



INEQUALITIES IN THE ETHIOPIAN EDUCATION AND TRAINING POLICY

An Intersectional Analysis of Gender and Ethnicity



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Abstract

The thesis “Inequalities in the Ethiopian Education and Training Policy – An Intersectional Analysis of Gender and Ethnicity” has been developed on the basis of the ethnic tensions in the country and the implications they have for the education system. In the wake of recent ethnic protests education has been pointed out as a tool for democracy, multiculturalism and diversity by the international development sector. This thesis has posed the problem formulation investigating how the Ethiopian Education and Training policy and the Education Sector Development Programme V address and shape inequalities in the education system and primarily those related to ethnicity and gender. The research question is investigated by applying the theoretical framework of intersectionality and the theory of Critical Cosmopolitan Multicultural Education. As a method of analysis Bacchi’s What’s the problem represented to be? approach has been chosen along with intersectional analysis. By applying these methodological and theoretical concerns to the problem formulation it has been found that there is serious issues in how the Ethiopian policy document address inequalities. There is a general lack of definition and specification of inequalities. Gender inequalities are addressed on a larger scale, though, the implication in the discourse point to gender equality discrepancies in society. When it comes to ethnicity the issue is vastly ignored and silenced in the policy. The non-representation of ethnic inequalities is worrying in an ethnically diverse country like Ethiopia. It is concluded that the Ethiopian policy documents lack in being able to accommodate diversity in a multicultural and democratic education system and fight inequalities appropriately.

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List of Abbreviations

CCME	Critical Cosmopolitan Multicultural Education
EFA	Education For All
EPRDF	Ethiopian People’s Revolutionary Democratic Front
ESDP	Education Sector Development Programme
HRE	Human Rights Education
KG	Kindergarten
MDG	Millennium Development Goals
NGO	Non-governmental Organisation
OPDO	Oromo People’s Democratic Organisation
SDG	Sustainable Development Goals
TPLF	Tigrayan People’s Liberation Front
TVET	Technical and Vocational Education and Training
UN	United Nations

1. Introduction

In the past decades Ethiopia has made significant gains in its development process and especially shines with annual economic growth rates of up to 10% and improvement in reaching the United Nations (UN) Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). Ethiopia has, moreover, been working closely with UN bodies, international non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and national development agencies of a variety of countries (Federal Ministry of Education). They are one of the largest recipients of aid worldwide with aid making up up to 50 – 60% of Ethiopia's annual budget (Oakland Institute 2013).

While these advances seem promising for the further development of Ethiopia with the self-proclaimed aim of becoming a middle-income country by 2025 (Federal Ministry of Education 2015), Ethiopia has also faced criticism in recent years. International rights organisations such as Amnesty International and Human Rights Watch as well as international governments as the United States of America in 2017 have pointed out the continuous human rights violations committed by Ethiopian governmental forces and undemocratic systems that prevail in the country (Oakland Institute 2013; Human Rights Watch 2017; U.S. Embassy in Ethiopia 2017). Ethnic conflicts and protests have been increasing again since 2015 and severe repression of various ethnically inspired protests have sparked controversy. The repression of political protests and the handling of humanitarian emergencies since 2015 has caused a wave of international criticism (U.S. Embassy in Ethiopia 2017). A number of NGOs and governments have, additionally pointed out the vulnerability of especially women and children to the ongoing conflict, political unrest as well as humanitarian emergencies. Violence against women is still prevalent in all of Ethiopia's regions (Sida 2003).

Inequalities on the basis of gender, ethnicity, social class and many other factors affect the lives of many people in a country that is as diverse as Ethiopia and features more than 90 ethnic and linguistic groups. People in all nine regions of Ethiopian, in rural as in urban areas, are affected by inequalities in a large number of domains of life. Due to the fact, that Ethiopia is one of the most rural countries in the world with less than 14% of the country urbanized in 2003 (Federal Ministry of Education 2015), many NGO projects and national as well as international initiatives have, thus, focused on improving conditions for rural populations that often suffer most from the consequences of underdevelopment (Ethiopian Red Cross Society). As a result of generally high population growth rates of the country, high levels of in-migration and an 4.4% growth rate of urban populations, urbanization is expected to constitute another challenge in the coming years (Federal Ministry of Education 2015).

One aspect that is seen as crucial for the continuous development of a developing country as Ethiopia, is education as it has been pointed out in academia and the development sector (Osler 2015; Sida 2003). Education has an important role in bringing the country forward by increasing the skills and

knowledge of its population. In 1994 the newly formed government of Ethiopia has published its Education and Training policy and since updated it through five five-year plans, the Education Sector Development Programmes (ESDP), with the latest one published in 2015 (Federal Ministry of Education 2015).

The current government is formed by the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF), a coalition of ethnically based parties that came into power as they united to overthrow the former communist Derg regime in 1991. Ever since the EPRDF has been in power and in the last election in 2015 won all the seats in parliament. The coalition is dominated by the Tigrayan People's Liberation Front (TPLF) which also has provided Prime Ministers until Hailemariam Desalegn stepped down from office in February 2018 as a result of continuous protests and international pressure. Since March 2018 Ethiopian has an Oromo Prime Minister, Abiy Ahmed, who is a member of the Oromo Peoples' Democratic Organization (OPDO) that is a member of the EPRDF coalition. Despite his Oromo descent, protests have not significantly decreased in Ethiopia in the past months which might be related to Abiy Ahmed's close affiliation with the TPLF and the general distrust of the population in Ethiopian politics and politicians (BBC 2018). The country has been established as an ethnic federalism in 1991 and is divided into nine regional states with boundaries drawn along the previously existent ethnic lines (Lasonen et al. 2005). Ethnic federalism has failed to stop ethnic conflicts and promote the diversity it had promised while the democratic structures of Ethiopia are limited (ICG 2009). According to the Economist, the Ethiopian political system has become less democratic within the last ten years and has moved from a 4.72 score and a hybrid regime in 2006 down to a 3.42 score and is, thus, now considered an authoritarian regime (2017).

In light of ongoing protests of different ethnic groups and recently to large accounts the Oromo population on a smaller scale joined by the Amharic population and the crackdowns on these protests by government forces, inequalities still play a key role in Ethiopian society and can be observed in the educational system of the country too. Ethiopia is accused by human rights bodies and NGOs to heavily suppress different ethnic groups within the country and deny its population rights and opportunities on the basis of group membership (HRW 2016). The major focus when investigating the educational system of Ethiopia by NGOs and international actors as well as the country itself has been the access of primary education for all children. Rural children were often targeted as a group of particular concern (Federal Ministry of Education 2015). In line with their policy Ethiopia has ratified some important conventions and international agreements that are concerned with education such as the Convention on the Rights of the Child, Education for All and the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) (Federal Ministry of Education 2015).

This leads to the conclusion that despite various issues of inequalities being addressed by NGOs and developmental programs on several issues and the fact that Ethiopia has formulated regular updates of its Education and Training policy, inequalities within the policy itself have not been investigated. There are many relevant aspects that could be looked at including the impact of various inequalities in urban areas and help improve the state of education and development of Ethiopia. This research gap leads to the following problem formulation:

How does the Ethiopian Education and Training Policy together with its Education Sector Development Programme V. address and shape inequalities related to ethnicity and gender in the educational sector of Ethiopia?

The following research questions are posed to analyse this problem formulation:

1. What are the problems in regard to inequality that underlie the policy?
2. How is multiculturalism reflected within the Ethiopian educational systems?
3. What implications does the policy have on disadvantaged people in Ethiopian society?

Motivation/ Research Interest

Due to my previous research on Ethiopian minorities and my internship at the Unrepresented Nations and Peoples Organisation, I developed a strong interest for minority rights and the Ethiopian context in particular. After travelling to Ethiopia myself and working with women in vocational training, I gained a special interest in the interrelation of different inequalities that constitute disadvantages for many marginalized communities in Ethiopia. Especially gender and ethnicity seemed to play an important role in the daily opportunities and rights of the young people I met in Addis Ababa. The unique political situation was another reason I was interested in the influence of political decision-making in shaping inequalities. Thus, analysing the Ethiopian Education and Training policy seemed to be an interesting tool to understand educational inequalities in Ethiopia to me.

Overview

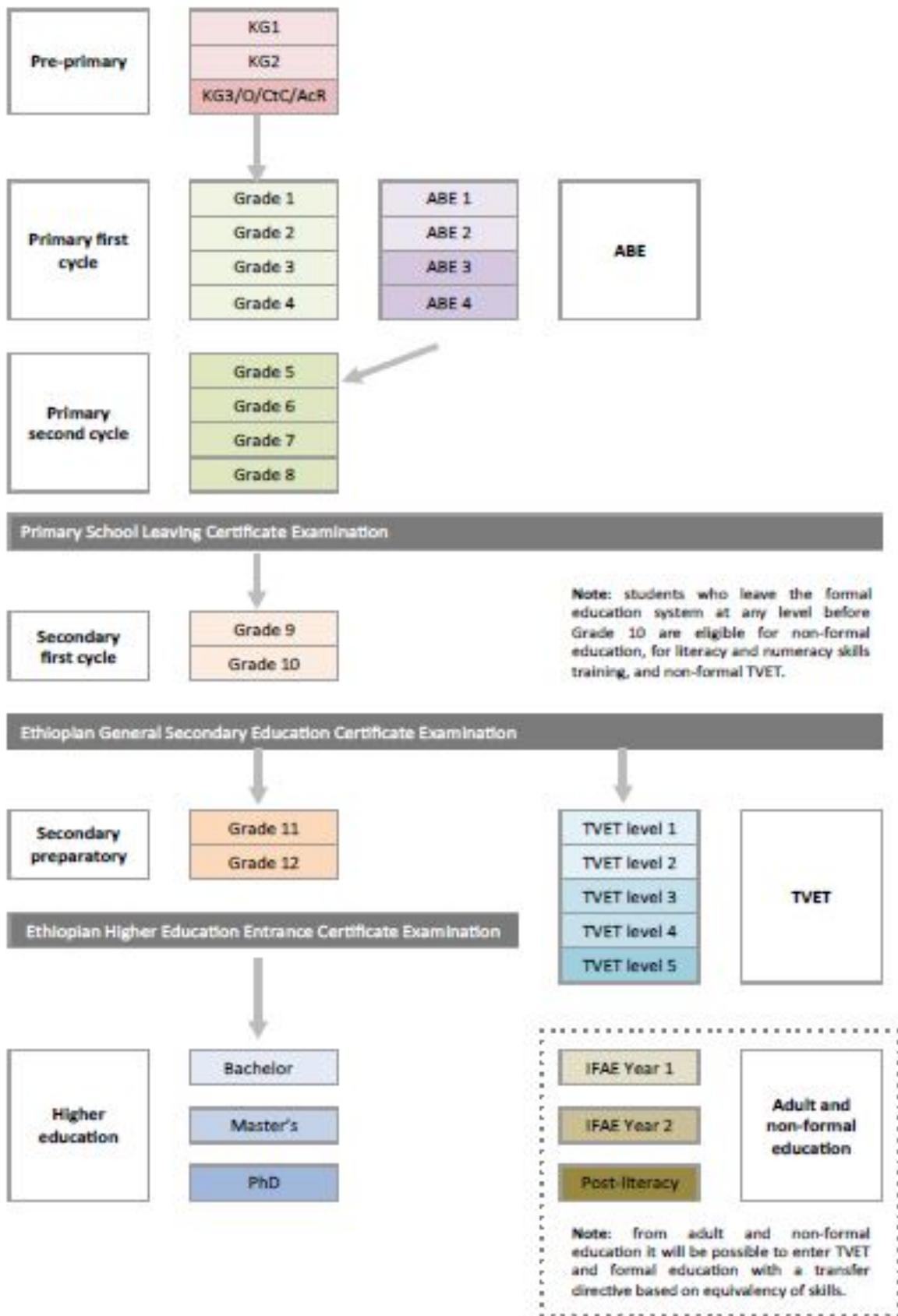
2. CHAPTER 1 – The Ethiopian Educational System

2.1. The Educational System

The educational system that the Education and Training policy is concerned with is visualised in the graph on the next page. It outlines the different areas of education which mainly are Pre-primary education that consists of two years of kindergarten (KG) and one year of preparatory classes that aim to prepare children for starting formal learning at primary level, Primary school's first cycle that ranges from first to fourth grade and Primary school's second cycle up until grade eight as the basic education that is aimed to be provided to all Ethiopian children. It is followed by Secondary school first cycle which ends with a diploma after tenth grade and qualifies students to move on further within formal education. This can be either Secondary preparatory school for children aiming to take a Higher education course or Technical and Vocational Education and Training (TVET). On the TVET education track there is formal programs of up to five years and non-formal education programs. The Higher education offers university degrees at Bachelor, Master's or PhD level. In addition, to education for children there is formal and non-formal education for adults in order to give chances to grown ups that have failed to complete school education when they were children due to the lack of systems and situations before the new educational system was introduced. Especially, due to the large number of illiterate adults in Ethiopia, this is an important addition (Federal Ministry of Education 2015).

On the next page the educational system is outlined in a model:

Figure 1: Model of the Ethiopia Education System



2.2. The National Education and Training Policy

Ethiopia's current educational system was established in 1994 through a new Education and Training policy but the EPRDF led government that took control of the country in 1991. Ever since, education has been a development priority of the country's growth plans (Lasonen et al. 2005). Education Sector Development Programmes (ESDPs) that lay out five-year strategies for the educational development, have been published five times, the latest one in 2015, since the original policy was established. They all build on the Education and Training policy of 1994 and include goals to achieve the criteria set up by the Education for All (EFA) strategy as defined in the EFA Dakar Framework, Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) and the implications of the Convention on the Rights of the Child (Federal Ministry of Education 2015). The main educational goals of Ethiopia remain access, equity, quality and relevance in education since the policy was introduced in 1994 (Lasonen et al. 2005).

In this thesis the Education Sector Development Programme V (ESDP V) is going to be analysed in relation to the Education and Training policy of 1994 that serves as the basis for it. The ESDP V has been chosen, as it is the most recent document on education published by the Ethiopian government and, thus, contains the most recent strategies and implications of the Ethiopian education policy.

3. CHAPTER 2 – Terminology and Theory

3.1. Terminology

In this section several concepts that are relevant for understanding the theories and the context of this study are outlined. Determining definitions for the concepts and terms of Ethnicity and Race, Minority, Inequality, Gender, Power, Politics, Cosmopolitanism and Multiculturalism is crucial as many of the terms have different connotations in different settings and with different individual people. Setting a common ground for the understanding of these terms and concepts in this thesis, therefore, allows the readers to follow the process of analysis and understand the context in which analytical conclusions are made.

3.1.1. Ethnicity and Race

The concepts of ethnicity and race are often debated and carry many connotations. They are value loaded due to their relevance in colonialist discourse as well as the issue of refugees and migration that is becoming increasingly prominent in social and academic discourse again.

A very simplistic view that is often presented is that race refers to biological features while ethnicity is determined by cultural implications.

The primordial view on ethnicity and race describes both concepts as inherent experiences that are independent from social context (Gunaratnam 2003). In regards to ethnicity Ben Fowkes establishes that from a primordial viewpoint “ethnicity is a set of features characteristic of a given ethnic group” (2002). These characteristics are inherent and part of the human character and were defined by Anthony Smith as having “a collective name, a common myth of descent, a shared history, a distinctive shared culture, comprising language and/or religion and/or institutions and/or cultural features, an association with specific territory, a sense of ethnic solidarity” (Smith 1986 as cited in Fowkes 2002). Smith’s characteristics remain relevant in some fields as for example the United Nations grants indigenous status on the basis of similar attributes and most important the aspect of a sense of ethnic solidarity prevails as indigenous people are determined mainly by self-proclamation until today (Fowkes 2002).

In sociology and other field, the predominant definition of ethnicity is a social constructivist perspective which claims that race and ethnicity are shaped and constructed by social, heterogeneous and dynamic processes (Gunaratnam 2003). Thus, attributes and characteristics no longer play specific roles in the definitions. Joanne Nagel claims that ethnicity establishes itself mainly through ethnic identities determined and constructed through material of language, religion, culture, appearance or regionality and that the meaning of ethnic identity is continuously negotiated and revised (Nagel as cited in Fowkes 2002). Here Fowkes identifies the social constructivist nature of ethnicity and race that

allows for elite groups to construct and shape categories for economic and political reasons. Therefore, they play an important role in ethnic conflict and political decision making (2002).

When it comes to distinguishing between race and ethnicity from a social constructivist viewpoint, the predominant one that serves as the basis for this thesis is that ethnicity is seen as a fluid construct that is invented historically and constitutes “imagined political communities” (Anderson as cited in Fowkes 2002). Fowkes here points to the role that statistical data including census categories and maps play in defining and mapping out ethnic groups; thus, reducing their flexibility and development (2002). Gunaratnam adds to this aspect by explaining that the way in which people are formed into clusters ultimately is a political process and thus of interest to political analysis as in this thesis (2003).

Observing the concept of race in contrast, Hall points out that in contrary to what is often assumed, race is no scientific biological construct but equally politically and socially constructed. It is a discursive category that is used as a system of socio-economic power and can be systematically used for exploitation and exclusion. According to Hall, this differentiation by race constitutes racism that is attempted to be legitimized by genetic and biological differences and denying its socially constructed nature (Hall 2000 as cited in Gunaratnam 2003). Sociology does, however, agree that race with its difficult past is vastly constructed through historical, social and political process and defined by traditions. Race, thus, has a biological and a social conventionalist component (Healey 2009).

3.1.2. Minority

Despite the mathematical implication of minority referring to something smaller, in sociology minorities are not defined by numerical relations. In many cases minorities can be larger, for example, a larger part of the population than the majority (Healey 2009). Instead Healey proposes a definition of minority groups by Wagley and Harris (1958 as cited by Healey). They claim a minority is constituted by members of a certain group experiencing systematic disadvantage and inequality. This disadvantage within society depicts them as a subordinate group or community to the mainstream majority group. The patterns of disadvantage generally result from the mainstream majority or dominant groups treatment of the minority. The dominant group typically benefits from the disadvantage of the minority communities. The membership of a minority group is typically determined by your birth into that group but can also be constituted later in life (Healey 2009). Wagley and Harris’s definition here agrees with the former primordial view on race and ethnicity as is, thus, outdated as a basis of this thesis.

Minority groups often face exclusion and oppression. They are, therefore, often less known in international discourse, or are ignored and neglected even nationally. Due to their development within society, historical connotations often play an important part in the construction and perception of minorities within a society (Healey 2009).

3.1.3. Inequality

Inequality is determined as the difference in access to opportunities and rights of a person to other persons within the society that is investigated. This can include access to jobs, education, health care, wealth and others. The concept of stratification was one of the first attempts at labelling inequalities and was concerned with the unequal distribution of valued goods and services. Unequal distributions occur in all societies and when analysing inequalities differences between different divisions or categories of society are typically looked at. Minority groups determined by categories such as race, class and gender are such groups that often face inequalities (Healey 2009). The relationship between dominant and minority groups is often a determinant factor in the distribution of valued goods and services causing discrepancies and dissatisfaction within society (Healey 2009).

Inequalities generally result from relationships between the dominant mainstream group and minority groups. Healey outlines two levels of these relations. On a psychological level of analysis, the realities of individual members of the groups are looked upon (Healey 2009). In the chart below, it can be seen how individuals relate to the relations between dominant and minority groups.

Figure 2: Healey's Four Concepts in Dominant-Minority Relations (2009, p. 34)

Dimension	Individual	Group or Societal
Thinking/feeling	Prejudice	Ideological racism
Doing	Discrimination	Institutional discrimination

On a sociological level of analysis that is considered in this study, the conceptions that prevail for communities is. As can be seen in the chart here national policies can play a role and depict the distinction between an ideology of an equal society and reality with its problems within society. It is also depicted how inequalities can be enforced through institutional discrimination and become visible in those institutions as well as ideologies. Policies can reflect and even reinforce those societal inequalities (Healey 2009).

3.1.4. Gender

Understanding gender and differentiating it from sex is an important underlying concept of this project as it analyses inequalities in the Ethiopian national Education and Training policy that are also related to gender. Kantola and Lombardo, firstly, draw attention to the importance of understanding gender in relation to societal structures if inequalities want to be uncovered (2013). They claim gender can

have flexible meaning in different conceptual disputes (Kantola & Lombardo 2013). Healey points out that gender has both a biological and a social component. Biological sex that is determined by birth forms the initial basis for societal gender roles that follow with expectations and rules for behavior. There is a large number of ideologies and stereotypes connected to gender that fosters inequalities between sexes. While biology does play a part, gender roles are, according to sociology, vastly constructed through societies point of view and are more fluid than generally depicted in categorical quantitative research. When analysing gender, it is important to consider the experiences of both men and women, and how they relate to other categories of difference (Healey 2009). The World Bank points out the relation between gender and inequality and in their article explore the fact that gender gaps are noticeable in education worldwide (2014). The World Bank claims that when addressing inequalities in educational systems, the aspect of gender should always be considered, and interventions need to be decided upon in given contexts that are made visible in the education budget of a country (2014).

3.1.5. Power

The concept of power is closely related to the other concepts presented in this terminology section. As categories of difference are seen as systems of power, which will be explained in more depth in the section on intersectionality, power as a concept must be relational to all other concepts presented. There are a large number of theories for understanding power (Lloyd 2013) but for this thesis Patricia Hill Collin's intersectionality has been chosen, which is based on Michel Foucault's theory of power explained later, as it covers the matter to be analysed in this thesis best.

To give a definition of power, Moya Lloyd introduces four ways power can be looked at (2013). Firstly, she introduces it as a resource. Here, it is utilized as a tool of discrimination and the production of inequalities and disadvantage. Inequalities become visible through lack of opportunities or rights. This view on power assumes that it is constructed and sustained through relational and social processes that can be systematically created and, thus, need to consciously be overturned through new political processes and legislation. Power is what can turn inequalities around and is thus a resource for change; political power can do so through policies and legislation (Lloyd 2013). Secondly, power can be seen as domination. Here ideologies play an important role. Power is always viewed as something negative other than in power as a resource. In relation to political processes, mainstream ideologies must be challenged to fight against domination and oppression (Lloyd 2013). Thirdly, power can be looked at as capacity. Power is here depicted as the power to do something and as something a group of people needs to acclaim in order to fight inequalities. Power is for example given to the powerless through empowerment strategies (Lloyd 2013). Lastly, power can be defined as productive. This is the definition Foucault uses in his description of the concept of power in 1978 that forms the underlying

basis of understanding of power of intersectionality by Collins (as cited in Lloyd 2013). Foucault claims that power is productive and generates and constructs identities, subject positions, forms of life and behavioural habits. Power, thus shapes and constructs (Lloyd 2013).

3.1.6. Politics

Within the framework of intersectional political science, politics is defined as “processes, philosophies, behaviours and systems of organization related to state governance” (Collins & Chepp 2013). The interest of intersectionality in political processes is how politics silences or burdens certain communities. Intersectional scholars also point to the integration of intersectional approaches into public policy making (Lloyd 2013). Politics from an intersectional viewpoint is a system of power in itself but intersectionality mainly considers democratic policy practices in its analyses (Collins & Chepp 2013).

Within politics a policy is defined by the Cambridge Dictionary as “a set of ideas or a plan of what to do in particular situations that has been agreed to officially by a group of people, a business organization, a government, or a political party“ (n.d.). Dunn adds that a policy is generally concerned with a specific policy-problem that is in need of improvement through public action (2014). Policies typically are publicly published formal documents (Dunn 2014).

3.1.7. Cosmopolitanism

Cosmopolitanism as a term was first introduced by Immanuel Kant who saw it as a vision for peaceful solutions by pointing out the common humanity of all world citizens (Roxas et al. 2015). As an underlying basis for the theory of Critical Cosmopolitan Multicultural Education (CCME), cosmopolitanism is defined as “a utopian belief system where everyone, regardless of who they are, can be welcomed, valued, and accepted in any global community” (Roxas et al. 2015, p. 230). Cosmopolitanism has grown in popularity in the twenty-first century and has become a research concern in a variety of fields. It has been used as an ideology, identity or pedagogy and might also lead to new epistemological, ontological and axiological considerations. Cosmopolitanism is often applied and researched in relation to diversity, democracy and citizenship (Roxas et al. 2015). Due to the concept of cosmopolitanism often being seen in relation to liberal multiculturalism or liberal pluralism there is a risk that it excludes less privileged members of society. Furthermore, it does not account for the fact that individuals might experience cosmopolitanism in different ways (Roxas et al. 2015). In their definition of cosmopolitanism, Roxas et al. draw attention to the challenges of cosmopolitanism and to the ‘victims of modernity’ (2015). These ‘victims of modernity’ are here considered to be the underrepresented marginalized groups within society (Roxas et al. 2015).

3.1.8. Multiculturalism

There are many different kinds of multiculturalism one of the most prominent of which is liberal multiculturalism. Liberal multiculturalism focuses on relations between individuals and nation-states and attempts to link unity with diversity with a focus on equal citizenship and attention to power relations between groups.

3.2. Literature Review

In the following section will provide a brief review on the published literature that relates to the topic of analysis. A more detailed account of the development of intersectionality will be presented in the section of the theory of intersectionality as it is a central issue to this research project that necessitates more in-depth consideration.

A variety of scholars have investigated issues such as girls in school (see Audrey Osler's "Girls and exclusion" 2003) and multi-ethnic education policies and reform. Educational research as well as research into the field of education policies has been highly focused on western countries with democratic and bureaucratic systems. Clarke et al.'s book "Multiethnic Moments: The Politics of Urban Education Reform" addresses issues such as education in multiethnic cities and contexts but it only considers developments and reforms in US politics. The basis is migration and a mainstream culture paired with newly added cultures that are in need of integration. The book aims to point towards inequalities in the educational system and US policies as this paper does but the insights cannot directly be transferred to the Ethiopian case where extremely different systems of society and politics are given.

Generally, there is a lack of literature on education and intersectionality in relation to developing countries. When it comes to researching education in developing countries the major concern is the implementation of Western project by for example NGOs and governmental development agencies to address issues such as primary school attainment. Especially in Ethiopia where a large number of NGOs and governments work within the development sector, educational programs for young children are very prominent. There are, however, very limited resources available on the analysis of Ethiopia or developing country's education policies in general or on inequalities other than lack of access. Often the programs focus on the distinction between urban and rural education and point out the lack of access to education of rural populations (Federal Ministry of Education 2015).

Contemporary political research is currently concerned with questions of cultural and national identity as a result of increased migration and multicultural societies in today's globalized world (Hall 1993 as cited by Gunaratnam 2003). The peer-reviewed journal *Multicultural Education Review* publishes articles four times a year that are of great relevance to intercultural learning and include articles by authors such as Audrey Osler whose theory will be introduced in the following theory section. Despite

a wide range of research interests and countries, however, hardly any articles can be found on multicultural education in developing countries. The primary reasons for cosmopolitan multiculturalism are migration and globalisation (Multicultural Education Review); in developing countries and particularly many African countries, however, multicultural and multi-lingual cities are often the result of internal migration and former tribal systems. This results in extremely different preconditions and implications for the analysis of inequalities.

When it comes to the study of intersectionality similar problems prevail. As intersectionality was first introduced in the US it is primarily concerned with issues of people of different backgrounds in the US. However, the concept has now spread to other western countries dealing with issues of diversity. Patricia Hill Collins is the primary scholar that is credited with the development of intersectionality. Hill Collins is mainly concerned with intersecting structures of oppression and how they can be addressed within society, while scholars such as Kimberlé Crenshaw aim to find legal entry points in solving inequalities by gaining access to representation, services and rights (Hancock 2016). Intersectionality is, thus, both located in sociology and legal studies but also prominent in other fields as will be explained in the next section. The origin of intersectionality for both scholars does, though, lie in the struggle of women of colour in mainstream white patriarchic societies (Hancock 2016). As in the field of multicultural educational research there is a lack in applying intersectionality to developing countries which is why attention must be paid to possible discrepancies in this study.

Studies on inequalities in education policies have been conducted before as for example in “Education Policy and Educational Inequality” by Isabelle Stadelmann-Steffen (2011) where different education policies of Switzerland were compared in relation to inequalities due to for example level of quality of education and length of school days. The focus of researching educational inequalities often has been social class as pointed out in Jerry A. Jacob’s “Gender Inequality and Higher Education” (1996). Gender inequality and issues of ethnicity, on the contrary, are less researched. Additionally, in the study of educational inequality is also more prominent in further developed western countries as the book “International Studies in Educational Inequality, Theory and Practice” edited by Teese et al. shows which in its three volumes mainly reviews cases of European countries as well as bigger Western powers (2011).

In relation to research on Ethiopia, much has been written on development cooperation as well as its history and political system. Policy analyses are, though, harder to find which might be related to the lack of bureaucracy in the country and the lack of democratic structures in political systems. Moreover, the large number of urgent matters in Ethiopia such as poverty, hunger, general underdevelopment, political unrest and human rights violations, more structural issues such as inequalities in the educational system have not been addressed to large extent yet. I do, however, believe it is highly

relevant to examine Ethiopian policies and to not underestimate their influence on lived inequalities in the country.

The leading researcher in educational and social justice studies, Audrey Osler, focuses on the importance of multicultural and human rights education (HRE) in her frameworks on educational systems. She bases her framework on John Dewey's world-famous assumption on the interrelatedness of democracy and education which has done a great deal in shaping western public education (2004). The cultural values that are embedded in the notion of various forms of democracy here play a key role in shaping education (Dewey 2004). Osler adds the more contemporary understanding of social constructivism and draws upon intersectional thought when acknowledging how categories of difference and socio-economic factors in general shape public education and the experiences of students (Osler 2015).

Osler points to a variety of impacts on access to and quality of education such as geographical location and socio-economic status. Moreover, categories of difference are highly relevant to identities and might include class, gender, ethnicity, sexuality and age. Factors like this can point to an understanding of who is educationally disadvantaged and why (Osler 2015). Osler is one of the founders of a general understanding and popularization of multicultural education and, therefore, highly influenced the theory of Critical Cosmopolitan Multicultural Education that is used in this thesis.

3.3. Theory

The following theory chapter will outline the theoretical frameworks that will be employed in the analysis in order to answer the research questions introduced previously. For this thesis intersectionality will be applied as a theory and the theories of intersectionality and Critical Cosmopolitan Multicultural Education (CCME) will be used as a framework for the political analysis. Intersectionality has been chosen due to its ability to identify inequalities and understand power relations. The CCME contributes as a theoretical framework to illustrate the needs of multicultural education and how they can be integrated in national policies. All the theoretical frameworks will be described in greater detail below.

3.3.1. Intersectionality

The concept of intersectionality has developed in the twentieth century and originates in Black feminist thought. It has gained increasing popularity in recent years and is used in a large range of disciplines (Collins & Chepp 2013). Intersectionality has the aim of producing knowledge that is empowering as it investigates power relations that lead to inequalities and, thus, the lack of power of some people or groups (Hancock 2016). It is, thus, in its ability to analyse inequalities, marginalization and dominations very applicable to this thesis in which a policy analysis is conducted (Kantola & Lombardo 2017).

Despite the spread of the use of intersectionality in various disciplines, there is little agreement in what intersectionality is defined as. Collins and Chepp describe in their chapter on intersectionality in “The Oxford Handbook on Gender and Analysis” that intersectionality can be used as either a field of study, a theoretical framework or a methodological framework (2013). The reasons for choosing intersectionality as both a **theoretical framework and a method of analysis** in this thesis will be explained later in this section. In the following, to start with, an account of the **history of intersectionality** and its development will be given. Afterwards **Patricia Hill Collin’s** understanding of intersectionality will be explained. Moreover, the use of intersectionality in this project and its **relation to politics** will be elaborated on. Finally, a **critique of intersectionality** and its limitations in regards to this project will be outlined.

3.3.1.1. The History of Intersectionality

To understand the concept of intersectionality and how it can be used, it is important to understand its roots and developments through the past decades. Giving an account of the history of intersectionality allows us to apply the concept as it is understood by a specific scholar but at the same time understand how his or her thinking came about. Intersectionality as an academic interest of research emerged in the 1960s and 1970s from the struggle of US Black feminists in challenging social inequalities related to disadvantages due to gender, class and race (Collins 2015). The initial initiatives that lead to studying relations and interactions between categories of difference were social justice initiatives within social movements that called for the empowerment of women of subordinated groups and the political engagement of oppressed people (Collins & Chappel 2013 and Collins 2015). Due to this origin the study of intersectionality is until today often associated with women’s and gender studies despite being used in various fields of academia (Collins 2015). Jennifer Nash acknowledges that despite its origin in Black feminism, intersectionality must be viewed as a product of a variety of thought rather than a synonym for Black feminist thinking (Nash 2011 as cited in Hancock 2016).

From this initial recognition of the interrelatedness of multiple social injustices and the theoretical frameworks developed to address the issues by US Black feminists, Patricia Hill Collins and Kimberlé Crenshaw, both themselves of Afro-American descent, are said to have introduced the term of intersectionality at first and contributed greatly to developing it as a field of study (Hancock 2016). Crenshaw is said to have come up with the term intersectionality and defined it as an analytical tool in order to analyse structural and political inequalities across different categories of difference, examining implications those have for opportunities in the life of people in different social locations in society (Crenshaw 1989 as cited by Kantola & Lombardo 2017). Both Crenshaw and Collins are mainly concerned with the political, structural and representational aspects of intersectionality while other areas such as intersectional political consciousness have been investigated by many authors (Hancock 2016).

In her book “Black Feminist Thought: Knowledge, Consciousness, and the Politics of Empowerment” from 1990, Patricia Hill Collins introduced her theoretical framework of intersectionality that is based on the matrix of domination. The matrix of domination was based on Michel Foucault’s understanding of socially constructed power and power relations and gives us a theoretical framework for understanding those power relations and, thus, oppressions. It emphasizes that power is not only socially but also relationally constructed and draws the attention to the interrelations between categories of difference. It is, thus, embedded in intersectionality that brings the intersections between categories of difference to attention. Collins matrix of domination is primarily located in sociology but has been used in anthropology, psychology, political science and other fields of studies due to its applicability to real experiences of people. In addition, it has been a continuous interest as a field of study and the matrix has been developed further by scholars such as Crenshaw (Hancock 2016).

3.3.1.2. Patricia Hill Collin’s Intersectionality

In her article “Intersectionality’s Definitional Dilemma”, leading sociologist Patricia Hill Collins, was one of the first scholars to introduce the term ‘intersectionality’. It became her major field of study, as she discusses the various viewpoints of intersectionality and presents definitions while pointing out the importance of consensus of what the concept of intersectionality entails and how it is used. Generally, there is agreement in various fields of study using intersectionality that it is a critical approach that sheds light to the intersections between categories of different and their relationships. These categories of difference commonly include race, gender, sexuality, class, ethnicity, ability, age and other categories of social context (Collins 2015). These categories are of particular interest when researching social inequalities. Intersectionality is mainly used to understand how social inequalities resulting from membership in different social categories relate and co-construct each other and what implications these relations have for the experience of individuals in different contexts of society (Collins 2015). Bonnie Thornton Dill emphasizes the implication of intersectionality for the multidimensionality of the human experience and points out that the “[...] work at intersections is an analytical strategy, an approach to understanding human life and behavior rooted in the experiences and struggles of marginalized people [...]” (as cited in Collins 2015, p.58). She, thereby, labels the individuals as part of categories not only as people facing inequalities but as marginalized communities that struggle with unjust treatment due to their belonging to a certain group and simultaneously links the theoretical implications of intersectionality to the practical experiences of people. This link between theory and praxis is often emphasized in intersectionality and is a major focus in most research projects using an intersectional approach.

One aspect that is central to the concept of intersectionality in contrast to researching categories of difference individually, is the idea that the different categories cannot be understood apart from each other but that the intersections between them and their relations to each other must be analysed to

fully uncover the realities and social experiences that lie behind them (Collins & Chepp 2013). In doing this intersectionality is highly concerned with the concept of power and power relations. The various categories of difference are also seen as systems of power that intersect and co-produce each other. In addition, structural arrangements are seen as operating in relation with each other. This system of interaction and co-production leads to distinctive social experiences and, thus, unequal realities for different members of society. Relations between systems of power and the relational processes that help create and maintain such systems are what constructs meaning and power of social positions and, thus, disadvantages as well as privileges within social contexts. Collins calls this the matrix of domination that reflects the power relations and interactions in social contexts (Collins & Chepp 2013). This matrix of domination is, according to Collins, one of the major topics which intersectionality is concerned with. Additionally, she points to the significance of boundaries to understand relational processes. A second major theme of intersectionality is its implications for epistemology and ontology (Collins 2015). These implications include the concept of social constructivism that is highly related to intersectionality will be explained in the methodology chapter of this thesis. As a result of these and other major themes, Collins constitutes intersectionality as a knowledge project that can be used as a field of study, an analytical strategy or a theoretical framework (Collins 2015). In the following section of **Theory or Methodology?**, it will be elaborated on in depth how the intersectional knowledge project is used in this study.

Intersectionality can contribute to an understanding of culture. Cultural understanding is of great relevance when it comes to social conflict often based on domination of different groups or individuals. Intersectionality here can help to identify multiple systems of domination and organization of society as a whole (Collins & Chepp 2013). The intersectionality knowledge project that Collins developed has two major focus points and aims that Collins pursues in her concept supported by other scholars. These are namely the visibility and the reshaping of categorical relationships. Firstly, 'Visibility' here points to bringing issues of inequalities and their underlying causes to attention. While intersectionality has gained some popularity in academia, it is widely unknown in the public sphere. Intersectionality can help bring marginalized issues to the attention of policy-makers and the general public through its ability to connect issues and relate problems to categorical concepts known to most people. By relating issues to each other and pointing out their interconnectedness, problems can be brought to attention and be addressed adequately (Hancock 2016). Secondly, the reshaping of categorical relationships, follows the aim of bringing the relatedness of social concepts to attention and challenging the classical way of thinking in categories. Collins argues that it is not only necessary to challenge conceptions of individual categories as for example race in order to fight discrimination but that relations of power between systems must be challenged to achieve international of consciousness and change society in the long run (Hancock 2016).

In the study of inequalities, another important aspects Collins refers to is the importance of researching both the privileged and the disadvantaged. This composes a difference to other theory's ways of studying inequalities. Collins emphasizes that in studying inequalities the ability of relationships between domination systems to co-construct each other cannot be ignored. This adds a level of complexity to intersectional analysis that acknowledges the dynamics of inequalities and at the same time opens up a new field of interest with new explanations and knowledge about marginalized communities and the inequalities they face (Collins & Chepp 2013).

As intersectionality as a whole and the matrix of dominations helps to understand the relations of power and oppression within societal contexts. Using the matrix of domination developed by Collins allows us to look at inequalities within different categories of difference and understand how they shape privilege and disadvantage in social contexts. It is important to note that Collins emphasises the fact that only one categorical difference can lead to different opportunities and experiences in life. These categories can be vast, and it is not always possible to identify all categories of social context that might have an influence on an individual's opportunities and rights due to membership in that category (Hancock 2016). It must, therefore, be acknowledged that while intersectionality aims to have a large angle considering a variety of influences and the complexities of lived experiences, it will not be possible for a researcher to consider all aspects that could be relevant to be identified as causing inequalities. Yet, in this study, applying the matrix of domination can help us uncover what structures of oppression and power relations underly the Ethiopian nation Education and Training policy and, thus, what inequalities students within the Ethiopian educational system face and how they can be addressed.

When it comes to the field of education and politics, Hancock points out the importance of intersectionality's discovery of the importance of internal change in consciousnesses of people to resolve inequalities. While throughout the 90s and 2000s cultural constructions were popular tools, intersectionality points out the transformation that is required from within to change how people relate to each other and how power relations, rights and opportunities are structured in society. Challenging the socially constructed categories of difference and rejecting binaries are, thus, central elements to the success of an intersectional approach in the struggle for justice (Hancock 2016). This also brings along methodological and especially ontological considerations that are outlined in the **Methodology** chapter.

3.3.1.3. Theory or Methodology?

As introduced above, when Crenshaw and Collins developed the idea of intersectionality it was neither thought of as an analytical method nor a theoretical framework in particular. This leads to intersectionality being used in different ways by different scholars and in different fields of studies.

Noting that intersectionality is three-fold and can be a field of study, an analytical tool or a theoretical framework in different contexts, Collins calls intersectionality a knowledge project that can be used in a variety of ways and lacks a clear definition. She argues intersectionality does not need to be seen as a finished construct that is clearly defined for one singular use but rather a consistently developed project that can be applied in a variety of ways (Collins 2015). Some scholars have pointed this out as one of the weaknesses of intersectionality due to a lack of understanding of the meaning of intersectionality in different fields leading to different outcomes of analyses (Collins & Chepp 2013). I will address this issue in the latter **Critique of Intersectionality**.

If we look at the three ways of working with intersectionality, researching further with intersectionality as a field of study is highly relevant due to its increased popularity and potential for further development and improved applicability in politics and other fields (Collins 2015).

In sociology intersectionality has been used both as a theory and as a method. As a theory it has the potential to draw focus to social justice work and provide a framework for what needs to be looked at when addressing issues of inequalities within societies (Collins 2015). This can be highly relevant in political work and research such as policy analyses. Intersectionality as a theoretical framework can be used to overcome inequalities in institutions and wherever policies are applied. It can, therefore, also be a useful tool when it comes to human rights. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights itself refers to intersectional concepts in its social justice initiatives but intersectionality as a theory could help to create more effective tools in fighting discrimination and protecting human rights by looking at intersectional issues that are harder to bring forward as declarations such as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights typically are divided into themes and categories, thus, actively separating the interrelating issues from each other. Intersectionality can provide a framework for how issues can be looked at and what should be considered, or which areas should be looked at in framing policies (Collins 2015). In this thesis, this aspect is crucial which is why an intersectional theoretical framework will be applied to the Ethiopian national Education and Training policy to analyse its considerations or non-considerations of intersectionality and evaluate how it could benefit from such a view.

However, this use of intersectionality as a theoretical framework does not rule out the use of intersectionality as an analytical tool in this thesis. In order to understand privileges and disadvantages in the analysis of the above introduced research questions, an intersectional viewpoint is crucial. An intersectional method of analysis, moreover, comes with specific implications for epistemology and ontology (Collins & Chepp 2013). In the next chapter it will be explained how these considerations form the underlying basis of this project. An intersectional analytical viewpoint guides us through how the Ethiopian national Education and Training policy will be analysed by acknowledging a variety of influencing factors on noticeable inequalities in the Ethiopian educational systems and their relations

(Hancock 2016). By using intersectionality as an analytical tool new knowledge about the social world can be created as a new perspective is applied to social problems (Collins 2013). As an analytical tool, intersectionality helps to analyse “[...] the multidimensionality of human experience that might aid the empowerment of individuals and communities” which is an important aspect this policy analysis aims to investigate (Collins & Chepp 2013, pp. 73 -74).

In this research project, intersectionality is used as both a theoretical framework and an analytical tool, as operationalized by Patricia Hill Collins which will be discussed more closely in the Methodology section. In the following section the relations between intersectionality and politics and, thus, its relevance to this policy analysis will be pointed out.

3.3.1.4. Intersectionality and Politics

“Making women of color in general, but the intersectionally disadvantaged in particular, a visible and legible part of public discourse with an eye toward getting their policy needs met” (Alexander-Floyd as cited by Hancock 2016, p.10).

Nikol G. Alexander-Floyd in the above statement confirms the relevance of intersectionality to political analysis. This points to the fact that including intersectionality in policies has important implications for the influence of a policy on people’s needs and opportunities. Thus, Alexander-Floyd suggests it is important for intersectionality to be considered by policy-makers and for intersectional approaches to be included in policies addressing inequalities and the power and rights of the disadvantaged in social contexts (Hancock 2016). While sociology is currently the primary field of study, utilizing intersectionality within political science can help to understand marginal experiences outside and between social boundaries and, therefore, deliver relevant insights for policy-makers and policy analysts (Collins & Chepp 2013). As discussed in the **Terminology** chapter of this thesis, politics is concerned with the organization of society and intersectional analysis, therefore, should play an important role in policy making. When conducting a policy analysis as in this project with Bacchi’s WPR approach that will be explained later, an intersectional approach can open up for a new understanding of government policies (Collins & Chepp 2013).

Public policy can make use of intersectionality due to the large impact of social locations on the lived experiences of people. Policies are usually concerned with problems that are to be addressed by changing something. Changing something to solve a problem almost always has implications for the stakeholders of a policy and intersectionality can, thus, help policy-makers understand those implications. As politics and power are two highly interrelated concepts, shaping power relations must be of high interest to policy-makers. Intersectionality can help to understand dimensions of power and re-shape and construct them in this way it is an invaluable tool in policy-making and policy analysis (Collins & Chepp 2013).

Collins argues that when it comes to state politics a single system of power is to be discouraged. She claims an intersectional approach calls for coalition politics that include oppositions and marginal groups and enhance democratic possibilities. Collins calls for expanding definition of political coalitions and cooperation to highlight similarities across groups and include a larger part of society in decision making processes (Collins & Chepp 2013). Here it becomes visible that Collins's knowledge project of intersectionality was developed from US Black feminism and is deeply rooted in Western systems. This makes it harder to apply intersectionality in non-Western societies as it is the case in this research project. It must, therefore, be considered to what extent the case it hand relates to the contexts intersectionality usually operates in and how the problem of a different political society influences the applicability of intersectionality in a policy analysis. In the next section this and other critiques to intersectionality will be explored.

3.3.1.5. Critique of Intersectionality

While intersectionality brought an entirely new angle and even field of study to academia and is used and appreciated in many fields of study, there is also criticism arising from scholars in various fields. One major concern about intersectionality is its roots in US Black feminist and the question of ownership that surrounds these roots. Scholars such as Jasbir Puar claim that the focus of intersectionality on US Black women leads to the exclusion of other women of colour or even other marginalized groups in general from the discourse on intersectionality. This is reflected in the lack of literature on intersectionality applied in other contexts than multicultural Western cities where problems addressed by intersectionality are mainly rooted in migration (Puar as cited in Hancock 2016). Hancock additionally claims that the focus on black women might lead to other important aspects of marginalization to be forgotten or downgraded; this includes linguistic aspects as well as disability which are according to Hancock heavily understudied (2016). For this research project this could be problematic due to the fact that the multiculturalism of Ethiopia is quite a different one than the one of the US. When applying intersectionality as a theory and method in this project this difference must be borne in mind and it must be acknowledged that processes and politics follow different outlines that yet need to be studied more. I do, however, believe that it is feasible and possible to apply intersectionality to the case of this project as it is a quite universal and adaptable concept. Further research into the use of intersectionality in non-western societies is though desirable.

Another concern that some scholars present the use of intersectionality in a large variety of disciplines. Crenshaw, for example, expresses her concern about intersectionality being used in contexts that lie far from what it originally was intended for: a tool to eradicate inequality and injustice. She points out that race cannot be left out of any conversation of intersectionality and worries that it will be lost as a central element as intersectionality travels further (Hancock 2016). This traveling through disciplines in particular is of concern to many researchers as preconditions for analysis keep being reshaped and,

thus, change the outcomes and aims of intersectionality. Intersectionality is then in different contexts shaped differently by the application of field specific rules, tools and routines (Collins & Chepp 2013). By moving through the disciplines Sirma Bilge is worried that intersectionality opens itself for misinterpretations and that the concept is changed to far from its original aim (Bilge as cited in Hancock 2016).

Despite these concerns, intersectionality remains the most promising knowledge project to address systems of inequality and analyse their roots. The above raised issues, moreover, show a great interest of the academic community and call for the further development of intersectionality. As it still is a growing field, intersectionality remains highly relevant and applicable in many research contexts and, thus, seems to be the best methodological tool and theoretical framework to be used in this study.

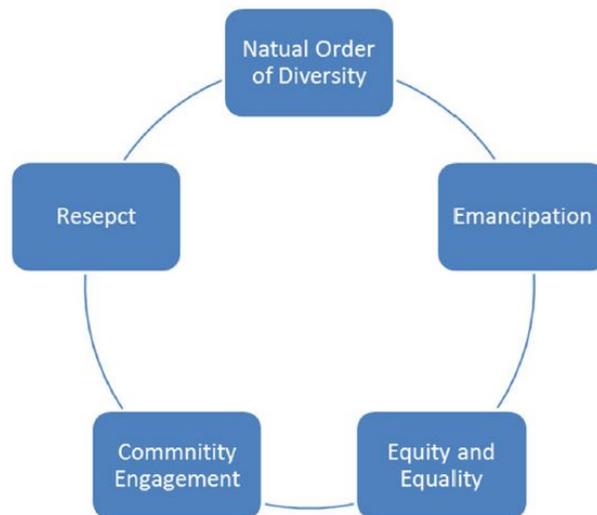
3.3.2. Critical Cosmopolitan Multicultural Education

The third theory used in the analysis of the Ethiopian national Education and Training policy is Critical Cosmopolitan Multicultural Education. Together with intersectionality and pluralism it helps to uncover inequalities in the Ethiopian policy by pointing out the most crucial components that are necessary for educational systems to work justly within multicultural cosmopolitan settings.

Critical Cosmopolitan Multicultural Education is a new theory developed by Kevin Roxas et al. in 2015. It is based on the increasing relevance of cosmopolitan, a concept which is introduced in the above **Terminology** section, in the twenty-first century. Cosmopolitanism offers a new perspective on multicultural education and is highly relevant when it comes to the investigation of a “universal humanity, human rights, and world citizenship” (Roxas et al. 2015, p. 230). Roxas et al. view the concept of cosmopolitanism in relation to minority groups and take an intersectional viewpoint on the flexible and fluid experiences of individuals. The theory critiques the general concept of cosmopolitanism and calls for a critical approach (Roxas et al. 2015).

The major aim of the CCME theory is to investigate intersections between cosmopolitanism and multiculturalism and utilize these to achieve social justice in education. Roxas et al. outline five tenets that represented the core elements of CCME and make up the values of the theory (2015). The five tenets should be viewed as interconnected but separate that can have distinct as well as overall theoretical implications (Roxas et al. 2015). Below you can see a model of the five tenets followed by an in-depth explanation of the theory.

Figure 3: The Five Tenets of CCME



The Five Tenets of Critical Cosmopolitan Multicultural Education

3.3.2.1. *Natural Order of Diversity*

Liberal multiculturalism emphasizes the sameness of humans and views multiculturalism as unnatural. Highlighting the sameness rather than differences would then lead to peace and avoiding conflict (Roxas et al. 2015). CCME argues that lives and lived experiences for individuals are more complex and nuanced and see diversity as the natural order. Difference in culture is natural and not imagined or created as claimed by liberal multiculturalism. CCME proposes that differences should be celebrated and seen as strengths. The natural order of diversity is, thus, flexible and adaptable and should be celebrated as part of educational systems (Roxas et al. 2015).

3.3.2.2. *Emancipation*

Emancipation is here defined the freedom to imperfect education as it education can be a “process of getting liberated from unfair, unequal conditions people face” (Roxas et al. 2015, p. 237). The ideal here is that educators should have a role as facilitators helping the oppressed. Emancipation, thus, is a way of encouraging the oppressed and freeing them from oppressive conditions. Students must be encouraged and taught to challenge norms of society and fight against oppressions of any kind. CCME encourages activism and action on the basis of knowledge acquired in the classroom. It distinguishes between personal and institutional emancipation. Part of personal emancipation is on the one hand a student’s identification of oppression in their own life and the ability to oppose it and create an environment of change for themselves. Institutional emancipation on the other hand can be achieved through constructive changes on a policy or procedure level. It need to utilize power systems to address the issues of the marginalized (Roxas et al. 2015).

3.3.3.3. *Equity and Equality*

Equity and equality are essential components of any critical multicultural education framework. CCME points out that particularly because all individuals are different, fair treatment is crucial in education.

CCME calls for equal opportunities for living and learning and reminds of education being a basic human right (Roxas et al. 2015).

Equality is here defined as the fair and equal treatment of everyone. In relation to education, equality focuses on equal access of children to educational experience. It is important to understand why some children are denied that access and what can be done to ensure all students receive equal educational experiences. Equality does not necessarily entail that everyone should be treated the same but rather that everyone is treated fairly. In regards to education this can, for example, entail providing different resources to achieve the same outcomes. The term equity helps to ensure that the aim is to get students to the same endpoint through educational activities even if different tools are used for different students to achieve this goal (Roxas et al. 2015).

3.3.3.4. Community Engagement

Community engagement is used to deal with complex societal disparities of individuals within a society. Different approaches such as the community-based participatory research approach draw attention to empowerment and the inclusion of stakeholders in decision-making and social change strategies. Stigmas can lead to individuals being kept out of society as they are different from the mainstream culture and do not seem to fit in. Those who are marginalized must, thus, be part of co-creating a new society that recognizes and respects their needs and rights. It is, therefore, crucial that narratives of all parts of society are heard. All members of society must be represented and contribute to shaping the structural outline of the contexts they live in (Roxas et al. 2015).

3.3.3.5. Respect

Roxas et al. define respect as “a form of civic dialog through which a reverence for life in CCME is exchanged and accepted” (Roxas et al. 2015, p. 243). CCME points out that it is crucial for multicultural learning that minority groups are equally respected as the dominant mainstream group. Respect also includes a high regard of diversity as a concept and respecting differences between people. Respect is, therefore, crucial in shaping the environment as a precondition for successful multicultural education (Roxas et al. 2015).

Applying the CCME theory to the Ethiopian national Education and Training policy will allow for an analysis of their incorporation of multicultural education in a multicultural country. In combination with the theoretical framework of intersectionality and the concept of pluralism an analysis of the contents of the policy can be drawn. In addition, the next chapter on **Methodology** will give an insight into how the policy will be analysed and what underlying considerations serve as the basis for the analysis.

4. CHAPTER 3 – Methodology

In the following chapter the methodological considerations and approaches chosen as the guiding principles for the analysis of the above introduced research questions are outlined. Moreover, the research design and the data used as the basis for analysing the underlying problem formulation of this research project are described and the researcher's considerations are explained. The methodology chapter will cover the aspects *philosophy of science, research design, empirical data, methods and limitations to the project*. By elaborating on these aspects, the methodological framework for the project will be set. As research is the attempt to give meaning to knowledge which emerges from interactions in social science, the methodology of a research project constitutes the ways in which research is done and how it considers the various concepts that are analysed in the research project. In this case issues such as gender, ethnicity and race and their relationships (Gunaratnam 2003). The methodology is of high relevance to the research as it describes how the research does and should proceed in the given project (Ackerly & True 2013). A clearly outlined methodology also describes the process of a scientific investigation of a practical problem that the researcher tries to understand or find a solution to, such as a specific policy problem of a country in this research project (Dunn 2014). A well described methodology can, therefore, also ensure the scientific execution and structure of the conducted research. The methodological framework through its implications and reasoning will ensure that the analysis will be of credible scientific nature and that the problem can be investigated further or repeated by other scholars with reaching similar results and outcomes (Bortolotti 2008).

4.1. Philosophy of Science

4.1.1. Ethical Considerations

A research project that is investigating real life problems and social experience needs to address a number of ethical considerations. For this project feminist ethical considerations are important to the process of research as the project amongst others puts an emphasis on investigating the role of women in the Ethiopian educational system. Moreover, the fact that feminist thought plays an increasingly important role in social and political science research implies that feminist research ethics must be accounted for.

Feminist research ethics argue that already the research questions are defined and formed by power relations and political considerations that highly depend on the researcher's background and the context he or she is researching in. This might include the personal background of the researcher as much as the discipline they research in and the institute they operate in. When it comes to researching inequalities and especially political inequalities, political implications of data must be borne in mind and put into context of the given political system in relation to the researchers and theories political viewpoints (Ackerly & True 2013).

My role as a researcher of this project is one of a young master student who grew up in highly democratic and developed systems in Germany and is conducting research at a Nordic research institute in Denmark which is highly focused on addressing real life problems in its research efforts. I operate in the studies of Development and International Relations and my research is thus framed by a mainly western and Eurocentric view on international politics. The research project is conducted within the field of political science, though highly influenced by social science due to the nature of the study program and my former undergraduate education. It must, therefore, be considered throughout my analysis that my view on the national policy of Ethiopia is an outsider's view with the bias of a democratic western upbringing.

It is important to note the relevance of the production and construction of knowledge, and thus the epistemological consideration, are interrelated with the ethical considerations as they highly link to the collecting and interpretation of data and ultimately knowledge. Data is though provisional and contingent and feminist research puts an emphasis on the need for critical reflection of it (Ackerly & True 2013).

Another consideration pointed out by feminist research ethics is the fact that when researching inequalities related to gender, often numerical representations of especially women are used to illustrate gender inequalities. This leads to the risk for a researcher to view gender equality as a target figure, rather than acknowledging the necessity of transforming power relations and investigating underlying constructs (Ackerly & True 2013). While numerical data will be used as supporting evidence in this research project, the data is, therefore, mainly be retrieved from qualitative sources with the aim of understanding processes of transformation through the Ethiopian policy.

4.1.2. Paradigm

In addressing the above introduced research questions an intersectional approach to the analysis of the problem at hand has been chosen. Using an intersectional approach gives varies implications for the paradigm used in this research project and, thus, the ontological and epistemological considerations that need to be made.

As a starting point, social constructivism is highly relevant to this paradigm as it forms part of the intersectional approach, which argues that categories of difference such as ethnicity, gender or class are socially constructed (Collins 2015). Social constructivism alone does, however, not fully cover the implications an intersectional approach makes for the analysis of a research problem. The most important aspect added by the idea of intersectionality is the relational aspect of categories of difference and their power relations that is to be considered. This puts intersectionality in the paradigm of critical approaches to research, which includes a social constructivist aspect. To understand the

intersectional approach it is important to elaborate on the concept of social constructivism at first as categories of difference are socially constructed (Gunaratnam 2003).

Social constructivism is a concept of understanding the world that is used in a variety of academic disciplines. Due to its wide spread use, its definition can vary from research to research and a clear understanding of its implications must be given as the underlying system the research is conducted under (Burr 2003). Vivien Burr outlines a range of characteristics that serve as a basis for the notion of social constructivism (2003). She firstly argues that there is no ultimate truth in the field of social science and the attempt at understanding any problem objectively. The role of the researcher in any analysis and his or her personal experiences are, therefore, of crucial importance and his or her institutional background; therefore, methods and theories chosen, shape the outcome of the analysis and thus the attempt at answering the given research questions (Burr 2003). In the present research this means no ultimate truth exists about the inequalities in the Ethiopian educational system and the Education and Training policy and different researchers would most likely reach slightly different results and answers to the proposed questions. Social constructivism claims that this lack of objectivity is a result of the world being a social construct that is shaped by individual's and group's perceptions of reality. Burr emphasizes that it especially is our social structures and surroundings that determine how we view the world and thus the real-world problems we are analysing in social and political science (Burr 2003). In an attempt of science to limit the amount of personal bias of a researcher and reach credible verifiable results, Burr suggests the application of a variety of theories and perspectives to a given problem. Rather than applying one grand theory and thus approaching a problem from one sole direction, Burr argues that using several theories will allow for a more nuanced analysis of the given problem and a more balanced outcome of the study. Looking at the problem from a variety of angles allows the researcher to understand the problem more fully and prohibits the universality of a problem (Burr 2003). In this project the theories of Intersectionality, Pluralism and the Critical Cosmopolitan Multicultural Education have been used to analyse the inequalities embedded in and shaped by the Ethiopian Education and Training policy in particular. Especially, the intersectional approach used in the analysis of this research project emphasizes this variety of angles that interconnect and allow for a more complete understanding of a problem (Collins 2015). It must, however, be emphasized that many other theories and methods could have been applied to the project to add further dimensions to the complex case investigated. Due to the interest of this project in particular and the limitations in the scope of the project, only three theories were chosen. The theoretical approach chosen in this research project will, therefore, aim to address parts of the issues underlying the problem formulation but will at the same time be unable to provide all answers to the research questions and consider all aspects relevant to the problem formulation.

4.1.3. Ontology

Ontology is the underlying basis of the research that tells us what is perceived as reality from a certain approach. From a social constructivist viewpoint there is no single truth about anything or anyone in the world and truths that are depicted in research are simply versions of experiences constructed by groups or individuals (Collins 2015). To add the aspect of the critical approach and intersectionality, realities are not only constructed through social experiences but also shaped by interaction and discourse. Intersectionality puts an emphasis on power in the creation of truth and how realities can vary from different perspectives of power (Kantola & Lombardo 2013).

4.1.4. Epistemology

Epistemology, the theory of knowledge, describes how knowledge is understood in a research project (Ackerly & True 2013). The epistemological considerations a researcher has made are, therefore, highly relevant in following how the research questions are understood and on the basis of what knowledge the analysis is approached. A different epistemology, thereby, has an impact on the outcome of the study.

In policy analysis, a dominant thought of epistemology has been logical positivism. Logical positivism implies that the truth about the world has to be logically and empirically verifiable. In contemporary research that perception has though shifted to a social constructivist one as described above and critical thought is added to it. The research strategy critical multiplism argues that to determine what is true a variety of perspectives have to be applied to find out what needs to be known about a policy. Using a variety of methods does require a lot of time, effort and often costs and limits the researcher from going into depth as much as one single method would allow. Applying various methods does, though, come with the advantage of allowing for generalizations that often are required in policy analysis and policy making by giving more qualified overall analyses that can be drawn from approaching a problem from various angles (Dunn 2014).

In research on inequalities it is highly relevant to consider how knowledge is produced. Knowledge about differences often stems from relations to specific histories and contexts that frame relations of power. It is, therefore, crucial to connect knowledge and the sources of knowledge to specific research methods, lived experiences and political implications and see knowledge in relation to the contexts it is retrieved from (Gunaratnam 2003). For this study, it needs to be considered how the most important concepts investigated, which include ethnicity, race and gender, are approached in research and what implication those approaches have for the methods used to analyse the given problem and the collection and analysis of data. For the understanding of knowledge social constructivism, as outlined above, plays a key role as it explains how experiences and social and interactional contexts shape knowledge and our understanding of it. Another shaping factor is social discourse and how the way an

issue is discussed in different contexts shapes the knowledge available on it (Gunaratnam 2003). Yasmin Gunaratnam here not only puts an emphasis on the experience and context of the researcher but also of all research participants as secondary or primary sources of data. She points out that meaning is produced through social discourse, which is embedded in lived experiences as well as institutional and social power relations. The fact that knowledge is shaped in this way has consequences for the considerations of the researcher (Gunaratnam 2003). Lastly, Gunaratnam points out that while researchers on the one hand need to be aware of how knowledge is shaped by communities and individuals in different contexts, research on the other hand also shapes and produces knowledge as part of a social and historical network and thereby reflects what is researched further on. Due to this interrelationship of research and lived experiences manifested in social discourse, epistemology itself is a tool of political control (Gunaratnam 2003).

In terms of conducting research on ethnicity and race, epistemological considerations have developed vastly throughout the course of research in the field. Colonial legacies up until today influence the way ethnicity and race are thought about by many researchers. Postcolonialism has, thus, frequently been chosen as a tool to work with as well as against racial categories and de-construct the geo-political implications of race that were established in colonial times. When researching ethnicity and race these implications must be borne in mind especially when it comes to the choice of methods and theories (Gunaratnam 2003). Modern ideas of race and ethnicity emphasize on the fact that the two concepts are not objective, stable and homogenous categories but rather socially constructed by social processes and experiences of individuals and their relations. They are, more than other categories of difference, highly influenced by history and have been unstable and changing throughout geo-historical contexts. They can, thus, carry distinct meaning in varying social contexts. It is important for scientific research to establish relations between lived experiences and the concepts that are of interest to a given research problem; therefore, researchers need to work with clearly defined categories of, amongst others, ethnicity and race to be able to analyse inequalities. Epistemologically this means categories need to be defined to understand knowledge while understanding that they are socially and historically constructed and more fluid and diverse in lived experiences than they will be represented as in the research project (Gunaratnam 2003). The meanings this research project is using as a basis for analysis are, therefore, outlined in the above terminology chapter.

In feminist and intersectional analysis it is important to consider that knowledge is power and research always is political in the questions it is investigating and the ways it is investigating them in are, thus, influencing the political outcome of the study. When feminist research first became popular in the 1970s it was highly concerned with the ways in which knowledge is produced and used by people in power in political contexts (Ackerly & True 2013). This remains a large part of feminist research and

the role of knowledge in framing inequalities is still of interest to many scholars. It is important to emphasise that different access to knowledge leaves people of different groups with privileges or disadvantages within society. Moreover, the source of knowledge highly influences its content as different groups and individuals have different experiences that shape their knowledge on the same issue or situation (Ackerly & True). For this research project this also means the perspectives of the sources of data are of high relevance and need to be taken into consideration in the analysis of the research problem.

4.2. Research Design

After establishing the underlying considerations of the approach to research and the understanding of reality and knowledge used as the basis for this research project, in the following section the research design will be outlined. The research design includes the *methods* that are going to be used to analyse the above introduced research questions including *policy analysis and intersectional analysis* and an account of *the empirical data* that is going to be used and *the ways of gathering and analysing this data*.

4.3. Methods of Analysis

For analysing the research questions described in the introduction chapter of this project various methods have been chosen. The methods chosen are closely linked to the overall research design of the research project. The scope and nature of the study as well as the choice of paradigm examined determine what methods will be useful for the analysis (Ackerly & True 2013).

Firstly, policy analysis will help to analyse the national policy of Ethiopia. Secondly, intersectional analysis will be drawn upon due to its relevance to questions of ethnicity, race and gender and their interconnectedness in researching inequalities.

4.3.1. Policy Analysis

In this research project policy analysis was chosen as a method of analysis due to the researcher's interest in understanding the underlying policies that shape the Ethiopian educational systems. As inequalities can be observed in the Ethiopian educational system, it is of interest what role policies play in enabling and disabling equal access to education and equality and justice for all Ethiopian students alike. Policy analysis allows for looking at the frameworks created by the government to shape the educational environments and, thereby, be part of determining equalities or inequalities in the educational system of Ethiopia.

Research that is interested in the political, generally focuses on the distribution, exercise and consequences that power has in various contexts and on various actors; therefore, political analysis ultimately analyses power relations in a given context. A researcher conducting policy analysis is interested in understanding how power relations shape and transform lived experiences through

political processes and, thus, the political praxis of a policy (Kantola & Lombardo 2017). Policy analysis of relevance to researching inequalities as the process of policy-making is the direct intervention of governments in the lived experiences of a country's population and "as a result of these interventions or attempts at it, existing inequalities across all domain are affected in their nature or degree" (Kantalo et al. 2013, p. 679). Kantalo et al. here point out the ability of policies to counteract but at the same time also reproduce inequalities in the problems policies aim to address (2013).

Research in policy analysis draws upon tools of various disciplines including political science, sociology and anthropology. As introduced above, especially research with an intersectional approach such as this research project, is applied in various disciplines and investigates issues that are of relevance in different areas of study which is why using methodological tools from various fields can also be useful. Methods can include quantitative as well as qualitative tools ranging from ethnographic research to statistical and numerical analysis (Ackerly & True 2013).

When it comes to analysing a certain policy of a country, the researcher is investigating written documents that are made up of arguments. Those policy arguments are central to understanding the policy and its implementation; therefore, it is crucial for the researcher to apply critical thinking to understand policy arguments (Dunn 2014). Critical thinking implies the researcher's ability to "organize, synthesize, and evaluate diverse sources of reasoning and evidence" (Dunn 2014, p. 17).

4.3.2. 'What's the Problem Represented to Be?' Approach

The specific method of policy analysis that will be used for the analysis of the above introduced research questions is political scientist Carol Lee Bacchi's 'What's the problem represented to be?' (WPR) approach that she developed to challenge the way policies are traditionally thought about in policy analysis by claiming policies are in fact not merely dealing with problems and trying to solve them but rather shaping problems with the policies themselves (Bacchi 2009). This approach was chosen for the analysis of this thesis in particular due to its relevance to analysing inequalities framed by policies. The WPR approach addresses these issues as can be seen in the following quote:

"A WPR approach to policy analysis starts from the presumption that some problem representations create difficulties (forms of harm) for members of some social groups more than for members of other groups" (Bacchi 2009, p. 15).

This approach allows for the thorough analysis of social inequalities and injustices hidden in policies, with their implications for society and its groups and individual members. Bacchi, furthermore, relates to the idea of social constructivism that even the most underlying concepts of society are constructed and shaped by its actors including governments and that certain presumption and perceptions of

realities shape how a problem is addressed. She points out that “rather than *reacting* to ‘problems’, governments are *active* in the creation (or production) of policy ‘problems’” (Bacchi 2009, p. 1).

According to Bacchi, this influence of governments in framing political problems is a natural consequence of the policy making process and problem representations must always be constructed in their attempt to solve social problems. The way the problem is represented in the policy and thought of by policy makers does, however, play an important role and has implications for how people affected by the policy are treated and how stakeholders are led to think about themselves (Bacchi 2009). Despite the fact that social problems being socially constructed is not new in the fields of social and political science, Bacchi’s way of integrating this thought into policy analysis and claiming that policies in fact constitute problems, adds a new dimension to the research on policies (Bacchi 2009).

To understand the underlying problem framed by the government constructing a policy and analysing the policy on the basis of this understanding, Bacchi proposes six questions to be asked by a researcher in the course of a policy analysis. The fact that these questions so specifically set a frame for how a policy should be thought about and analysed leads to Bacchi’s approach also being applied as a theoretical framework by other scholars. In this research project, however, it will be applied as the method of analysis that is guiding the research process to its conclusion by applying other theoretical frameworks of intersectionality, pluralism and CCME as introduced above to analyse the specific contents of the national Ethiopian policy. In the following the six questions will be elaborated on.

“Question 1: What is the ‘problem’ [...] represented to be in a specific policy?” (Bacchi 2009 p.2)

In this very first question Bacchi aims to uncover the very underlying issue a policy tries to address. This assumes that all policies are made in the attempt of solving some kind of a problematic issue and are thus problematising activities that must include a representation of the problem they are addressing. Bacchi argues that looking at the proposed policy intervention will be useful to uncover what issue is to be addressed and what policy makers are thinking about it. There might, however, be several problem representations hidden in a policy that need to be uncovered. These representations might even conflict each other which is what can make the process of identifying the problem and answering the WPR’s first question challenging for the researcher. Moreover, other policies can be related to the one that is the subject of analysis and might thus be relevant in identifying the problem and should be considered by the researcher (Bacchi 2009).

“Question 2: What presuppositions or assumptions underlie this representation of the ‘problem’?”
(Bacchi 2009, p. 4)

To understand the proposed measures of a policy, it is important to not only understand the problem representations but also what underlying assumptions they are based on. Bacchi points out that this

includes the understanding of what is taken-for-granted as a basis of the problem representation but also what is not questioned by the policy. The background knowledge that underlies these assumptions is related to epistemological and ontological considerations of the policy makers and, thus, how they understand knowledge and reality. Analysing a policy asking this proposed question number two allows us to understand the assumed concepts that underly a policy and its strategy for problem transformation. Bacchi does, however, point out that the interest at hand here is not the personal bias of policy makers but rather the assumptions carried by the problem representation itself (Bacchi 2009).

One aspect that might be important to look at in this question is cultural values that lay the conceptual basis for the given problem representation. Bacchi here draws upon post-structural philosopher Michel Foucault in acknowledging fundamental worldviews that shape what is possible to be thought as a basis of any action including policies. In relation to different worldviews, another aspect is the variation of styles of problematisation that also can be distinguished between. These styles are also referred to as governmental or political rationalities, referring to a certain style of thinking that is connected to a style of governing. These govern-mentalities can have an important influence on how problems are thought about in policies (Bacchi 2009). Different styles of govern-mentalities can for example be “neo-liberal, neo-social democratic and communitarian strategies of government, and a strategy of criminalising the poor” (Walters 2001 as cited in Bacchi 2009, p. 6). It has, however, to be noted here that Bacchi’s approach as well as Walters categories are highly focused on the Western and mainly European context. As Bacchi developed her approach for European policy analysis and Walters only considers categories that are used in Western democracies both can only be applied to the Ethiopian case presented in this thesis with specific care. Political assumptions of the Ethiopian policies might lie outside the scope of these approaches and new angles and considerations might be needed to fully understand the underlying assumptions of the Ethiopian case.

Due to the complexity and challenges of various levels of analysis of the WPR approach, Bacchi suggests including additional methods when conducting a policy analysis such as discourse analysis to identify meaning systems (Bacchi 2009). For this thesis, intersectional analysis has been chosen as the main additional tool to investigate the policy as it allows for a more rounded and complex approach to identifying the policy’s approach to inequalities in particular. The specific use of intersectional analysis in this research paper in relation to intersectionality as a theoretical framework as outlined above will be discussed in the following section “Intersectional Analysis”. For an appropriate discourse analysis Bacchi suggests three aspects that are described below. Those three aspects will help revealing underlying assumptions in problem representations and uncover issues that remain unaddressed by the policy.

Bacchi points to **binaries** as another important first aspect of analysis of the underlying presuppositions of a problem representation. In the contrasting relations of binaries one side always is privileged over the other; therefore, “binaries simplify complex relationships. Hence, we need to watch where they appear in policies and how they function to shape the understanding of the issue” (Bacchi 2009, p. 7). Uncovering such dichotomy can help understand issues that are related to inequalities in particular as binaries relate to power relations and privilege versus advantages and are, therefore, highly relevant to this study aiming to understand inequalities.

Another underlying feature that needs to be addressed to answer Bacchi’s second question are the **key concepts** serving as the basis for the problem representations. Key concepts must, thus, be identified as the first step. As concepts also are socially constructed, they might vary greatly in meaning and it needs to be analysed how they are understood before the problem representation can be understood by the researcher. The meanings of key concept can often be highly related to the governmental styles and practices (Bacchi 2009). In the above terminology chapter some of the underlying concepts for this thesis are outlined and it is explained how they are understood by the researcher. In the analysis the key concepts of the policy will be identified, and it will be analysed what functions those understandings have for the problem representation and how a change in understanding of the concept might change the problem representation all together.

A third and crucial aspect, when it comes to this research project that is concerned with inequalities using an intersectional approach, is **categories**. Categories can also be seen as concepts that often are related to people as the central stakeholders in governing processes (Bacchi 2009). Especially in intersectional analysis, categories of difference are an important aspect of analysis of a policy as it is the intersections of these categories that are of interest to intersectional research. Similar to binaries and key concepts, categories are socially constructed and give a particular meaning to the problem formulation depending on the way they are understood. Categories have the power to frame people and exclude them from as well as include them in policy implementations. Bacchi argues here that the mere use of categories creates distinctions in people and, thus, is part of creating and shaping political problems as outlined in question one. Establishing categories in policies affects the way people think about others and themselves and techniques such as measurements in censuses and surveys help illustrate distinctions and placing people into categories (Bacchi 2009).

“Question 3: How has this representation of the ‘problem’ come about?” (Bacchi 2009, p. 10)

In this question Bacchi suggests investigating what specific developments and decisions have led to the creation of the specific problem representations used in the policy. She again draws on Foucault in acknowledging the importance of his genealogical theory that emphasises the importance of the

history of a policy and a problem representation as how something developed and what it developed from gives vast implications on how it can be understood. It is, therefore, suggested to trace the roots of a problem representation in policy analysis by going back and looking at specific key decisions that were made in the past and that shaped the problem representation. This also might allow for an inside into power relations that previously impacted the problem representation. Generally, this question asks what conditions are the given history that lead to the current shape of the policy (Bacchi 2009).

“Question 4: What is left unproblematic in this problem representation? Where are the silences? Can the ‘problem’ be thought about differently?” (Bacchi 2009, p. 12)

This question is concerned with the limits of the investigated problem representations and asks what aspects of relevance are not problematised in the policy at hand. The task of the researcher in relation to this question is to bring issues to light that are silenced or ignored in the problem representation. Bacchi’s suggested discourse analysis as described under question number two, can be a helpful tool to identifying tensions and contradictions as well as limitations and inadequacies of the problem representation. The genealogy of the problem representation and cross-cultural comparisons can be other helpful tools to identify unaddressed issues (Bacchi 2009). Generally, these questions help us to identify inequalities in this study as it illustrates conditions that allow for the dominance of issues and groups of people over others and, thus, addresses the concern of privileges and advantages.

“Question 5: What effects are produced by this representation of the problem?” (Bacchi 2009, p. 15)

As mentioned in the introduction to the WPR approach, Bacchi’s policy analysis has the potential to identify injustices and inequalities in policies; therefore, when analysing a policy with the WPR approach, it is important to investigate how the policies function to harm or benefit members of society. This implies that the effects of the identified problem representation need to be looked at closely. Bacchi names three effects in particular that need to be looked at to answer her fifth question.

Firstly, she points to discursive effect that is regulated by policy implications on what can be thought and said. The way discourse is framed by a policy can, therefore, have effects on how people live and what they consider making it different for them to think differently because their imaginations are limited by the problem representation.

Secondly, subjectification effects are distinguished as the fact that people become subjects of a certain type due to the policies shaping social relationships and the place of people within them for example through categorising as part of social discourse. Certain positions are assigned through discourse which leads to people assuming the viewpoint of their assigned place in the social construct. A particular issue to be aware of in regards to this positioning is the tendency of categorising people into opposing groups also labelled as dividing practices by Foucault. He notes:

“The subject is either divided inside himself (sic) or divided from others. This process objectivizes him [...]” (Foucault 1982, p. 208 as cited in Bacchi 2009).

This subjectification allows for targeting of minorities and using power relations to assign responsibilities for the problem addressed to certain groups of people. In many policies members of a certain group are themselves depicted as the problem rather than the disabling structures they cope with. This ultimately makes the government seem generous when attempting to solve the problem and create solutions for the groups that were labelled as the problems themselves. Governments can, thus, reinforce power relations of superiority and inferiority through their political discourse (Bacchi 2009). In the analysis this must be considered an important factor due to its relevance to this study’s research questions.

Thirdly, lived effects of the problem representations are crucial as they illustrate the implication effects of the problem representation on the everyday life of the citizens. Bacchi suggests that how problems are represented in a policy has direct effects on the lives of people and the conditions they live under. This can include questions of access to goods and services as well as standard of living by materially affecting people (Bacchi 2009).

In summary, the effects of problem representations are highly relevant when analysing policy implications and implementations. Especially in the long-run, effects can be used to understand the impacts of policy interventions and how they positively or negatively affect social transformation processes (Bacchi 2009).

“Question 6: How/where is this representation of the ‘problem’ produced, disseminated and defended? How could it be questioned, disrupted and replaced?” (Bacchi 2009, p. 19)

The last question of Bacchi’s WPR approach is interested in the process of how the problem representation is distributed and shared with its stakeholders. It is important to understand if and how the people targeted by the policy have access to it and the discourse surrounding it. The role of the media is crucial in analysing this aspect as it is telling in the policy-makers intentions with the policy. It must also be considered that there might be resistance to the problem representation and it has to be asked how one problem representation became dominant in the context of the policy (Bacchi 2009).

4.3.3. Intersectional Analysis

Using an intersectional approach to analysis is highly related to the theory of intersectionality introduced in the above theory chapter. In regards to policy analysis it constitutes “a critical way of thinking about political contexts” from multiple angles and with multiple forces (Ackerly & True 2013, p.146). It, thus, is a useful tool in approaching inequalities and injustices as it helps to understand how inequalities are interrelated and gives the researcher the opportunity for investigating inequalities

from various angles. Intersectional analysis depicts the complexity of power relations and structural forces that shape people's experiences. The interrelation component of intersectionality emphasises the importance of looking at how different categories of social inequalities relate to, influence and depend on each other. Conclusions from the analysis of these intersections will not become visible when only single categories of differences are analysed. By identifying the complexity of forces that shape inequalities, the researcher can give a more balanced overview of the inequalities affecting people in a specific context (Ackerly & True 2013).

Due to the intersectional nature of this research project, other types of analysis will be drawn upon. This includes gender analysis, which is concerned with understanding differences between men and women's experiences and in this study can help to understand the different implications of the national policy of Ethiopia on men and women and the consequently different experiences arising from it. Gender analysis can foster the understanding of the construction of social and political categories related to issues of men and women and distinctions between the sexes. Being aware of those differences and analysing them in a policy, allows the researcher to get another angle on understanding inequalities counteracted and reproduced through national policies (Ackerly & True 2013).

4.4. Empirical Data

After going through the research design of this thesis, the empirical data used as the basis for analysis are introduced in this chapter. For the purpose of giving an account of the empirical data, the *kind of data* used, the *qualitative and quantitative* and *inductive or deductive* nature of the data used, the way in which *data is gathered* as *primary or secondary* data and the way in which *data is analysed* are outlined in this section.

4.4.1. Data

The primary matter of analysis in this research project is the Ethiopian national Education and Training policy. The policy has been expanded upon five times up until now through Education Sector Development Programmes. The latest one was published in 2015 and is program number five. This document called Education Sector Development Programme V. will form the major document of analysis of this thesis. It does though heavily build on the original policy document from 1994 and can not be understood without it. The original policy document will, therefore, be part of the analysis. For the analysis of this policy document it will mainly be drawn upon Concluding Observations of UN agencies the Convention of the Rights of the Child that were introduced in the above background chapter. In addition, reports and statistical reports including censuses by the Ethiopian government are included as data. As mentioned in the ethical considerations above the bias of the Ethiopian government in the produced reports and statics needs to be carefully considered.

The original Education and Training policy of 1994 can be found in the appendix for further reference. Other policy documents are available online or can be provided on request.

4.4.2. Qualitative and Quantitative Data

For the purpose of this study both qualitative and quantitative data is used in the analysis to give a profound answer to the research questions underlying this research project. Quantitative data is used as supporting material in evaluating the process made through the implementation of the Ethiopian national Education and Training policy. In form of statistical data retrieved through extensive surveys and censuses conducted by the Ethiopian government, as well as statistical data collected by the UN and NGOs. Quantitative data can help to illustrate the developments of inequalities within the Ethiopian educational system and additionally show how and why research in the area is needed in the first place. With the underlying statistical observations depicted through quantitative data, qualitative data will be used in forms of reports and conclusions by the above-mentioned institutions, who report on the situation by using monitoring processes. The main qualitative data analysed comes from written reports and monitoring systems. Qualitative data is often useful in social and political science research as it allows for being interpreted by the researcher by applying a specific theory to it, while quantitative data is already interpreted by the form it is presented in and cannot be interpreted to the same degree by an individual researcher. Using both qualitative and quantitative data also has the advantage of allowing the researcher to look at the problem from various angle and thus widen his or her perception of the research interest (Køppe and Collins 2016).

In this research project, mainly secondary data will be used, even though more original data would contribute to a more complex and complete answer to the research questions. However, due to the limited time period available for this research project and the extensive research needed on the ground in Ethiopia to retrieve more profound primary data on the implementation of the Education and Training policy. While it might take time for the researcher to find and sort the relevant data for his or her project due to the large amount of knowledge available, especially through the vast knowledge available through the internet, one advantage of secondary data is that it has already been organised and transcribed thereby saving the researcher efforts in gathering the data him or herself (Køppe and Collin 2016).

In this research project an inductive approached will be used. This means that the analysis of the research question will be guided by theories introduced in the theory chapter of this study. Rather than a deductive approach, where a theory is developed from research, the inductive approach allows to apply different theories to a given problem to give a wider outlook from different angles (Køppe and Collin 2016).

4.4.3. Gathering of Empirical Data

When it comes to gathering empirical data for the analysis of the Ethiopian national Education and Training policy, most of the data is retrieved from official government documents and reports and evaluations of implementations by UN agencies and NGOs. It is, therefore, crucial to be aware of the bias of government publications by the Ethiopian government. Any publication of an actor about themselves must be viewed critically as it is impossible to be impartial and strict objectivity cannot be guaranteed. Moreover, despite its official recognition as a federal democracy, the Federal Republic of Ethiopia has been criticized for its one-party system and oppression of the opposition. As described in the background section above, Ethiopia is even viewed as an authoritarian regime by many actors. Additionally, its developmental level lacks far behind that of western states which's policies often are analysed. Due to the lack of development and the lack of democratic systems in Ethiopia, there is also less bureaucracy observable than in other national governmental structures. This might be one of the reasons for less accurate and specific policy documents. The lack of an established opposition and the systematic silencing and even imprisonment of opposition politicians, moreover, raises concerns about the objectivity of government published reports and hence they will be evaluated critically as sources of knowledge in this research project. Ideally a source should be as objective as possible and credible. When using newspaper articles, as it was necessary in few places of this thesis, as a result of recent political developments that academia did not have time to react to yet, internationally renown sources such as the BBC have been used. Due to the lack of impartiality from Ethiopian national government reports, reports and evaluations by the UN are of crucial importance to this study. As international monitoring bodies the UN carries legitimacy and reports published by it are widely accepted as scientific research material in the academic world. To find credible data for this research project it is important to bear the above-mentioned limitations in mind and try to balance bias Ethiopian national sources.

4.4.4. Data Analysis

When it comes to the analysis of qualitative data in this research project Miles and Huberman (1994) claim that it is important to apply the chosen method consistently throughout the analysis of the collected data. On top of the method being able to deliver scientific results, Roulston adds that in the analysis of qualitative data there is no correct or wrong way to analyse but the important consideration is to find an appropriate method that fits the purpose of the study (2013). As outlined above in this study, the WPR approach by Bacchi has been chosen as a method of policy analysis added up by intersectional analysis as the aspect of intersectionality is particularly important to the research question connected to the Ethiopian national Education and Training policy.

In order to go through the large amount of data in the documents collected as data for the analysis of the chosen Ethiopian policy, the system of *coding* seems to be most appropriate for data analysis.

Miles and Huberman describe coding as one option for qualitative data analysis and define it as “the identification and categorisation of elements and the exploration of their connections” (1994, p. 7). Using coding for data analysis in this project allows to identify themes and see how they have developed throughout time. This will make it easier to relate the different documents to each other and the Education and Training policy.

Due to the fact that in this thesis only secondary data is used, it does not need to be reduced after the appropriate material for analysis has been chosen. Thus, the coding process is the primary way of dealing with the gathered data by sorting and grouping it into categories that allow for conclusions to be drawn from it later on. This is done by assigning labels to thematic units that are identified by the researcher and help understand the data (Miles & Huberman 1994). The data for the purpose of this thesis will be coded manually due to the relatively small amount of data and financial constraints.

Miles and Huberman (1994) suggest creating a provisional list of codes and sub-codes constructed from the conceptual framework and the expectations of the researcher in relation to his or her data. They call these primary codes priori codes. For an easier coding process and more structured overview acronyms should be used in the coding process for the categories. Codes and sub-codes, moreover, will be assigned operational definitions to create an understanding of what is looked for in the coding process (Miles & Huberman 1994). With the codes and sub-codes outlined below that were updated as new codes and sub-codes emerged during the coding process and that are related to the six questions suggested in Bacchi’s WPR approach and the theoretical framework of CCME, a framework for the analysis is created.

4.5. Limitations to the Project

As touched upon above, this thesis is limited in relation to several aspects. Firstly, the time constraint of the thesis and the geographical location of the researcher based in Denmark, have made it difficult to do extensive collection of primary data on the matter. The politically instable situation in Ethiopia contribute to the problem as the state of emergency that was proclaimed during my stay in Addis Ababa led to unanswered questions and a restrictive environment in addressing issues of politics and ethnicity.

Secondly, the undemocratic and unbureaucratic nature of the Ethiopian political systems limits the availability and accessibility of certain information. While some documents such as the first ESDP are not available online, other data might not be as reliable as there has been reports on biased census data in Ethiopia before.

5. CHAPTER 4 - Analysis

5.1. Setting the Scene – the Case of Ethiopian Education

Ethiopia is a large country with an estimate of 90 ethnic groups and hundreds of subgroups. Most Ethiopian ethnic groups can easily be categorised by Smith's characteristics as they have distinct languages, names, cultures, traditions, histories and clear territorial association (1986 as in Fowkes 2002). This at least is true for the biggest ethnic groups such as the Oromos and Amharas as the boundaries of their territories are drawn by ethnic federalism. In addition, the sense of solidarity of these groups is especially noticeable in the latest protests and claims for collective rights, opportunities and even secession of some ethnic groups (Allo 2016; UNPO 2016). The discourse of ethnicity is, however, also clearly shaped in Ethiopia by ongoing ethnic conflicts, ethnic liberation movements and a general awareness of the topic of ethnicity which for example can be seen in the fact that Ethiopian national identity cards include the ethnicity of the card holder; the card holder must, thus, decide on a specific ethnic heritage and memberships as there is no options for mixed ethnicity. The visibility of the ethnicity on an identity card can also make the denial of opportunities and rights easier when it for example comes to job applications (The Economist 2017).

In recent protests and repressions of those, it also is reflected that many ethnic groups are treated as minority groups facing disadvantages in Ethiopia. As argued by Healey, it can be noted in Ethiopia that despite, for example, the Oromo's majority in numbers, according to the 2011 Demographic and Health Study, making up 34.2% of the population while the ruling party and mainstream dominant ethnic groups, the Tigrayans, made up 6.65% of the population (2009; Central Statistical Agency 2011). Yet the Oromos face exclusion and oppression and are, thus, ethnic minorities in the country.

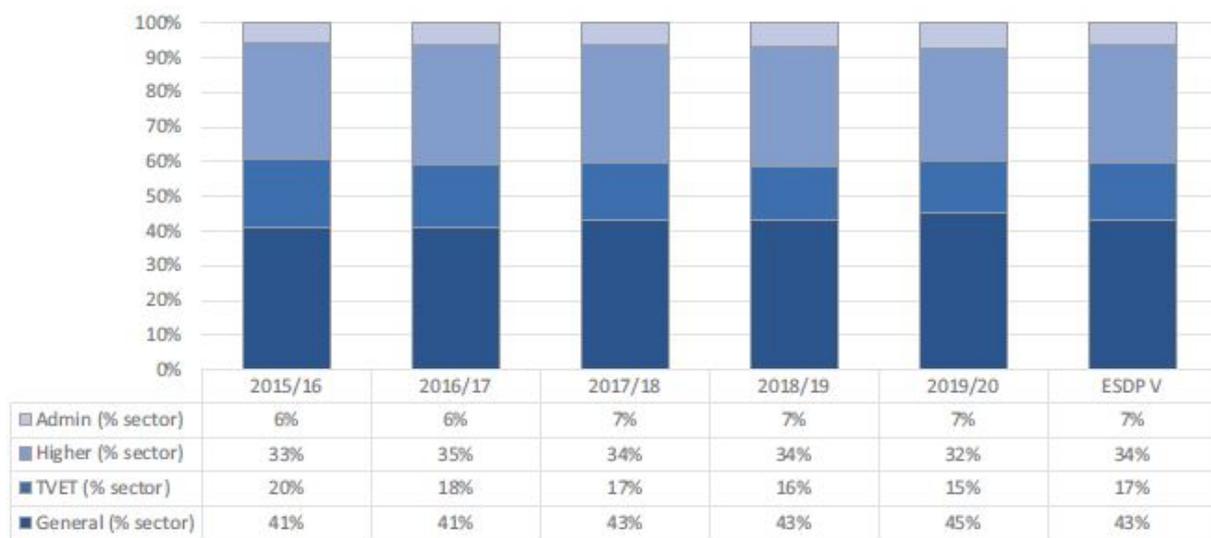
5.2. What is the Problem Represented to Be?

When looking at the Education Policy Framework within the Education Sector Development Programme V from 2015, the most immediate problems that the policy seems to address are the ones of relevance of education, quality of education, accessibility of education and equity within education. All four of these problems are presented as a problem to the development of Ethiopia as education is defined as "[enabling] individuals and society to make all-rounded participation in the development process by acquiring knowledge, ability, skills and attitudes" (Federal Ministry of Education 2015, p. 33). In this thesis the Education Policy Framework as an expansion of the Education and Training Policy is analysed, as it summarises the strategies, goals and priorities of ESDP V and serves as the major policy document that currently is relevant in Ethiopia. Other parts of the ESDP are drawn upon for additional information feeding the analysis. In accordance with the proposed policy analysis approach by Bacchi, a number of problem representations will be identified and looked at in particular in the next section (2009).

5.2.1. Budget Allocation

As suggested in the first question of the WPR approach, the budget allocation of the ESDP V is looked at to identify possible problem representations that are prioritised (Bacchi 2009). It becomes visible in the allocation of budget that the Ethiopian government is planning to make most investments in the area of general education followed by higher education. In the following table it can be seen how many percentage of its budget for the entire ESDP V per year Ethiopia is planning to spend on the different sectors of education. The estimated budget is 453,822 million birr for the entire implementation cycle of five years (Federal Ministry of Education 2015).

Table 1: Budget Allocation of ESDP V by Sector (Federal Ministry of Education 2015, p. 132)



It can be seen that the highest share is attributed to General education annually with percentages of up to 45% of the budget allocated to this sector. Within the area of general education, primary education has by far the highest budget allocation with 64% in 2015/16 decreasing to 50% in 2019/20 as the budget for secondary education builds up. The fact that the represented problem is the lack of primary school attainment. Primary school attainment is one of the prime indicators of development and quality education constitute one of the most popular Sustainable Development Goals (MDGs) that Ethiopia is highly motivated to meet. Especially, primary school enrolment is an important indicator and starter for quality education which explains the high allocation of budget to the area. The lack of enrolment of children in primary education is, thus, constituted as one of the primary problem representations of the ESDP V policy.

In the allocation of budget for the ESDP V, sectors and sub-sectors are the only categories that distinctions are made in between. The priority areas that are presented in the next sections and that can include addressing gender and ethnicity issues, are not listed in more specific budget allocation. This might indicate there is less of a focus on these in comparison to the importance of prioritising

sectors. In their Concluding Observations on the 4th and 5th Periodic Report of Ethiopia on the Convention on the Rights of the Child, the United Nations points out the “lack of information and data relating to budget specifically allocated to children belonging to the most vulnerable groups of society, including children of ethnic minorities and indigenous populations, children with disabilities, children in street situations, children affected by and/or infected with HIV/AIDS and children living in poverty in rural and remote areas” (UN 2015, p. 3). The UN further recommends here that data categories by social categories such as sex, disability and ethnic origin should be applied in the next data collection process to be able to assess situations of the most vulnerable groups better (UN 2015).

In the following section the pronounced priorities of the ESDP V will be introduced and examined further.

5.2.2. The Priorities of ESDP V

While it is pointed out in the ESDP V policy that it is based primarily on the original Education and Training policy and that the original policy remains relevant, individual strategies and priorities are presented in the ESDPs. As an entry point the components of relevance, quality, accessibility and equity within education are presented in the policy. On the basis of these, in ESDP V, five priorities are outlined and six priority programmes are established as strategies. The priorities are linked to thematic issues as well as the sectors outlined in the chapter on the Ethiopian education system. The five priorities identified are outlined on pp. 33 - 34:

1. Provide equal opportunities and participation for all, with special attention to disadvantaged groups
2. Deliver quality education that meets the diverse learning needs of all children, youth and adults
3. Develop competent citizens who contribute to social, economic, political and cultural development through creation and transfer of knowledge and technology
4. Promote effective leadership, management and governance at all levels in order to achieve educational goals by mobilising and using resources efficiently
5. Assist children, youth and adults to share common values and experiences and to embrace diversity

In this thesis, it will be investigated how the most relevant of those priorities to the research questions are integrated into the priority programmes. One problem in the analysis of the ESDP V policy and its weakness at the same time is the lack of definitions and understandings for most of the concepts it addresses which often makes it difficult to understand the implications of the various topics. Concepts such as “disadvantaged groups” need clearer definitions. In using the term “disadvantaged groups” the Federal Ministry of Education acknowledges that there are inequalities in their current system and

that some groups are privileged over others. It does, though, fail to be explicit in addressing which groups are disadvantaged and why they face inequalities. This, then, makes it difficult for strategies to be developed that target the right people with the right content to improve the equity of the Ethiopian education system as it is one of the underlying strategies of the policy.

On the basis of the priorities, the ESDP V outlines six priority programmes some of which will be looked at closer in this analysis on the basis of their relevance to the research questions. The six priority programmes listed on page 34 are:

1. Capacity development for improved management
2. General education: quality
3. General education: access, equity and internal efficiency
4. Adult and non-formal education
5. Technical and Vocational Education and Training
6. Higher Education

Most of the sectors of Ethiopia education are addressed here and it will be analysed in what places the five priorities and in particular priority one, two, three and five are used to promote equity and access and, thus, fight inequalities within the education system. A number of problem representations can be identified when looking at these priorities and priority programs and in the following the most relevant ones to the question of inequality in the Ethiopian education sector will be addressed.

5.3. Diversity in Education

One of the primary concerns of the Education and Training policy, as of most policies under the new EPRDF coalition with a federalist political system, emphasized on the aspect of accommodating diversity. As pointed out in *Critical Cosmopolitan Multicultural Education*, accommodating diversity is one of the underlying principles for successful multicultural education that serves as a basis for a functioning multicultural society (Roxas et al. 2015). CCME argues that for successful multicultural education, diversity needs to be celebrated rather than promoting assimilation. In Ethiopia, assimilation had been the strategy of the former Derg government which is why the EPRDF communicated the message of diversity and multiculturalism widely. When looking at the priorities of the ESDP V policy, it seems like one problem representation could be the acknowledgement of inequalities for disadvantaged groups in priority one, the lack of accommodating diversity in learning in relation to priority two and the proclamation that children, youth and adults are not supported enough in sharing values, experiences and embracing diversity. These could all be related to the notion that one problem in the education system that is addressed with this policy is the lack of acknowledgement and accommodation of diversity. Despite the fact that neither the term “diversity” nor “disadvantaged groups” is defined here, it could be imagined that this is part of an intersectional

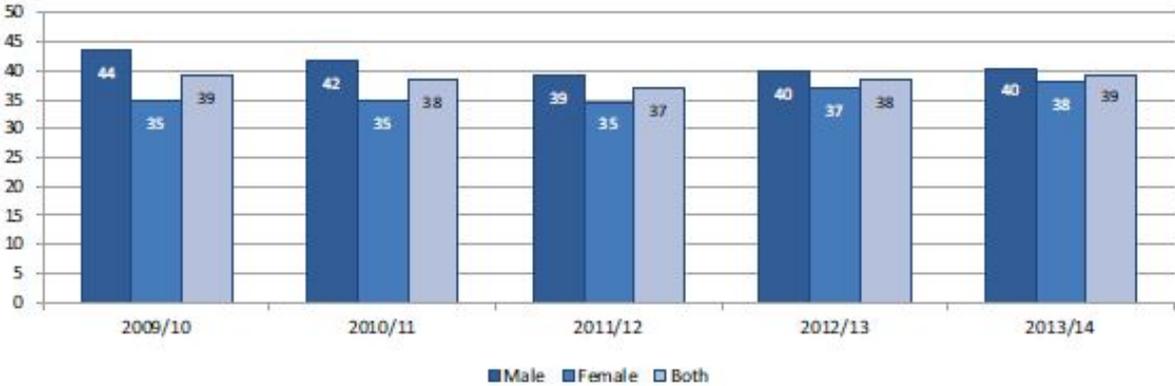
viewpoint that acknowledges the variety of experiences that could lead to inequalities. Connotations here would be categories of difference such as class, gender and ethnicity. Especially the term “ethnicity” is often closely related to the concept of diversity as outlined in the Terminology section of this thesis; however, none of the imaginable categories of difference are specifically mentioned or defined which makes it difficult for them to be adequately addressed and targeted in the policy.

Despite the interrelatedness of categories of difference, categories also must be defined and discussed in themselves to be able to relate them to other categories and understand the power relations that influence their impact on lived experiences (Collins 2015). In the following the question of how gender is addressed in and shaped by the policy will, therefore, be looked at before moving on to understand how ethnicity is addressed. The UN points out that discrimination of girls and children belonging to ethnic minorities is still prominent and needs to be addressed urgently (UN 2015).

5.4. Gender Equality

Gender equality is a concern that seems to be central to the ESDP V in line with engagement in gender issues in many sectors in Ethiopia with the goal of reaching the SDG on gender in 2030. In the ESDP V policy gender is used in almost all educational statistics published by the Ethiopian government. Girls and boys are contrasted on every level of education and it is noticeable that girls generally still fall short in many categories including educational attainment.

Table 2: GER in Secondary Education (Grade 9 – 10) (Federal Ministry of Education, p. 16)



While secondary education did not develop vastly in the last years, it can be seen in the table that the proportion of male and female students became slight more equal, despite the persistent gap. The biggest gender inequality when looking at GER persists in higher education. At undergraduate level female students make up 32% of the classes (Federal Ministry of Education 2015). When looking at these statistics in combination with the input of the policy on gender, the problem representation

seems to be that female students lack behind in education and need support to come up to the level of their male peers.

Underlying this problem representation seems to be the notion that female students on average perform lower than men and need more support in the education system. It is also mentioned that many reasons related to family can lead to girls not being enrolled in primary school or dropping out early. Child marriage and traditional female roles and practices as well as violence against women are still common in Ethiopia (Feder Ministry of Education 2015). The low rate of female teachers compared to male especially on higher education level is also concerning especially as CCME points out the important role of teachers and facilitators in helping students shape their view on themselves and the world around them, thus, emancipating them from stereotypes and discrimination (Roxas et al. 2015).

When looking at the achievement of women within the education system, one category of intersection that is looked upon is region. Here women are set in relation to their urban/rural status in which rural carries connotations of less developed and often accordingly smart (Federal Ministry of Education 2015).

On page 35, gender is recognized as a category of difference alongside low income, creed, race, location and disability. Gender is here mentioned in the context of “General education: access and equity” and it is constituted that people belonging to any of the above categories including gender, are prone to unequal treatment and discrimination. This particular treatment is seen as a reason for drop-outs or non-attainment. On page 36 it is again, reinforced that “gender” as a concept is depicted as a problem that needs to be addressed by the policy and fixed: “Gender issues remain problematic at all levels of the education system” (Federal Ministry of Education, p. 36). Despite the fact that gender, here, is mainstreamed through all areas of education as it was suggested in the ESDP IV and as CCME points out as crucial in its Equity and Equality tenet, this depiction of gender as a problem suggests that it is not treated with the required “respect” as another of CCME’s tenets (Roxas et al. 2009). The Respect tenet claims that issues of inequality such as gender need to be fully integrated in the reality of education and differences should be celebrated not tried to be fixed. Looking at gender as a problem here, does not suggest it is respected and that differences between boys and girls in school are celebrated. Rather it suggests that inequality between female and male students need to be diminished by solving the problem of difference between genders. Especially the aspect of equal access to education and equal opportunities for members of both genders are considered determining when dealing with the problem of gender inequality which mainly is determined by a gender gap in the statistical data of GER. In this paragraph on gender issues on page 36 it is on the one hand acknowledges that girls in education face barriers that need to be demolished to allow for equal access and opportunities. This suggests that the problem are in fact not the girls themselves but the concept

of gender and the external factors that create inequalities. On the other hand “students with special learning needs” are mentioned in this paragraph in close relation to girls (Federal Ministry of Education 2014, p. 36). This implies that not only are there barriers for female students in the education system which are not outlined more specifically but girls also are in need of assistance and have special needs compared to boys. This can be financial assistance but also academic assistance which seems to play on the inferiority of female students and, thus, reinforces the idea of the reason for female students not succeeding equally to male students being based in their cognitive abilities. This is supported by claims such as “to improve students’ success in general [...] gender-sensitive teach for females at that level will be initiated” (Federal Ministry of Education 2015). Creating different teaching content specifically for girls and making it gender-sensitive, suggests that female students cannot follow ordinary classes but need specific teaching. This could lead to discrepancies’ between students. As expressed by the CCME model, inclusion is based on living diversity together and respecting each others differences. This must also include different genders. While the tenet of equality and equity claims that fair treatment does not need to mean complete equality, treating female students completely different in terms of teaching material will cause discrepancies and discrimination (Roxas et al. 2015).

The way the term “gender” is used on page 103 poses another problem. The term “gender” in the above quote clearly is related to female students. Rather than reflecting what gender otherwise reflects, a socially constructed distinction between people from different sexes, it here seems to refer to female students only. “Gender-sensitive teaching” seems to imply teaching that is sensitive to the needs of female students rather than meaning being sensitive to differences between genders which would be relevant for all students alike.

Gender has also been identified as one of the cross-cutting issues that will be applied to all priority programmes and mainstreamed throughout the entire education policy. Acknowledging the relevance of gender in all areas of education is, according to CCME, an important step towards inclusive equality and equity policies (Roxas et al. 2015). There is, however, a large risk in mainstreaming gender as a problem and, thus, shaping the discourse of the policy in a way to evokes negative connotations around gender in all areas of the educational system. Special focus on gender has also been created through the creation of a directorate specifically concerned with the implementation of gender strategies on all levels and in all sectors of education. This directorate can play a role in supporting the implementation of gender strategies and, thereby, gives additional focus to it.

The issue of gender equality is also focused on in the general development efforts of Ethiopia, which is why a separate “National Policy on Ethiopian Women” was published in 1993 (The Transitional

Government of Ethiopia 2013). This shows the commitment of the Ethiopian government to the issue of gender equality and the superior status it has over other issues.

The former ESDP IV had started in proposing an implementing strategies to achieve greater gender equality. Gender mainstreaming was one of the strategies that aimed at integration gender in all areas of education. A gender strategy was developed on a former girl's strategy with one of the major aims being the increased enrolment of female students in the education and training sector. Already the first Education and Training policy mentioned that "attention to concrete local conditions and gender issues" must be payed in the curriculum (Federal Democratic Republic Government of Ethiopia 1994, p. 4). Looking at this minor mention of gender in the curriculum it can be observed that the gender issue gained centrality throughout the later policy reform is the ESDPs.

Another issue that is addressed in several points of the policy is a strategy against gender-based violence. In relation to a safe school environment it is stated that a Code of Conduct will be enforced in schools which aims "to reduce gender-based violence and harassment" (Federal Ministry of Education 2015, p. 67). Such as plan has been put in place in previous policies and it has to be noted that gender-based violence continues to play a big role. Analysing the above quote shows that the policy aims at "reducing" rather than "eliminating" gender-based violence in schools which shows how big of a problem it is but also that it has an element of normality to it. While any form or violence and especially gender-based violence is prohibited by international standards, this type of violence prevails to have a notion of normality in Ethiopian discourse. Thus, when addressing the problem of gender-based violence in schools, the aim is not its elimination, but its reduction as is the reduction of the gender gap or of drop-outs. Gender equality, here, seems to be related to a target number that is meant to hit rather than a state of fair treatment between male and female students.

One presumption that prevails in the policy as a basis for the problem representation of gender is the girls' relation to the family. It is clearly pointed out in several places that family is of high relevance to the girls' life. Issues of child marriage and pregnancy are often mentioned in relation to girls and reasons for inequalities, while neither seems to be an issue for boys in education. On page 89 it is, for example, also pointed out that improved rates of literacy amongst women as well as more gender equality relate closely to the enhanced status of women in the family. Focus on decreasing early marriage and motherhood is here clearly a topic of conversation that is primarily concerned with female students.

5.5. Ethnic Diversity

In the current ESDP V policy ethnic diversity does play a very small role. This indicates that there is no problem directly represented that relates to ethnic inequalities, despite the fact that policy's focus on diversity and equity might suggest otherwise.

In the chapter of “General education access, equity, internal efficiency” which specifically addresses inequalities in the education system, several categories of difference are outlined that in the current education system lead to inequalities in the provision of education. Those include categories such as gender, abilities and geographical location; ethnicity is not one of them. Leaving the issue of ethnicity out of the primary discourse on inequalities in the policy shows the clear lack of commitment of the Federal Ministry of Education to the issue surrounding ethnical inequalities (2015).

Ethnicity as a concept is only mentioned once on page 84 when the needs of the so called “emerging regions” are addressed. It can, here and in other places of the policy, be seen that the policy rather focuses on distinctions between regions than between ethnic groups. This is despite the fact, that within their censuses and population surveys, the Ethiopian government establishes ethnic categories and regularly publishes data on them (Central Statistical Agency 2011). When “ethnicity” is mentioned in the ESDP V policy under “Component 4: special support programme for the four emerging regions” it is linked to “within-region inequalities [...] closely linked to social and economic inequalities, rural-urban differences, ethnicity, livelihoods and language” (Federal Ministry of Education 2015, p. 84). Mentioning “ethnicity” in this context implies that rather than seeing it as part of the national discourse and as an influencing factor for inequalities students in the Ethiopian education system face, it is seen as a regional issue between tribes that needs no further attention by the government. Here the binary of regional/ national is heavily played on, taking responsibility from the national government, despite their factual role as a government of a federal state. It is, thus, downplayed to a minor issue and it is added that more important issues need to be faced in emerging regions: “Potential students in these regions face greater challenges due to absence of water, frequent drought and natural disaster, amongst others” (Federal Ministry of Education, p. 84).

Throughout the policy there is no definition of how the term “ethnicity” or “ethnic groups” is understood but there is another implication of the Federal Ministry of Education downgrading issues of ethnicity on page 79. Under the section of “General education access, equity, internal efficiency” the term “ethnic minority” is mentioned within the aspect of “Expand access to Child-to-Child and Accelerated Child Preparedness Programmes”. It states as a strategy “Motivating teachers/facilitators to teach in remote and ethnic minority areas through providing incentives” (Federal Ministry of Education 2015, p. 79). This statement has several implications on the Ministry’s understanding of “minority” and how minorities are treated within the system. Firstly, ethnic groups as in the first mention depicted as a minor concern that is associated with rural remote areas. Despite the fact that Ethiopia calls itself an ethnic federal state and the systems of dominant and minority ethnic groups are prevalent in the country, the Federal Ministry of Education here does not recognise large ethnic groups including the primary nine regional states as minorities but seems to refer to ethnic minorities as

smaller tribal groups that live in remote areas and are local concerns. By using the binary of remote/accessible, the location of the people is constituted as a problem that the government needs to address and attempts to solve. It also adds an element of explanation for the difficulties of access to education by minority groups as geographically remote locations shift the responsibility away from the government. Secondly, working with these ethnic minorities is here clearly depicted with a negative connotation. By having to “motivate” teacher/facilitators to teach ethnic minorities and even claiming this would only be possible by providing incentives, the Ministry suggests teaching ethnic minorities is a burden that people need to be convinced to deal with. This creates a negative discourse surrounding the term “ethnic minorities”. Thirdly, the Federal Ministry of Education in this statement, does not consider the option of members from remote areas or ethnic minority groups to be recruited as teachers. This seems like an exclusive imperial viewpoint and suggests that teacher/facilitators need to be sent to teach the underprivileged.

Connected to the concept of ethnicity the term “race” is used once in the policy on page 35. Under the concern of “General education: access and equity” it states that “there will be fair treatment for each child and no child will be discriminated against because of low income, gender, creed, race, location or disability” (Federal Ministry of Education 2015, p. 35). This mention suggests that there in fact is discrimination on the basis of race in the Ethiopian school system. Using the term “race” here rather than “ethnicity” as in the other places might indicate a different understanding of the Ministry of ethnic and racial categories. As no definitions are given, it could also be assumed that “race” in this context is used, as discrimination against race or racism is a common concept. As a key concept racism is heavily value laden.

In relation to the original Education and Training policy, the mention of ethnicity, even if only in two places, can almost be seen as an improvement. Despite being published in 1994, at the wake of Ethiopian ethnic federalism and the focus on changing the national discourse to one that is embracing diversity, the original policy does not make mention of the term “ethnicity” at any point and does not touch upon the issue in particular. This could be related to the lack of pluralist thought at the time as the balance between uniting the country after civil war, liberation conflicts and the secession of Eritrea and the aim to accommodate diversity to avoid further liberation movements and ethnic uprisings against the ruling elite. The UN has, though, in relation to the concern of diversity, pointed out that ethnic, social and cultural freedom of expression needs to be guaranteed in Ethiopia in the future and that rights of minority groups and especially children in the education system need to be accommodated (UN 2015).

All these three aspects together in combination with the analysing of the term “ethnicity” in the previous section reinforce the idea that the Federal Ministry of Education is on the one hand not

addressing the issue of ethnicity adequately and, thus, ignoring issues of inequality related to ethnicity. On the grounds of Roxas et al. this poses a problem for the successful integration of multicultural education as ethnic diversity must be an issue in the educational system in a diverse country such as Ethiopia (2009). Especially, in regions that accommodate a large number of ethnicities but also in the two metropolises of Addis Ababa and Dire Dawa that are ethnically the most diverse spots in the country, issues of ethnicity must be addressed to ensure the equal treatment of all members of society. In the light of recent ethnic protests and reports on ethnic discrimination this does currently not seem to be the case and must, therefore, be addressed in a successful education policy of Ethiopia. On the other hand, the Federal Ministry of Education is not only ignoring the issue of ethnicity but on top of that reinforcing a negative narrative surrounding ethnic minority groups and, thereby, fostering stereotypes and discrimination. The discursive effects of how “ethnicity” is used in the ESDP V policy can have discursive impacts continuing the narrative of internal imperialism. In addition to shaping the discourse negatively, silencing must also be considered a discursive effect as ethnicity is mentioned in so few places that it essentially is silenced from the wider discourse of the policy. Using strong binaries and presenting ethnic groups as inferior, can, moreover, create subjectification effects of the policy that contribute to ethnic conflicts through “dividing practices”. In this case, superior ethnic groups from the federalist context in accessible regions are contrasted with inferior ethnic groups in remote areas. Ethnic minorities can only be seen in connection to geographic location in this policy and this intersection does seem to bring along disadvantages for members of both people from remote areas and from areas of ethnic minorities. As Healey outlines, this is typical for dominant-minority relations (2009) but contradicts the proclaimed priority of “equity” and the notion of diversity that is stressed in the ESDP V. This problem representation or rather non-representation has the potential to negatively affect people from ethnic minorities rather than lead to more equality and quality of education. It might lead to increased access but disadvantages for people of various ethnicities and the ethnic discourse in general could still be vast.

Language

In the Education and Training policy from 1994 it has been decided that only primary education is taught in the regional mother tongues, while from secondary education on, education will be provided in English only. Additionally, Amharic is going to be used as the national language of communication and will be taught to all children at all levels. In the ESDP V there is a focus on English and improving the quality of English teaching. Despite, English being taught from the first grade, many students now graduate from school without being able to speak or understand English. This also has problematic implications for their continuous education as all of it is taught in English (Federal Ministry of Education 2015).

5.6. Disadvantaged Groups

Due to the fact that the term “disadvantaged groups” is not further explained in the ESDP V policy, it will be analysed as a concept as a whole. The problem represented to be is the lack of access to school and opportunities to education and work. It could be imagined that in addition to gender and ethnic groups, disadvantaged groups can refer to economic status and class. By categorising children into a group of disadvantaged their status in the education system is already pre-determined. While categories such as gender or ethnicity could have positive connotations depending on which gender or which ethnicity someone belongs to, the category of the disadvantaged can only be understood as a harming group to be a member of. Throughout the policy the Federal Ministry of Education emphasises that people from disadvantaged groups will be particularly cared of and payed attention to. This reinforces the narrative of superiority and inferiority as the policy is consistently depicting themselves as generous in helping the disadvantaged people. On page 81 it is added that some children might be disadvantaged and also excluded from education due to their belonging to some group of disadvantage. Here, it becomes noteworthy to day that the disadvantaged throughout the entire policy are depicted as passive subjects with the Federal Ministry of Education taking actions to solve the problem of disadvantaged children in order to achieve full attainment of eligible school children. When looking at the suggestions of CCME the passivity of the disadvantaged is highly problematic (Roxas et al. 2015). Firstly, due to the tenet of emancipation that puts and emphasis on all students reflecting on their own identities and views on diversity. Secondly, in relation to community participation, by making parts of the stakeholders of the policy passive participants, the possibility of getting involved in the determination of their issues and needs is taken from the disadvantaged group.

On page 36, one disadvantage that is addressed is that of rural/urban populations and geographical location. This seems to be a large concern of the policy with many strategies directed at providing access to education in all of Ethiopia’s regions.

5.7. Cross-cutting Issues

Other than in previous ESDPs, the Federal Ministry of Education has in ESDP V decided on a number of cross-cutting issues that are applied as overall themes to all priority programmes. This assigns overall importance to those crucial issues as they are supposedly playing a part in all of education. The seven cross-cutting issues are:

1. Gender
2. Special needs and inclusive education
3. HIV/AIDS
4. Education in emergencies
5. School health and nutrition

6. Drug and substance abuse prevention
7. Water, sanitation and hygiene

When looking at how these issues are addressed in the policy, it becomes noticeable that they are in fact put in relation with all other contents of the policy. When looking at the gender issue, for example, it has been set into relation with both students, access and equality in opportunities, teachers and ratios of female teachers as well as pedagogical skills on gender and many other areas. By acknowledging the importance of gender-responsive pedagogical skills, the policy is concerned with what Roxas et al. claim crucial for achieving multicultural education (2015). Related to the emancipation tenets this allows students to explore and address their thoughts on gender and uncover their own realities within the educational framework (Roxas et al. 2015).

Cross-cutting issues could be a good way of integrating an intersectional approach into the Education and Training policy. Cross-cutting issues are the only place in the policy where relations of categories to each other are investigated and addressed in any way. Acknowledging the gender plays an important role in relation to for example experiences of disadvantaged children is very helpful in understanding inequalities. Few concrete statements have, however, been made in the policy that depict the inequalities, what they rise from and how they can be dealt with. As equity is one of the central focus points of the policy, more concrete distinctions between what creates inequality and how that can be addressed would be needed in the education system. As suggested by the UN, the Ethiopian education policy should set issues such as on gender and ethnicity in relation to each other to create an inclusive diverse environment (UN 2015).

6. CHAPTER 5 - Discussion

By applying Bacchi's WPR approach and the CCME theory as well as intersectionality to the ESDP V, a number of structures of inequalities within the Ethiopian education system became apparent. Using the WPR approach, the CCME theory and intersectionality did, however, bring about some challenges as all three of them are developed for the use in Western democratic countries mainly. The fact that in a state that is categorized as authoritarian despite officially being referred to as a democracy, leads to challenges in the perspectives taken and the applicability of western models.

6.1. Problems of Inequality

In relation to the first research question of "What are the problems in regard to inequality that underlie the policy?" it became apparent that one of the biggest problems is the fact that inequalities are not adequately addressed in the ESDP V or in the Education and Training policy. Despite the fact that access to and equity within education are two of the priorities outlined and superior problems that the policy aims to address, the policy fails to be specific in either the underlying reasons for inequalities nor specific strategies and approaches in creating a more equal education system.

The problem of gender inequality was accommodated in various parts of the policy and mainstreamed throughout its priority programmes. This indicates that gender is one of the focus points of the Federal Ministry of Education and their primary project in increasing equality within the education system. This is also reflected in the way gender is one of the only factors that is used as a category of difference in Ethiopia's statistical data on education. While the discourse surrounding the gender issue is still reinforcing discriminatory practices and needs to be transformed urgently to change the discourse on gender in the country which is of bare necessity when striving for gender equality in a country, it is promising that the issue has high priority with the Federal Ministry of Education and is mainstreamed throughout the entire education policy.

Looking at the issue of ethnic inequalities, it has to be noted that the issue of ethnicity is practically ignored and silenced in the ESDP V as well as its pre-successors. Despite, the prominent notion of diversity in the country, neither multiculturalism or issues of race and ethnicity are properly addressed. This strong unwillingness of the Federal Ministry of Education to address issues of ethnicity, illustrates the difficult relationship the country has to its ethnic diversity. Ethnic discourse is challenging in a country with continuous ethnic conflicts but ignoring the issue of inequalities due to ethnicity will not solve the problems in the long-run but cause more frustration with students from ethnic minorities and counteract the attempts at improving equity in educational institutions. As CCME points out accommodating diversity and creating an environment of equity and equality are essential to successful multicultural education which is needed in a multi-ethnic country such as Ethiopia (Roxas et al. 2015).

Generally, there is a lack of definitions in terms which makes it hard to identify specific inequalities. While inequalities of disadvantaged children have been mentioned and the issues of disability and socio-economic situation is brought up in the policy, no issues is addressed with proper strategies and analyses but the gender issue. For better being able to address inequalities in its education system that the Federal Ministry of Education themselves proclaims there is in the ESDP V, more concrete analyses with categories of difference must be conducted and strategies must be developed that address the challenges of inequality in the different categories but also in terms of power relations in between categories. An intersectional approach would benefit the education policy and allow for a more nuanced insight in the inequalities students are facing and how they can be approached.

6.2. Constructing Inequalities

When attempting to answer the question of “How is multiculturalism reflected within the Ethiopian educational systems?” it is important to note that when applying the CCME theory on multicultural education to the ESDP V, none of the five tenets could be fulfilled to a satisfactory level. As Ethiopia cannot be seen as a democracy and in addition is one of the poorest countries in the world that lacks far behind in development compared to western democracies, it is fairly obvious that the CCME model could not fully be fulfilled. The policy does though show Ethiopia’s aim to establish a multicultural education system at least on paper as it mentions the importance of diversity, equity and accommodating the needs of students to guarantee primary education for all Ethiopian children. When looking at the five tenets of Critical Cosmopolitan Multicultural education it can thus be noted that Ethiopia’s education system is starting to build in multicultural education. Firstly, in regards to diversity, the policy has made note of the intent to accommodate diversity but fails to properly integrate it in its strategies. Secondly, when it comes to emancipation there are arguments in the policy that suggest for teachers to get better equipped in providing room for emancipation and diversity in the classroom. More specific definitions and tool boxes could be needed here. Thirdly, when it comes to equity and equality it has to be stressed that the ESDP V needs to include categories of inequalities to properly address them in its strategies. Moreover, ethnicity needs to play a part. Fourthly, disadvantaged students and members of society need to be empowered and involved in the discourse to become active part of the community creating and shaping education policies. Lastly, in the tenet of respect further advancements need to be made in the mainstreaming of multiculturalism and diversity in the education system. Generally, while aiming to be multicultural, Ethiopia needs to take many further steps to guarantee multicultural education that helps shape this cosmopolitan and diverse citizen it claims it needs for the development of the country.

6.3. Implications of ESDP V

To answer the question of “What implications does the policy have on disadvantaged people in Ethiopian society?” it can be assumed that in regards to gender some advances can be made in

counteracting inequalities through strategies outlined in the ESPD V. This is primarily due to the mainstreaming of gender in different areas of the policy and the fact that a partly intersectional approach has been taken to solve issues at intersections of gender and other issues such as disability. On the other hand discourse surrounding gender is still counter-productive and unlikely to have a positive influence on the development of gender equality.

The inequalities caused by ethnicity are unlikely to be resolved through the implementation of the ESPD V as are other factors of inequality such as class. Without any intervention the ethnic problems of the country will not be resolved through the education sector.

7. Conclusion

In conclusion of the research question and the analysis and to answer the problem formulation of:

How does the Ethiopian Education and Training Policy together with its Education Sector Development Programme V. address and shape inequalities related to ethnicity and gender in the educational sector of Ethiopia?

It can be noted that both the Education and Training policy as an underlying basis and the Education Sector Development Programme V have an important role in determining and shaping inequalities in the Ethiopia education system. Instead of identifying specific inequalities that students face in the education system, the ESDP V remain general only acknowledging the fact that inequalities persist and listing some of them including inequalities based on gender, disability and low income. Due to the fact, that inequalities are not properly identified and analysed, there is hardly any strategies addressing inequalities in particular. The policy merely emphasises the need for inclusion and the appreciation of diversity on a wider level but fails to address underlying issues of problems related to access and equity in the education system. When addressing the issues related to inequalities within the question of gender as well as when choosing not to address the concept of ethnicity in causing inequalities, the policy is framing inequalities and their underlying assumptions through carefully chosen discourse. It becomes apparent that both the concept of gender and ethnicity are not based on the same assumptions that underlie this thesis but rather point to the dominant-minority relationships between men and women in Ethiopia as well as between different Ethiopian ethnic groups. The ESDP V could thus possibly even contribute to increasing inequalities in the education system by reinforcing narratives of gender and ethnicity that provoke negative connotations and lead to divisions between people as “dividing rule” rather than promoting diversity and multiculturalism. Ethiopia’s education system has a long way to go before equal and democratic systems will be in place guaranteeing equity and access for all students.

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