions have a key-role in protecting cultural heritage because they have been implemented and enforced. The most blatant example is the *Al-Mahdi*

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[21] 101 member States have ratified the Convention so far.

[22] Hague Convention for the Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict (1954); Convention on the Means of Prohibiting and Preventing the Illicit Import, Export and Transfer of Ownership of Cultural Property (1970); World Heritage Convention (1972); Convention on the Protection of the Underwater Cultural Heritage (2001); Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity (2001); Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage (2003); Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions (2005).

case, through which the *International Criminal Court* condemned a terrorist for attacking UNESCO cultural heritage in Mali[23].

UNESCO has also recently started the *Teacher Training Initiative*, which is operating in 17 countries in Sub-Saharan Africa. Its goal is improving the quality and quantity of the teaching force. Moreover, it created the *International Network of Teachers Education Institutions*, which brings together 75 institutions from 60 countries to provide with teacher-training and sustainable development teaching practices.

In addition to this, the organisation is strongly active in the context of language diversity. It has indeed created an *Atlas on the World's Languages in Danger*, which is the main reference worldwide. It monitors more than 2500 languages that are believed to be endangered by linking the experts, governments and communities and by providing them with tools and policy advices. This is a clear proof of UNESCO's commitment to conservation of *cultural diversity*. In spite of being a central actor in terms of cultural integration, the organisation also stands for the importance of diversity in cultures.

Cultural diversity is, indeed, a complex and variegated term. Some see cultural diversity as inherently positive since it embodies the wealth of each of the world's cultures. Accordingly, it unites all peoples in processes of exchange and dialogue. For others, cultural differences are at the root of numerous conflicts. This second option is, as of today, the most common belief. Globalisation has increased interaction and, therefore, frictions between peoples. It gave rise to claims of identity which usually become sources of disputes. UNESCO's essential challenge is, in this sense, proposing a coherent vision of cultural diversity and clarifying how, far from being a threat, it can benefit cultural integration worldwide[24]. Cultural diversity, according to the organisation, is the precondition of intercultural dialogue and integration. Differences already exist, and the globalisation's attempt of flattening them is the one which generates tensions. Therefore, promoting co-existing diversities is one of UNESCO's objectives. "It is tempting to see cultural factors as the cause of conflict, whereas they are only the pretext for conflict; the ultimate cause of conflict lies in political or socio-economic circumstances[25]".

Policies in the field of education have a huge impact on the rise or decline of cultural diversity. Multilateral education, in this respect, constitutes both a privilege and a risk. On the one hand, education is frequently discussed just in terms of numbers, knowledge transmission and the development of standardised conceptions. On the other hand, UNESCO seeks to promote education by recognising the diversity of learners' needs and by integrating diverse methods and contents. Standardisation of curricula, indeed, does not serve the needs of all

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[23] *The Prosecutor v. Ahmad Al Faqi Al Mahdi*, No. ICC-01/12-01/15, ICC 2016.
[24] UNESCO, *Investing in cultural diversity and intercultural dialogue: UNESCO World Report*. [online] UNESCO Digital Library, Paris 2009. [Accessed on 26 March 2019] Available at: <https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000184755>
[25] *Ibidem*

learners. Moreover, it does not fit the context of their lives. Learning processes and educational contents must be adapted to the circumstances of the learners.

UNESCO also plays an important role in gender equality education, which has been monitored in: textbooks (the organisation trained 150 specialists in Africa in order to write new gender-sensitive books); policies (more than a thousand women were trained on decision-making processes in the various Ministries of Education between 2007 and 2010); and media (it helped in the formulation of guidelines on gender equality that were then disseminated through the International Federation of Journalists)[26].

Concerning the freedom of information, the organisation actively supports the enactment and implementation of information laws and policies. UNESCO started organising trainings for journalists in the 1950s[27]. In 1980, the organisation created the International Programme for the Development of Communication (IPDC) to promote media development in developing countries. The Programme mainly acts by formulating reports and indicators on media development and safety of journalists. In this way, it contributes to empowerment, transparency, accountability, and governance of developing countries.

On the basis of the analysis made above, it is evident that UNESCO has had a strong importance in the implementation of multilateral education. However, because of the nature of the right to education[28], the organisation has not had a constrictive power over its Member States in this respect. Even though its conventions are binding, access to education cannot be imposed to Member States. Education, indeed, can only be achieved through progressive development.

Nonetheless, the organisation has been extremely relevant in fostering educational cooperation and in strengthening education systems worldwide. More importantly, UNESCO has shaped the world through the conceptualisation of a new, different idea of education. "Education is a human right for all throughout life (…), it transforms lives and is at the very heart of UNESCO's mission to build peace, eradicate poverty and drive sustainable development[29]".

One of the most relevant actions of UNESCO was the creation (along with other organisations[30]) of the 2000 *World Education Forum* held in Dakar, Senegal. The Forum led 164 governments to commit to achieving basic *Education For All* (EFA). Back then, *EFA* became a global movement aiming to meet the learning needs of all children, youth and adults by 2015. The goal was progressively monitored and checked by the *EFA Global Monitoring*

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[26] UNESCO*, 65 ways UNESCO benefits countries all over the world*. [online] UNESCO Digital Library, Paris 2009. [Accessed on 26 March 2019] Available at: <https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000184755>
[27] UNESCO*, Purpose and Scope*. [online] UNESCO Digital Library, Paris 1955. [Accessed on 30 March 2019] Available at: <https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000148006>
[28] Read the previous page.
[29] UNESCO, *"Education transforms lives"*. [online] Unesco Digital Library, 2019. [Accessed on 25 March 2019] Available at: <https://en.unesco.org/themes/education>
[30] The World Bank and the *United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund* (UNICEF) are the most representative ones.

Report 2015, which evaluated the multilateral education policies carried out globally since the year 2000. "There has been tremendous progress across the world since 2000" states the report. The number of children and adolescents who did not attend schools in 2000 was almost halved in 15 years. Two third more children were enrolled in primary school in 2012 than in 1999; the lower secondary enrolment increased by 14%; the rate of adult illiteracy dropped by 4% and 69% of world countries reached gender equality in primary education access in 2015.

Despite all efforts by the international community, the world has not achieved the EFA[31]. There are still 58 million children out of school globally; 100 million children are not even able to complete primary education and one in six children in low and middle income countries did not complete primary school by 2015. More than 500 million adults are still illiterate and strong inequalities persist in the shift towards the lower secondary education. On the one hand, progress fastened after the *Dakar Framework*: pre-primary and primary education enrolment ratios accelerated after the 90s. On the other hand, inequality in education has increased – poorest people are the ones bearing the burden. Moreover, investments in education keep being extremely low – far below the amount needed to recuperate the gap, according to UNESCO.

> "We need to do far more to ensure quality education and lifelong learning for all. There is simply no more powerful or longer-lasting investment in human rights and dignity, in social inclusion and sustainable development. So much has been achieved since 2000: we need to draw on this and do more[32]".

1.5 Education and multilateralism: a mutual relation

In spite of UNESCO's commitment, multilateralism is living a difficult period, both at the economic and social level. As previously stated, nationalism and protectionism are becoming more and more popular. Over the past years, these practices appeared to be on rise at a global level: from the election of Donald Trump to Brexit; from the government policies in Japan, India and China to the success of far-right parties in Italy, Germany and Austria[33]. What can the future of multilateral education be in this precarious context?

It is very hard to estimate it. As any other affair that predominantly belongs to sovereign States, multilateral education mainly depends on changes in their attitude. Yet, the effects of multilateral education are so vast that they cannot be limited to benefits towards education. A comprehensive approach to education, indeed, might restore multilateral practices and their reputations among governments and peoples.

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[31] The goal deadline was, at first, 2015. Yet, the agenda has been reviewed and the goals which were not achieved were incorporated to the Sustainable Development Goals (Agenda 2030). In particular, education is directly addressed through SDG4.

[32] UNESCO, *"EFA Global Monitoring Report"*. [online] Unesco Digital Library, 2015. [Accessed on 25 March 2019] available at: <https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000232205>.

[33] BIEBER, F., *Is Nationalism on the Rise? Assessing global trends*, Paris, Ethnopolitics, 2018, p. 519-540

According to UNESCO's conceptualisation, multilateral education is a practice which entails a strong consideration of cultural diversity. Globalisation, indeed, has a double effect on this matter.

On the one hand, it leads inevitably to cultural homogenisation deriving from the contact of different cultures. The risk of a "flat" world is concrete[34]. It depends on several factors and multilateral education, following this analysis, might be among them. If States approach multilateral education as a standardised and stereotypical matter, they are likely to produce a homogeneous and uniform application of a standard model and to flatten local identities and cultures. Yet, UNESCO tries to implement measures in the respect of cultural diversity and domestic matters. Moreover, article 1.3 of the UNESCO Constitution prevents the organisation from the possibility of infringing matters that are within the domestic jurisdiction.

On the other hand, globalisation might also generate tensions among cultures because of the intense mobility of people. If a State approach does not necessarily consider education and its role of learning to live together, UNESCO's interpretation does it. This is why the organisation is claiming the urgent need to invest in cultural diversity and dialogue. Concretely, it promotes the diversification of forms of learning and, more importantly, the development of intercultural competencies that can lead to dialogue between civilisations[35].

In this sense, UNESCO's approach to education possibly boosts integration and inter-connection between different people. It can also help the international community to prevent conflicts. This process, indeed, has a high chance of alleviating tensions among peoples and countries. Making education an international issue can help people open their mind, co-exist peacefully and respect their differences.

Going further, education has been recognised a growing importance in preventing extremism since 2015[36]. However, there was a lack of evidence on the effectiveness of educational activities in this sense. This was mainly due to lack of data and the complexity of the radicalisation processes. Therefore, UNESCO began to seek evidence on education's effectiveness to prevent violent extremism (PVE-E). As a result, the organisation commissioned a study showing that the PVE-E does work, with impacts at different levels[37]. Multilateral education emerges, through the report, as a factor which is likely to eradicate prejudices and to favour integration among peoples. In this respect, education might benefit the future of multilateralism.

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[34] FRIEDMAN THOMAS, L., *It's a flat World, after all.* [online] NY Times, United States, 2005. [Accessed on 28 March 2019] Available at: <https://www.nytimes.com/2005/04/03/magazine/its-a-flat-world-after-all.html>

[35] Vid. Footnote no. 23.

[36] General Assembly Draft Resolution A/72/L.62, *The United Nations Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy Review,*, A/RES/72/62 (22 June 2018).

[37] UNESCO, *"Preventing Violent Extremism Through Education"*. [online] Unesco Digital Library, 2018. [Accessed on 3 April 2019] Available at: <https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000266105/PDF/266105eng.pdf.multi>

In short, depending on how multilateral education is handled and perceived by States, multilateralism can either benefit or be disadvantaged by its relation with education. The relation between multilateralism and education is complex, vast and it has a mutual nature. Both factors strongly influence each other, either positively or negatively. Assessing the potential benefits/losses of this relation is in fact among the purposes of this thesis.

1.6 A brief insight into the regional implementation of multilateral education in the world: the influence of the European model across the world

After a brief analysis of multilateral education and of its nature, it is now time to address some examples of *regional implementations of education*. In some of the world regions, indeed, education is additionally fostered through regional organisations and entities.

The first regional implementation of education which is worth analysing is the one concerning *European integration*. The European Union (EU) is a political and economic block, nowadays composed of 28 countries, which was born out of the desire to end the centuries of warfare threatening peace in the continent. The EU was formally created through the *Maastricht Treaty* in 1992. However, it was the result of a progressive implementation whose beginning can be traced back to the creation of the *European Economic Community* (ECC) in 1957. The process culminated with the *European Single Market*, which was established by 12 countries in 1993. It ensured the so-called "*four freedoms*": the freedom of movement of services, money, goods and people.

The European Union is a complex and variegated entity which is hard to put into a fixed framework. Its economic and political structures are continuously evolving. Concerning its education internal plans, EU countries are generally responsible for their own education systems. Nonetheless, the organisation helps every country in the implementation and setting of strategic goals[38]. Just as any other multilateral organisation, the EU's quintessential principle is that working together on issues of shared concern includes advantages which are not achievable otherwise.

> "Taken individually, we would be side-lined by global dynamics. Standing together is our best chance to influence them, and to defend our common interests and values. We will act together, at different paces and intensity where necessary, while moving in the same direction, as we have done in the past, in line with the Treaties and keeping the door open to those who want to join later. Our Union is undivided and indivisible[39]."

Concerning education, the EU mainly helps its Member States in three different ways: by helping national policy-makers to develop their educational systems, by sharing knowledge on good education policy practices and through the *Erasmus+ Programme*, an

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[38] European Commission, "About Education and Training in the EU". [online] European Commission/Education and Training, 2018. [Accessed on 3 April 2019] Available at: <https://ec.europa.eu/education/education-in-the-eu/about-education-and-training-in-the-eu_en>

[39] European Council, *The Rome Declaration.* [online] Press releases, 2017. [Accessed on 3 April 2019] Available at: <https://www.consilium.europa.eu/en/press/press-releases/2017/03/25/rome-declaration/>

innovative exchange programme funded by the European Commission[40]. Erasmus+ supports education, training, youth and sport in Europe. So far, around 9 million people benefited from mobility opportunities in the context of education within and outside Europe. The Programme has been allocated a budget of €14.7 billion for the period 2014-2020. Such a huge economic expenditure is justified through the impact that young students mobility has on the job market:

> "Young people who study or train abroad not only gain knowledge in specific disciplines, but also strengthen key transversal skills which are highly valued by employers. Graduates with international experience fare much better on the job market. They are half as likely to experience long-term unemployment compared with those who have not studied or trained abroad and, five years after graduation, their unemployment rate is 23% lower[41]."

Moreover, exchanging good policy practices in the sector of education is possible through the Education and Training 2020 Working Groups[42], designed for addressing the key challenges and the common priorities at the European level. Common education objectives in the regional area are: modernising competences in order to adapt them to the market needs, high-quality education for everyone (including migrants), reduction of early school leaving and increased support to educators. The European Commission constantly monitors progress towards the ET 2020 objectives through regular studies.

Concerning higher education, the *Bologna Declaration* started a pilot project in the European Union in 2009. Nowadays, the so-called *Bologna Process* encompasses 48 countries and has a global impact. Through various ministerial meetings, this initiative was able to form the *European Higher Education Area (EHEA)*. It is a unique international collaboration that allows 48 countries with different backgrounds, cultures and aspiration to implement and reform higher education on the basis of common values. Key shared objectives are the free movement of students, the independence of teachers and the freedom of expression. EHEA's main goal is to increase staff and students mobility and to facilitate employability. In the perspective of this common education area, Ministerial Conferences are organised every two or three years to report, assess and monitor the progress of this multilateral approach. Therefore, even though the European Union leaves a wide range of policies to the willingness of every Member State, it entails a strategic framework for the European cooperation in education matters. In particular, the EHEA added three key commitments to the countries which adhered to it: the implementation of a three-cycle degree structure, the recognition of qualifications and quality assurance. These three main tools are implemented in the majority of EHEA countries.

With the EHEA, European and North-Asian States (such as Russia) rapidly adhered to an approach which is increasingly multilateral. This is a clear evidence of the common belief

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[40] The European Commission is one of the main institutions of the European Union. It deals with legislation proposal, implementation of decisions and other daily activities of the EU business.
[41] European Commission, *Erasmus Impact Study Confirms EU student exchange scheme boosts employability and job mobility.* [online] European Commission, Press releases database, 2014. [Accessed on 10 April 2019] Available at: <http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_IP-14-1025_en.htm>
[42] Also called "ET 2020 Working Groups".

that multilateral education policies towards higher education will raise the chances of making mobility a reality, of improving the quality of education and training and of promoting equity, active citizenship and entrepreneurship[43]. Indeed, universities need to adapt to a fast-paced society and to break free from traditional and outmoded models. Networks and cooperation among higher education institutions can, through the free exchange of knowledge and people, sustain global development and knowledge-based economies. Through the EHEA and the Erasmus+, students are more likely to develop the high-level skills that the job market requires. For all the reasons listed above, the Bologna Process has been so important that it has not only inspired cooperation among European countries, but also across other world regions.

To sum up, the European Union is, without any doubt, the most complete example of regional integration. The EU leaders increasingly highlight the importance of a common educational dimension for European integration. Under its treaties, Member States remain primarily responsible for their own education systems, but commit themselves to working together. On the one hand, the organisation supports, funds and monitors domestic education systems within the region. In particular, the EU is strongly committed in reporting the current situation and in establishing new goals. On the other hand, the EU also operates outside the region. Apart from the EHEA, it contributes considerably to the universal primary education goal, which is nowadays incorporated into SDG4. It supports education in emergencies through its humanitarian aid programmes, which take place in 50 countries around the world[44]. Moreover, the EU supports partner countries through bilateral programmes for education worth €3.4 billion, apart from €1.4 billion invested for the Erasmus programme outside Europe[45].

The study will further focus on how the EHEA influenced other regions with a special focus on the MercoSur and the East African Community regional integrations.

Another interesting example of regional development of education is provided by the *MercoSur integration*. MercoSur (*Mercado Común Del Sur* or Southern Common Market) is a Southern American regional integration process, still strongly open and dynamic. Its main objective is the creation of a common space of business and investment opportunities through the integration of national economies into the international market. So far, MercoSur members are: Argentina, Brazil, Paraguay, Uruguay, Venezuela and Bolivia[46]. The Latin-American

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[43] European Commission, *"European Policy Cooperation (ET2020 Framework)"*. [online] European Commission/Education and Training, 2018. [Accessed on 12 April 2019] Available at: <https://ec.europa.eu/education/policies/european-policy-cooperation/et2020-framework_en>

[44] European Commission, *EU increases humanitarian aid budget for education of children in emergencies.* [online] European Commission, Press releases database, 2017. [Accessed on 11 April 2019] Available at: <http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_IP-17-3273_en.htm>

[45] European Commission, *EU leads international efforts to ensure education for all.* [online] European Commission, Press releases database, 2017. [Accessed on 11 April 2019] Available at: <http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_IP-18-502_en.htm>

[46] Due to its precarious situation, Venezuela is suspended in all Rights and Obligations concerning the MercoSur integration; Bolivia still is in the process of accession.

regional integration process is far from being similar to the European one. Indeed, the project of integrating higher education through a multilateral approach in Latin-American countries is still at an early stage. MercoSur lacks the organs and structures that allowed the European Union to create a common education area with ambitious objectives.

Yet, as already mentioned, it has become more and more evident that the EHEA project is having a strong influence on the global approach to education policies[47]. In particular, the European regional integration for higher education is having such a strong impact worldwide that it is apparently being able to by-pass the regional MercoSur structures. Indeed, it is permeating the policies of national territories in South-America and in the MercoSur region.

Through the *Education Sector of Mercosur* (ESM), Mercosur countries began to create partnerships between universities, associations and organizations in the region. The ESM plan 2011-2015 also strengthened the relations of Mercosur with other external bodies, such as UNESCO, the EHEA and the Organization of the Ibero-American States. Nonetheless, MercoSur was not really able to implement education policies within its States. Education did not receive an adequate attention in the general process of integration because of two reasons. First of all, moderate cross-border mobility did not benefit education exchanges. Secondly, the predominance of actors uniquely interested in economic implementation of MercoSur did not encourage further integration measures. In this context, it has been easy for the EHEA to result as an attractive model and to spread over the MercoSur region through soft power. The Bologna model permeated MercoSur countries through international agreements between the EU and Latin-American countries and, indirectly, through the implementation of universities located in the Mercosur region.

To conclude with, the most notable fact is that EHEA is becoming an ingenious and seductive model that, among other objectives, seeks to make European and non-European national systems of higher education converge into a huge regional system based on shared-knowledge and common policies. This unique multilateral approach to education is aimed at obtaining both regional and global results. It testifies the growing global belief that education has to be faced through a global perspective in order to be more effectively implemented.

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[47] NEVEZ DE AZEVEDO, M. L., *The Bologna Process and Higher Education in MercoSur: regionalization or Europeanization?* United Kingdom, Routledge Taylor and Francis Group, 2014.

2.   Analysis of the East African Community

2.1 Regional integration in Africa: an introduction

Regional economic and, to a certain extent, political integration has been a clear aspiration of African countries since the achievement of independence in the past century. Many arguments have been made for speeding up the integration process at the continental level[48]: politicians, technocrats, business owners and researchers seem to be aligned[49] on this. Nonetheless, the integration process has been slow and sporadic. The continental integration agenda still seems to be a utopia. Because of the nature of this big project and the subsequent regional rivalries, integration has been based on the promotion of more local schemes. Indeed, platforms for economic and, eventually, political unions have been set up in West and East Africa. The vision of regional integration in East Africa is to create wealth, raise living standards of all people and enhance international competitiveness in the region through increased production and trade investments.

The study is going to focus on the current regional integration in East Africa, analysing its pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial progress. The main objective of this chapter is identifying the multilateral policies that adopted a special focus on education. In doing so, the study will aim at understanding their outcomes. Moreover, it will try to figure out if further implementations of multilateral policies on education would be a good move. The analysis will be structured in view of the purpose of the study: what is the importance of multilateralism in the implementation of education?

2.2 East Africa: a colonial history of integration

The goal of this part of the chapter is to provide a historical perspective of the pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial roots of present-day East African regional integration. In order to understand the East African Community and its multilateral approach, it is necessary to analyse the particular past of the region, characterised by domination and submission.

The term *East Africa* has a broad meaning and might vary depending on how it is used. The *United Nations Geoscheme*[50] uses the term East Africa to refer to 20 different territories. Nonetheless, East Africa might also refer to the eastern region of Africa that was covered by the British Protectorates[51]. In this case, it would only include the area now comprising Uganda, Kenya and Tanzania. This essay will use the term East Africa to refer to the six countries composing the East African Community nowadays[52]. The following

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[48] MARINOV, E., "Economic Integration in Africa – Overview, Progress and Challenges", *Journal of Global Economics*, vol. 6, 2014, no. 1, p. 42-55.
[49] ANYANWU, J., KAYIZZI-MUGERWA, S., "Regional Integration in Africa: an Introduction", *African Development Review,* vol. 26, 2014, no. S1, p. 1-6.
[50] The UN Geoscheme divides the world countries in regional groups.
[51] PEARSALL, J., "East Africa", *The New Oxford Dictionary of English*, ed. 2001, p. 582.
[52] Kenya, Uganda, Tanzania, Burundi, Rwanda and South Sudan.

historical analysis, however, will mainly focus on Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania (the three former British colonies).

Between the 19th and 20th century, East Africa became the theatre of competition between European powers. Mainland Tanzania (the so-called *Tanganyika*[53]), Rwanda and Burundi were colonised by Germany in 1885. Britain, on the other hand, set foot on the most exploitable and promising lands of Uganda and Kenya[54] in the early 1890's. When Germany lost the First World War, Britain took control over Tanganyika. Belgium, on the other hand, opened a new colonial period for Rwanda and Burundi.

Having been British colonies until the second half of the 20th century, Uganda, Tanganyika and Kenya have a common colonial past. Nonetheless, Ugandan President Museveni has argued in many speeches that East African regionalism can be traced back to pre-colonialism. While the three countries were never unified politically in the pre-colonial period, economic interdependence already characterised the region.

> "This was a Common Trade Area and not a Free Trade Area because the chiefs along the way would extort "hongo" (a sort of tax) from the traders. Colonialism, therefore, interfered with the trading activities of our people. Even the EAC of today does not cover the whole pre-colonial trading of this part of Africa. The new element the British brought was the abolition of "hongo"— the taxes between kingdoms and chiefdoms, in our case between the modern states.[55]"

Moreover, religious, cultural and linguistic similarities were already present throughout the region. The Swahili[56] trading language, for example, spread during the Kilwa Sultanate (1000-1495) and, later, under the Omani Sultanate (1650-1890). The language rapidly became East Africa's *lingua franca*[57].

However, little information is available on pre-colonial regional integration. Relying on oral testimony is the main way of investigating the first forms of multilateral regionalism in East Africa. This is why many scholars believe that formal efforts at integrating the region began with the British, whose influence significantly grew in the last period of the 19th century. Britain had taken direct control over Kenya, Uganda and Zanzibar by 1895. Economic integration started soon thereafter, by collecting customs revenue in 1900 and by adopting a single currency (the *rupee,* and then the *shilling*[58]) in 1905. The British control over the region was further implemented with the completion of a railway between Kenya and Uganda in 1901. The railway line, which started the colonial development in the region, was a

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[53] Tanganyika was the way the British called mainland Tanzania.

[54] These lands were extremely profitable for the adaptability to the cultivation of cash crops.

[55] Speech delivered at the East African Legislative Assembly, June 29, 2011, published in *The New Vision* (Kampala, Uganda) and *The African Executive*. Even though it was delivered by the Ugandan Prime Minister, it had been written by the President Yoweri Museveni.

[56] Bantu-based dialect with Arabic influences.

[57] DE ZAMAROCZY, N., "The Rise and Fall of the First East African Community". [online] Academia.edu, Chapter 3, 2018. [Accessed on 12 April 2019] Available at: <https://www.academia.edu/28599170/Chapter_3_-The_Rise_and_Fall_of_the_First_East_African_Community.pdf>

[58] The East African shilling, common colonial currency, will last from 1921 until 1969.

huge logistical achievement that became economically vital for both countries[59]. This accomplishment highlights the importance of physical infrastructure for East African integration. Eventually, Tanganyika joined the British *East African Protectorate* in 1920.

Few years later, the British began enforcing administrative structures along the region. The East African Governors' Conference, implemented in 1926, was the key executive decision-making body for East Africa. It rapidly set up a Joint Economic Council and the *East African Currency Board* (which functioned as the region's Central Bank). With World War II, wartime tensions pressured Britain to further centralisation of East Africa. Eventually, it created the *East African Income Tax Board* to deal with income taxation across the region. The colonial reasons of such a move were justified to the public as being "convenient for tax-payers and economical in costs of administration.[60]"

By the second half of the 1940s, the British vision over the region was pretty clear: the plan was establishing a total integration of public services and infrastructures. The *East African Airways Corporation* was therefore established in 1945 as a government-owned and cross-regional enterprise. Accordingly, the British set up the *East African Railways and Harbours Corporation* to own and administer all railways and ports in East Africa.

To oversee these regional bodies and consolidate all the British territories, the *East African High Commission (EAHC)* was created in 1947. Since then, despite their different formal statuses[61], the territories formed a single administrative unit. The EAHC's goal was to provide high-quality public goods: it centrally oversaw regional universities and research projects. Being led by British officials, it efficiently worked until independence movement took over from it. Similarly, the *East African Central Legislative Assembly* was formed in 1948 and regularly approved the High Commission's annual balance. Even though quite limited in its powers, it is noted that the European Parliament, for instance, would not possess this amount of legislative power until 1970. "There is no doubt that this period was the golden age of East African integration" some commentators stated[62].

At the end of the 1950s it became clear that the East African region was about to obtain independence. The central question among political actors was, then, how to reconcile independence with the high degree of interdependence among East Africans. On the one hand, the British wanted the region to be a single Federation which would have gradually obtained self-rule and, eventually, independence. On the other hand, East African anti-colonial organisations planned independence on national lines. The common feeling was the urgent need for independence, which was perceived as a more prominent issue. Moreover, a

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[59] CANA, F. R., "British East Africa", *Encyclopædia Britannica*, Cambridge University Press, vol. 4, 1911, 11 ed., p. 601–606.
[60] MANSFIELD, C. Y., "Tax Administration in Developing Countries: An Economic Perspective.", *Staff Papers (International Monetary Fund)*, vol. 35, 1988, no. 1, p. 181–197.
[61] Kenya was a colony, Zanzibar and Uganda protectorates and Tanganyika a mandate under the United Nations authorisation.
[62] Vid. Footnote no. 56.

federation was deemed too colonial, too similar to what the British advocated. Eventually, Tanganyika was the first country to get independence in 1961[63].

Uganda also saw independence as an opportunity to gain its authentically Ugandan spirit deriving from the long history of the Buganda Kingdom, created in the 14th century. Immediate federation, which would have diminished Uganda's central authority, was therefore seen with suspicion. Kenya, on the other hand, was the richest and most powerful country in the region. It was, indeed, the average largest economy on the territory with the higher GDP[64]. The British had strong economic interests in this colonial territory. As a result, Kenya called for a federation mainly to force British officials to desist from subjugating the country to their will.

In June 1963, Kenya, Uganda and Tanganyika issued a joint Declaration[65] on the East African Federation, committing to accomplishing the political Federation by the end of the year. The real goal was immediately achieved: Britain agreed on independence in December of the same year. Concerning the federation, though, significant differences emerged among the three countries. By May 1964, the whole project had faded. Probably, Kenya had already obtained what it wanted and it was not keen on the project anymore.

2.3 *Emergence and collapse of the First East African Community*

Even though there were consistent differences among States in East Africa, the idea of regional integration was never abandoned. The three countries had too much in common to live apart from each other.

Following the collapse of negotiation, the EACH – now called *East African Common Services Organisation (EACSO)* – did not disappear at once. Rather, its political leaders hesitated and struggled to reconcile regional integration with national interests. Previously existent common structures mainly fell into disuse and the East African customs union rapidly failed. The East African currency soon followed, as each country decided to build its own Central Bank and monetary policies.

Eventually, the *Phillip's Commission*[66] recommended the creation of a common entity to avoid the total disintegration of the region. Surprisingly, the recommendation was accepted

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[63]Tiny Zanzibar did not figure prominently in the late 1950s/early 1960s debates about the region's future. When the United Kingdom's protectorate over Zanzibar ended in December 1963, the (pro-Arab minority) Zanzibari Sultanate was proclaimed, only to be overthrown a month later by the archipelago's African majority. The revolution's leader, Abeid Karume, swiftly negotiated the formation of a federation with nearby Tanganyika out of fear that the British would seek to re-establish control. The two territories merged to create the United Republic of Tanzania in April 1964, offering Nyerere a small consolation prize for the failure of his regional vision.

[64] World Bank, *GDP Growth.* [online] World Bank national accounts data. [Accessed on 25 March 2019] Available at: <https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/NY.GDP.MKTP.KD.ZG?locations=TZ-KE-UG>

[65] It went down in history as the *Nairobi Declaration*.

[66] High-Profile Public Commission created by a former Danish finance minister, Kjield Phillip.

and duly adopted in 1967, with the ratification of the *Treaty for East African Cooperation* among the three countries. The Treaty created the first *East African Community (EAC)*, with the initial objective of maintaining the status-quo, in order not to implement or disintegrate any other previously-existing structure. The most important thing to preserve was, at that time, the open market.

In spite of economic resistance to disintegration, the Treaty for East African Cooperation definitely abandoned the idea of a political federation. Moreover, parallel moves to Africanise the EACSO and the EAC Secretariat resulted in a drop-off in bureaucratic quality. The decline in bureaucratic quality at the moment of "Africanisation" was partially due to the tiny pool of available educated talent. In 1962, across all three countries there were only 727 post-secondary students, with another 2,185 East-Africans studying outside the region[67].

In the following decade the integration process encountered, once again, many problems. In 1971, the military coup in Uganda increased tensions between Tanzania (supporting the former government of Uganda) and the new Ugandan government. Moreover, relations between Tanzania and Kenya were not good, partially because of diverging foreign policy and economic decisions. The socialist, non-aligned and ideological Tanzania was, at that time, opposite to the capitalist, pro-Western and pragmatic Kenya. Eventually, these events caused the first EAC collapse in the same year. The first East African Community therefore lasted from 1967 to 1977. According to East-African policy-makers,

> "The main reasons contributing to the collapse of the East African Community were the lack of strong political will, the lack of participation of civil society in the co-operation activities and the continued disproportionate sharing of benefits of the Community among the Partner States due to their differences in their levels of development"[68].

The history which follows the collapse is characterised by a total lack of communication, cooperation and coordination among the three States. Pre-existing common structures fell into disuse and default. Every State began using its own corporations. Moreover, war spread out between Uganda and Tanzania in 1979 and the situation further worsened. "The three countries lived so much apart from each other that they were unable to talk to each other anymore"[69].

Despite the dramatic collapse of the first East African Community, its successor is often depicted as the most successful example of African regional integration[70]. How, then,

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[67] Vid. Footnote no. 56.

[68] East African Community, *Treaty for the establishment of the East African Community*. [online] EAC Secretariat, Tanzania, 1999. [Accessed on 28 March 2019] Available at: <http://eacj.org/wp-content/uploads/2012/08/EACJ-Treaty.pdf>

[69] UMBRICHT, V., World Bank Mediator's Interview. [online] World Bank Archives, Washington, 1987. [Accessed on 28 March 2019] Available at: <http://documents.worldbank.org/curated/en/137541468335979109/pdf/791390TRN0Umbr0Box0377367B00PUBLIC0.pdf>

[70] UNCTAD, *East African Community Regional Integration: Trade and Gender Implications.* [online] United

can the emergence and evolution of the second EAC be explained? What justifies the rebirth of the EAC? The next part of the chapter is going to address this precise question.

2.4 The mysterious re-birth of the East African Community

The former question requires a detailed analysis. It is necessary to understand that, since independence, the primary referents of East African regionalism have not been States, colonial officials, ethnical groups or social classes. Instead, regionalism has depended upon two sets of competing African elites: export-oriented elites who benefit from open trade and market, and rent-oriented elites who seek wealth via corruption and abuse of office. This last type of elites benefits from a closed and national market, without any kind of external interference. Rent-oriented elites who dominated East African politics until the early 1990s preferred to keep decision-making at the lowest possible levels. Therefore, a process of regional integration would have been an obstacle for their interests. Since then, a growing body of evidence testifies that East African elites have been increasingly basing their revenues not on rents but rather on exports[71]. East African economies have grown consistently and they have sought a bigger market for their products. In the 1990s, African elites began to have a strong interest in fostering a process of regional integration. They saw in it a big opportunity of making the liberalisation process faster and easier.

Briefly, liberalisation efforts have stimulated outward looking economic policies. Regional integration, in this way, began to be seen as an alternative to small national markets. Therefore, East African politicians perceived a new integration process as the key factor to implement this new emerging trend. Indeed, the new EAC will allow the creation of partnerships with powerful international actors, such as the European Union. On the base of this premise, the steps of the new EAC's creation will now be described.

In the 1980s, Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania agreed to pave the way for a future cooperation plan. A tri-partite working group was established to develop and foster a renewed cooperation system which resulted in the Constitutive Treaty of the *East African Community* in 2000. The *East African Legal Assembly* and the *East African Court of Justice* were inaugurated in 2001. The EAC also achieved a *Customs Union* in 2005. Defined in article 75 of the Constitutive Treaty, it established free trade (or zero duty imposed) on goods exchanged between member States. Moreover, it created a common external tariff to be applied to imports from countries outside the EAC zone.

The EAC further intensified cooperation in 2010, when it established a common market with the several freedoms of movement (capitals, goods, services, people and labour). The *Protocol of Monetary Union* was signed in 2013: it established the commitment of State Members to converge, within ten years, to one single currency. The period elapsing in between is being used to harmonise monetary and fiscal policies and to establish an East

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Nations, 2017. [Accessed on 3 April 2019] Available at:
<https://unctad.org/en/PublicationsLibrary/ditc2017d2_en.pdf>
[71] Vid. Footnote no. 56.

African Central Bank.

The EAC was joined by Rwanda and Burundi in 2007 and by South Sudan[72] in 2016. Rwanda and Burundi, which had previously been German and Belgian colonies, had a strong interest of being part of the new EAC. South Sudan, just after independence, did not hesitate to be part of the EAC either. In spite of being culturally and linguistically different, the three countries still opted for the creation of a community. Once again, the reasons are to be found in the benefits that African elites receive out of liberalisation and economic integration. When the member States created the second EAC, indeed, they adopted a private sector rather than a State-led development approach. This is a key element which strongly separates the first EAC (with a socialist Tanzania) from the second EAC. It also reflects the globally dominant neo-liberal economic ideology that characterises today's world[73].

The ultimate goal of the EAC is the political federation, described under article 5 of the Constitutive Treaty and based on three pillars: common foreign policies, good governance and effective implementation of the prior stages of regional integration. It is hard to establish when or how this measure will be implemented: the political federation is a process and not an event. In 2017, EAC Member States agreed on the adoption of a political confederation as a provisory transitional model to the Federation. If the Federation ever took place, it would be the largest country in Africa, with a population equal to half that of the United States of America and with the fifth largest GDP in Africa.

As of today, the core of East African economic policy developments is handled by the EAC, European donors[74] (which invest large amount of money in the region) and export-oriented business elites. Together, they have achieved a common free trade area, improved infrastructure and the harmonisation of national economic policies. Those are not bad or good policies per se. Nonetheless, they might not lead to a substantial improvement of living standards for ordinary East Africans, and can distract from other policy initiatives that are important to distribute gains in a more equal way. Equity, indeed, is one of the main risks for all regional integration initiatives. Not all members of a regional integration can benefit equally – but if the distribution of benefits is strongly unequal (both between the countries and within the single State members), the community might be rapidly undermined.

Among the initiatives that might help in the achievement of economic equality, *education* is to be encountered. The study will now focus on its history and its multilateral implementation in East Africa with a particular focus on the importance of this approach.

2.5 Educational colonial heritage in East Africa

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[72] Upon its Independence in 2011, South Sudan was invited by the EAC to join it.

[73] Society for International Development, *East African Integration: Dynamics of Equity in Trade, Education, Media and Labour.* [online] Society for International Development, 2011. [Accessed on 9 April 2019] Available at: <http://sidint.net/docs/EA_integration_report_2nd_ed.pdf>

[74] Vid. Footnote no. 56.

Before analysing the contemporary approach to education in East Africa, it is opportune to take into account the particular educational background that characterises East Africa. Its colonial past, indeed, has had strong repercussions on the quality and nature of education.

Concerning the period prior to the 19th century, little information is available on education's implementation in Africa. In the pre-colonial African society education had a functional purpose. It was conceived as a practical preparation for entering society and adulthood. African education stressed the importance of spiritual and moral values and of social responsibilities. Children were mainly involved in practical activities: dance, story-telling and other tasks were used to teach life lessons from one generation to the next. Informal tribal groups were the main actors of the enforcement of education. In most cases, East African indigenous culture shared a common educational philosophy. Education systems, indeed, focused on the harmony with nature: knowledge of plants, animals, soils, water and the environment around communities were the main values taught. When European powers entered into contact with this educational system, they mostly judged it as primordial, savage and barbaric. Indigenous education failed to survive the Westernized system: colonial educators and missionaries rapidly took over from it. The two different cultures could not co-exist, especially at the religious level. Missionaries, indeed, soon realised that African religions, art and music were closely connected with each other. Therefore, they decided to replace any form of education that East Africa already possessed before colonialism. In this way, Western standards rapidly permeated even the remoter communities[75].

At the beginning, the main colonialists' interests were two: converting Africans to Christianity and benefiting from commercial colonial economies[76]. European forces therefore converged together into the idea of changing traditional education to meet their own needs and ambitions. The main way for converting local people to Christianity was by making them learn European languages (technique primarily adopted by Britain). The Bible, indeed, was mainly taught in English. Apart from this, African colonial economies were based on intensive labour that required little skills. Moreover, educating local communities would have endangered the colonial regimes, sensitive to the possibility of uprisings. All these reasons were the main obstacles that prevented European powers from investing in African education. The administration of the British Protectorate consisted of 15 departments in 1903. None of them was directly concerned with education. Lack of local revenue prevented all but the most urgent expenses: native education, as a result, was pretty much left in the hands of missions[77].

Missionaries had set up an education programme in East Africa by 1895, but few trained teachers were available during this early stage. Therefore, much was left to the

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[75] BECK, A., "Colonial Policy and Education in British East Africa, 1900-1950", *Journal of British Studies,* United Kingdom, vol. 5*,* 1966, no. 2, p.115-138.
[76] Ibidem
[77] Ibidem

individual initiative of pioneers. Education, moreover, was almost always limited to the elementary level. The British, mainly interested in making profit and in educating the sons of the elites and of local chiefs, set up elitist schools on the territory. This decision was not well accepted by local missionaries, whose plan was to create a population of educated and God-fearing African Christians. In 1924, just six years into the British rule, the region was reported to be lacking of coordination between the colonial government and missionaries[78]. Some missions, however, tried to provide local elites with specific training. These experiments were backed by the British, in the hope that Western civilisation would just be established among a limited group of local elites.

Briefly, British efforts were not sufficient to adequately implement East African education in the first decades of the 20th century. It is evident that several factors – economic issues, conflicting interests and missionary traditions – strongly delayed the achievement of a proper education system in the region. By that time, successful African leaders had already understood the importance of education as a key factor for the economic and social development. In 1929, Jomo Kenyatta, former President of Kenya, submitted a petition to England in order to ask for compulsory primary education and free access to secondary education for those who completed the first cycle[79]. The British answered with the establishment of advisory boards on education in Kenya, Tanganyika and Uganda. By 1930 they had been established in every territory, but did not necessarily have the same effectiveness.

Slowly, British education policies in East Africa widened their scope. The British government, indeed, emphasized far-reaching objectives in African education: the training of the mass of people, the spread of community schools and the improvement of health and social condition through education. With the technological revolution and the slow development of education, the older methods of colonial administration started to break down. In any case, access to education remained pretty low mainly because of the lack of funding and high examination requirements[80].

Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda did not have a unified education system during the colonial period. The policies that Britain brought up were not regional. Every State, indeed, had its own education system. Apart from being uncoordinated, colonial education policies were ineffective, racist and prejudicing towards Africans[81]. The colonial infiltration of Western education not only was elitist and racist, but it also undermined the basic principles of African indigenous knowledge systems. The teaching of knowledge, which consisted of cultural intergenerational values, was mainly based on oral transmission. On the other hand,

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[78] BERMAN, E. H., "American Influence on African Education: The Role of the Phelps-Stokes Fund's Education Commissions. " *Comparative Education Review*, vol. 15, 1971, no. 2, p. 132–145.
[79] BECK, A., "Some observations of Jomo Kenyatta in Britain. 1929-1930", *Cahier d'Études Africaines,* United Kingdom, vol. 6, 1966, no. 22, p. 308-329.
[80] Vid. Footnote no. 72.
[81] Ibidem, p. 87.

colonial education was mainly seen by European powers as a way of promoting the Western culture in the African continent[82]. This interpretation had two side-effects. First of all, education became a "privilege" of few people who were allowed to attend schools and be educated in a Western way. The system, in this sense, produced individuals who did not fully identify with the values of the region. Secondly, the majority of people could not benefit from class lectures. Moreover, they were not authorised to rely on the traditional ways of transmitting values and knowledge. In short, the British multilateral approach towards East African education had a negative impact throughout the 20th century. It almost erased any form of traditional African education which, differently from the colonial one, was comprehensive and equalitarian. The multilateral approach resulted, this time, in a Eurocentric, elitist and racist education. The consequences of this approach are still visible and present nowadays.

At the time of independence, missionaries and government officials set up new goals for education. On the other hand, local leaders of national movements presented their own goals for a truly African education. The new national States of Uganda, Kenya and Tanzania kept pursuing and adopting different national education policies even after independence. The diverging economic and social policies, indeed, prevented politicians from adopting a unified education scheme.

However, when the British left the colonies the African society was already overwhelmed by Western education. Not only education but also the social reality had been institutionalised. Education, then, could not be revisited and restored to the traditional past; rather, it had to be re-adapted to a new society strongly influenced by its colonial past. The three countries, from then on, faced the complex and challenging task of adapting the inherited precarious education system to the rapidly evolving, multiracial and multireligious African society[83].

2.6 State education policies in the 20th century: a difficult reality

Since independence, East African States implemented several policies to facilitate rapid access to education. One of the first measures was the abolition of race-based schooling systems and the development of one national education system for all[84]. Nonetheless, this action did not let the majority of people access free education. Fees were, indeed, the biggest obstacle. The first country to assure free uninterrupted primary education was Uganda, in the first years of independence. Kenya followed a similar programme in 1973, in response to the high social demand for education. As already said, there was a lot of hesitation towards the

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[82] MOSWEUNYANE, D., "The African Educational Evolution: From Traditional Training to Formal Education", *Higher Education Studies,* United Kingdom,vol. 3, 2013, no. 4, p. 5.
[83] Vid. Footnote no. 78.
[84] The British Empire had established different school systems depending on the social class and, especially, the skin colour.

creation of a community right after independence. Nonetheless, the leaders of the new independent countries felt that a common education system would have been instrumental for the achievement of the EAC. Moreover, the only available university was, at that time, the University Of East Africa in Uganda. Admission to this university had to be based on a kind of equivalence among the three States. To deal with this problem, the Heads of State of Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania called for a common seven-year primary education cycle by 1973. This had a significant impact in promoting access to education. The uniform system of education was the first truly multilateral measure adopted by the region. However, it continued in the three countries just until Kenya adopted an eight-year cycle of primary education in 1984.

Although there was a substantial growth in education (in Tanzania and in Kenya especially), economic growth in the late 1970s was not so positive. Moreover, Uganda experienced strong internal tensions and also a war with Tanzania. This considerably affected the government's power to maintain free education. The gains and improvements obtained in the 60s and in the 70s, indeed, were slowly eroded in the following decades. The implementation of economic *Structural Adjustment Programs* (SAPs) promoted by the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund was not successful either. These two entities had considered SAPs (loans provided to countries in economic crises) as necessary policies to revitalise African economies. These programs usually reduce the role of the State (especially in Tanzania and Uganda[85]) and improve that of the market in determining economic activities and policies. They entailed massive deregulations, privatisation, currency devaluation and export-driven strategies. In the social sectors (such as health and education), SAPs introduced demand management policies[86] that required "cost-sharing" measures for the education sector. As a result, education's costs rose again and parents were asked to carry some of the education's expenses for their children. This caused a consistent drop in the rate of primary school enrolment. It rapidly declined and only arose, once again, just in the 1990s. Uganda was the first country to (re)introduce the Free Primary Education (FPE) policy in 1997, followed by Tanzania (1999) and Kenya (2002). Until the 21th century, therefore, education policies were not regional. Apart from the unification of primary education system (which lasted until 1984), no other coordinated policies had been adopted until the new millennium.

2.7 The 21ˢᵗ century: emerging multilateral policies on education in the EAC

The 21ˢᵗ century has witnessed the peak of regional integration in East Africa. The drivers for integration are various, but they are all based on a common principle: the

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[85] The two countries were socialist, therefore characterised by a strong State presence.
[86] Demand management policies are efforts to influence the total demand for goods and services in a given economy.
ROLLESTON, C., "Policies on Free Primary and Secondary Education in East Africa: Retrospect and Prospect.", *Review of Research in Education*, vol. 31, 2007, p. 131–158.

advantage of a community as a whole is greater than the sum of advantages of its separate member States. This principle has been applied to economic integration and, more recently, to political and social integration as well. Education is one of the sectors that the EAC is trying to implement through a multilateral approach.

However, the structure of education from primary to higher levels is not unified in the EAC yet. Notably, there are differences in the number of subjects taught, in the duration of the different curricula and in the minimum requirements to join university. In addition to this, there are relevant differences in language of instruction within the community. Kenya, Uganda and South Sudan strongly emphasize the use of English since the primary school; in Tanzania, English is the predominant language from the secondary education, but Kiswahili is taught at the primary school; Burundi and Rwanda adopted both French and Kiswahili as school languages. Briefly, as regards *basic education*, the region still relies on individual member States policies. Concerning the curricula, Uganda and Tanzania have a 7-4-2-3 education system, while Kenya adopted the 8-4-4 scheme. The newer members of the EAC have systems that are different still. Harmonised curricula could encourage mobility within the area, which is one of the scopes of the EAC. Moreover, children living at the border between two member States could have easier access to a closer school located in the other State. Cooperation among harmonised education systems might also result in a better quality education, which is one of the main problems of member States. The East African Community has recently set up a regional committee to harmonise curricula, but there are no further results yet[87].

Concerning higher education, the EAC established a Common Higher Education Area (CHEA) in 2017. Nowadays, students from the six states of the EAC may access higher education in any of the universities available in the region. They may also transfer their credits from one to another without much restriction. The CHEA is already a platform for students' mobility across the region. Indeed, university students' mobility is a reality. The need for internationally recognised qualifications and the demand for highly skilled labour have increased international trade in higher education services. Therefore, the region has witnessed a tremendous increase of student mobility within East Africa. Every year, Tanzania and Uganda receive many Kenyan students. Because of the favourable exchange rate, indeed, students from Kenya can access higher education at a cheaper price within the EAC. Currently, 23% of Kenyan university students complete their academic career outside Kenya[88]. Once completed the studies, 10% of those Kenyan students stay abroad and start working in another EAC's country. This is likely to foster the envisaged common market where professional know-how and products can move freely within the region.

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[87] East African Community, *EAC Annual Report 2013-2014* [online] EAC Secretariat, Tanzania, 2014, p.60. [Accessed on 28 March 2019] Available at: <https://www.tralac.org/images/docs/8989/east-african-community-annual-report-2013-2014.pdf>
[88] Vid. Footnote no. 72.

Yet, the absence of harmonised curricula makes it uneasy for the majority of people to move within the region. In fact, students cannot easily enrol universities in different countries. Even though free movement is permitted, it is difficult to enrol a university which requires bridging courses to adapt the different curricula. Once the curricula will be harmonised, it should be easier for everyone to work or study in another country of the EAC without any kind of restriction. Moreover, countries with lack of human capital (such as Rwanda and Burundi) could benefit from the free movement. On the other hand, those with over supply of human capital (such as Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania) could export their resources.

Multilateral policies on education have been, so far, partial and incomplete. The study found out that there is a huge gap between economic and social integration in East Africa. Education, indeed, witnesses big differences among the six countries forming the EAC. This gap testifies a clear lack of political will to adopt multilateral policies on education. Probably, export-oriented elites and the other actors that boosted economic integration in the region did not believe that further social and educational integration was immediately necessary to their scope. Yet, as it will be described in the next pages, education constitutes a key-factor to maintain and to boost the regional integration level.

The study will now assess whether a multilateral approach towards education is a good complementary way of facing education, both universally and in the EAC.

3.   Conclusion

3.1 Effectiveness of a multilateral approach to education

The case study has analysed the way in which UNESCO shaped education and introduced a multilateral perspective on an affair which had always been perceived as a quintessential domestic one. Apart from the only negative multilateral approach towards education (the colonial experience), the study has shown that regional educational integration episodes after the UNESCO revolution had a relevant outcome. The most successful educational integration process is, without any doubt, the European experience. It rapidly spread throughout the European and North-Asiatic region inspiring new integration processes. The European integration has in fact shown the importance of a multilateral approach towards education: in a globalised world, an open education market is indispensable to boost and foster knowledge-based societies. Positive changes, indeed, mostly come from innovative ideas which can be favoured through the free exchange of students, knowledge and teachers. A multilateral education approach which takes into account cultural diversity might also promote integration, indispensable for any region which is looking towards a tighter regional community. Moreover, a system of harmonised curricula shared by a regional community is likely to compensate the disparity in the supply and demand of education within a given region.

For all the reasons listed above and described in the previous chapters, the study demonstrated that a multilateral approach is generally indispensable to face a globalised world. When it properly considers cultural diversity and the important challenges of the new century, multilateral education is a fundamental complementary approach to domestic educational policies. The study will now address the importance that a multilateral approach to education assumes in the East African region.

3.2 Importance of a multilateral approach to education in the EAC

To sum up with, the East African educational integration process has been complicated, at times ambiguous and extremely marked by the colonial background. This case study had the purpose of showing how EAC has gone through different processes and trends. In particular, it aimed at assessing whether or not the multilateral approach to education benefited the region.

At the beginning of the 20th century East Africa was subjected to the Western educational revolution, which made teaching strongly Eurocentric and elitist. Traditional education was discouraged and it rapidly disappeared. The process had a strongly negative impact on the region: since then, East Africa would never be able to re-construct its pre-colonial educational identity. The imposed education system had strong and fundamental implications across East African history, both on its economic and cultural development. The multilateral approach, in this case, heavily affected the regional educational system. When

East African countries got independent, they were not ready to strengthen their weak education systems in order to face globalisation. As a result, EAC countries diverged and adopted different education policies. With the second EAC and the establishment of the freedoms of movement, the region returned to adopt converging policies, especially at the economic level.

Back then, State Members identified the harmonisation of curricula and education structures as common priorities. Indeed, East Africa apparently recognised the fact that education is a means to facilitate social and economic development in the country. Since then, the region has witnessed the first benefits of multilateral policies: free trade in education and free movement of people have favoured the exchange of students and ideas. Moreover, the successful European experience proved to the EAC that multilateral education is an opportunity to foster political, economic and cultural integration among countries.

In practice, however, the EAC has been focusing on economic integration but it has barely operated towards educational integration.

Moreover, national State policies have had really low outcomes in education. Despite the poor results in education, EAC member States' public expenditure on education has been fair, ranging between 3 and 7 per cent of the GDP[89]. For a wide range of reasons (child labour, lack of school's meals and unfriendly environment at school) children do not usually enrol secondary school. One of the main challenges for the EAC integration is, in this sense, the lack of educated people. Uneducated people are not aware of the possibilities and benefits that a regional integration entails: this might pave the way for nationalisms and tensions between countries. Political and ideological differences among member States were among the causes of the failure of the first EAC. If the new EAC is meant to last, political leaders should seriously consider a new approach towards education.

According to the study, one such approach is multilateralism. Adopting the same education system at the regional level can benefit integration thanks to shared ideas, skills, attitudes and knowledge. The EHEA is the most important proof of integration's results in higher education: it showed the world that educational integration can boost economic development. Apart from the general importance of adopting a multilateral approach[90], it is necessary to stress how influent multilateral education improvements can be in East Africa. A fully multilateral approach with harmonised curricula can grant the balance of supply and demand (in terms of teachers, students and capacities). Through harmonised education systems, students and staff would move more easily, researchers would cooperate and standards for academic quality would rise through competition between States.

Moreover, if harmonised curricula were focused on the common historical developments, learners would understand the regional scope of the history that shaped their

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[89] Vid. Footnote no. 72.
[90] See paragraph 2.3.

communities. Basing the communitarian learning on the main principles of the East African Society would be a good move to strengthen the ties among people in the EAC. In addition to this, there could be multilateral redistribution of education to communities affected by historical inequalities. The government of Kenya is already giving grants to children from marginal areas – this practice could be adopted by the whole EAC[91].

Some major challenges – such as teenage mothers or child labour – should also be faced through a communitarian perspective in order to better enforce legislation in the whole region. Teenage pregnancy, for instance, is a massive cause of dropouts of girls in school. A re-entry policy, for them, is already a reality in some EAC countries. This measure should be adopted, collectively, in the whole region.

Further, education is an indispensable tool for continued economic growth. It creates a dynamic workforce and well-informed citizens able to compete globally. EAC's inhabitants will not benefit from the open market if they are not empowered through education. In East Africa, as elsewhere, regional integration efforts will depend on education systems that prepare the workforce for the open labour market. In this sense, implementing the education system can open the door to economic and social prosperity of local people. If State education policies have been ineffective so far, a multilateral approach would be an important strategy to overcome fragmentation and marginalisation in the region. Education would be better implemented if the supply and demand system were handled through a multilateral approach. Therefore, adopting communitarian education policies might improve the region's position in global economy.

It is important to understand that a better education can entail economic outcomes even at the primary level. In fact, it is not necessary to provide people with the highest education to transform State investments into profitable revenues in the region. The primary level of education, indeed, has an economic importance and recognition as well. At first, it was believed that true economic value of education could only be realised through the expansion of secondary education. Implementing primary education in the EAC could therefore be perceived as an uneconomic measure. However, Kenya rapidly realised that primary education was fast becoming a minimum basic education requirement[92]. "The primary stage of education is the most important for any child since it is here that basic knowledge is given to the child and foundations for an economically productive and satisfying life are laid[93]".

Given the strong ties between education, economic development and regional integration, a common approach to the challenges of education in East Africa is indispensable. Apart from being favourable to economic improvement, a Common Education Area presents the most powerful tool to integrate people. If the EAC is meant to last, it cannot afford

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[91] Vid footnote no. 72.
[92] Vid footnote no. 85.
[93] Vid footnote no. 85.

committing the same mistakes as the first regional community. EAC Members need to be aware of the central role that education (and a multilateral approach towards it) assumes in integration processes.

The difficult educational background that the EAC inherited (both because of colonisation and other vicissitudes) makes educational integration a long, complex and tedious plan. Among the challenges, it is possible to encounter the changing and diverging political conditions of member States, egocentric national feelings, legal technicalities and poor budget. Cultural beliefs and language barriers (especially with the admission of Rwanda and Burundi[94] to the EAC) may also add to the obstacles for integration.

Nonetheless, the study proves that all factors are in favour of a multilateral approach towards education. EAC member states should lay a strong foundation for educational integration. The process should be governed by unified education policies backed by strong laws and an independent judicial system for the region. This will safeguard any gains realized in educational integration and could fortify political integration. "In this manner, the United States of East Africa (USEA) will not be just be a dream[95]".

Finally, should USEA become a reality, multilateralism (and, consequently, multilateral education) would not stop existing. In fact, if the EAC States should unite, education policies could not be considered multilateral. Yet, there would still be a number of international organizations, NGOs and other third-party entities, to carry on with a multilateral approach towards education. It is now obvious that the extensive network of entities dealing with education worldwide will just increase year by year. Education, then, is likely to shift from a State-centered approach (which is still prevailing), to a multilateral, non-government based approach. In this way, multilateralism could insure a decent education level also in countries with a weak, poor or devastated State. This, of course, under the assumption that it is handled in a sound and balanced way.

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[94] In order to broaden the free market and, therefore, the exporting possibilities, Burundi and Rwanda were accepted in the EAC. Nonetheless, they have a pretty different cultural heritage. In the first place, they are former Belgian colonies and, still nowadays, French-speaking countries. Even though English is an official language as well, their education system is mainly based on French. Secondly, having a different historical background can also cause problems for further integration.

[95] Vid. Footnote no. 72.

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