ABSTRACT

Title of Dissertation: THE IMPACT OF GLOBALIZATION ON EDUCATION
REFORM: A CASE STUDY OF UGANDA

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Doctor of Philosophy, 2008

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This case study examines the impact of globalization on education policies,

structure and practice in Uganda during a 20-year period from 1987-2007. Post-primary

education is the principal focus of this research as it is critical to preparing young people

to participate in Uganda's socio-economic and political development process and thus

position the country for participation in the global economy. However, given post-

primary's pivotal position between primary and tertiary education, it has to be viewed in

the context of the longer educational continuum. Thus, the "before" and "after" levels of

education are also addressed. The dissertation explores an array of issues related to

globalization and education. These include stakeholders' perceptions and understandings

of globalization, the modalities of "transmitting" reform ideas and policies around the

world, and specific educational reforms in Uganda at the sector and sub-sector levels. It

also explores the impact of these educational reforms (a) on beneficiaries in terms of

access, equity, relevance, and quality and (b) on Uganda in terms of positioning the country to respond to the opportunities and challenges of globalization.

The study concluded that globalization has had an impact on education reform in Uganda in several ways. The reforms themselves have yielded some positive benefits for the beneficiaries but much remains to be done to ensure the expansion of access and equity as well as improvements in the relevance and quality of education. Uganda's experience in implementing these reforms has some lessons for other countries considering similar changes in education policy and practice.

THE IMPACT OF GLOBALIZATION ON EDUCATION REFORM:
A CASE STUDY OF UGANDA

by

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Dissertation submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate School of the
University of Maryland, College Park in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
2008

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Dedication

      This study is dedicated to the many people in Uganda who are committed to improving the educational experiences and opportunities for young people and adults at all levels of education and who demonstrate through their work that education is a right that everyone should enjoy.

Acknowledgements

I am deeply grateful to Professor Jing Lin, my advisor and mentor throughout my PhD studies who served as co-chair of my dissertation committee. Her commitment to infusing peace and love into education, to raising complex issues of gender, culture, and justice and their relationship to education, and to nurturing the diverse interests of her students was a constant inspiration for me. Dr. Lin helped me to discover the scholar within and directed my dissertation and other coursework in a way that expanded my thinking about the role of education in society. I always appreciated her constructive comments and her personal support of my academic endeavors.

I am grateful for the other members of my committee, especially Professor Steven J. Klees who also served as co-chair. Dr. Klees nurtured my understanding of the critical perspective and continually challenged me to think in alternative ways about the purpose and practice of education. These are lessons I will carry into my future work. Professor Rebecca Oxford and Professor James Greenberg from the University of Maryland and Professor James Williams from George Washington University shared their knowledge, experience, and enthusiasm for international education with me and improved my research as a result.

Many people in Uganda supported this study by sharing generously of their time, often on short notice, during my fieldwork. Uganda's Minister of Education, Hon. Namirembe Bitamazire, shared thoughtful insights on globalization and education that helped shape my understanding of education in the context of Uganda. Many others also shared their insights about education and their experiences, both personal and professional, working to expand and improve educational opportunities in Uganda. They

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List of Abbreviations

ABEK	Alternative Basic Education Karamoja
ADB	African Development Bank
AESSR	Annual Education and Sports Sector Review
AGOA	African Growth and Opportunity Act
APEC	Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation
APR	Annual Performance Report
BEPS	Basic Education and Policy Support
BTVET	Business, Technical, Vocational Education, and Training
CAO	Chief Administrative Officer
CBO	Community Based Organizations
CEF	Commonwealth Education Fund
CHOGM	Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting
COMESA	Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa
COU	Church of Uganda
CPI	Corruption Perception Index
CSBAG	Civil Society Budget Advocacy Group
CSO	Community Service Organizations
DEO	District Education Officer
DIS	District Inspector of Schools
DIT	Directorate of Industrial Training
DMTBF	Decentralized Medium Term Budget Framework
DRC	Democratic Republic of the Congo
DSC	District Service Commission
EAC	East African Community
EFA	Education for All
EFAG	Education Funding Agencies Group
EMIS	Education Management Information System
ERP	Economic Recovery Program
ESA	Education Standards Agency
ESIP	Education Strategic Investment Plan
ESSAPR	Education and Sports Sector Annual Performance Report
ESSC	Education Sector Consultative Committee
ESSP	Education Sector Strategic Plan
ESSR	Education and Sports Sector Review
EU	European Union

FAL	Functional Adult Literacy
FAWE	Forum for African Women Educationalists
FDI	Foreign Direct Investment
FENU	Forum for Education NGOs in Uganda
GDI	Gender-related Development Index
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GEM	Girls Education Movement
GER	Gross Enrollment Ratio
GI	Globalization Index
GINI	Gini Coefficient
GNI	Gross National Income
GPI	Gender Parity Index
GOU	Government of Uganda
GTZ	German Technical Cooperation Agency
HDI	Human Development Index
HDR	Human Development Report
HIPC	Highly Indebted Poor Countries
ICT	Information Communications Technology
IDP	Internally Displaced Persons
ILO	International Labor Organization
INGO	International Non-Government Organization
IPS	Integrated Production Skills
IRC	International Rescue Committee
ITC	Industrial Training Council
JICA	Japan International Cooperation Agency
JRS	Jesuit Refugee Service
LGA	Local Governments Act
LGBT	Lesbian, Gay, Bi-Sexual, Transgender
LGC	Local Government Council
LRA	Lord's Resistance Army
LOI	Language of Instruction
LITNET	Literacy Network for Uganda
MDG	Millennium Development Goal
MFPED	Ministry of Finance, Planning, and Economic Development
MOES	Ministry of Education and Sports
MOLG	Ministry of Local Government
MOU	Memorandum of Understanding
MUK	Makerere University Kampala
MUST	Mbarara University of Science and Technology

NAEP	National Assessment of Educational Progress
NAFTA	North American Free Trade Agreement
NALSIP	National Adult Literacy Strategic Investment Plan
NAPE	National Assessment of Progress in Education
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NCHE	National Council for Higher Education
NER	Net Enrollment Ratio
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
NOREF	Northern Region Education Forum
NRC	Norwegian Refugee Council
NRM	National Resistance Movement
OBE	Outcomes Based Education
ODA	Official Development Assistance
OVC	Orphan and Vulnerable Children
PCR	Pupil Classroom Ratio
PEAP	Poverty Eradication Action Plan
PES	Private Entry Scheme
PEVOT	Promotion of Employment Oriented Vocational and Technical Training
PLC	Primary Leaving Certificate
PLE	Primary Leaving Exam
PPA	Priority Program Area
PPET	Post Primary Education and Training
PPP	Public Private Partnership
PPP	Purchasing Power Parity
PRSP	Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper
PTA	Parent Teacher Association
PTC	Primary Teachers College
PTR	Pupil Teacher Ratio
RDC	Resident District Commissioner
SAP	Structural Adjustment Program
SC	Save the Children
SDA	Seventh Day Adventist
SE	Secondary education
SEIA	Secondary Education in Africa
SFG	Schools Facilities Grant
SLE	School Life Expectancy
SMC	School Management Committee
SME	Small and Medium Enterprises
SPR	Sector Performance Report
SUPER	Support to Universal Primary Education Reform
SWAp	Sector Wide Approach

SWOT	Strengths, Weaknesses, Opportunities, Threats
TAACC	The Apac Anti Corruption Coalition
TDMP	Teacher Development and Management Plan
TDMS	Teacher Development and Management System
TVET	Technical and Vocational Education and Training
UACE	Uganda Advanced Certificate of Education
UBOS	Uganda Bureau of Statistics
UCCI	Uganda Chamber of Commerce and Industry
UCE	Uganda Certificate of Education
UGAADEN	Uganda Adult Education Network
UJCC	Uganda Joint Christian Council
UIA	Uganda Investment Authority
UMA	Uganda Manufacturers Association
UMI	Uganda Management Institute
UN	United Nations
UNATU	Uganda National Teachers Union
UNDP	United Nations Development Program
UNEB	Uganda National Examinations Board
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNHCR	United Nations High Commission for Refugees
UNICEF	United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund
UPE	Universal Primary Education
UPPET	Universal Post Primary Education and Training
USch	Uganda Schilling (in October 2007, 1700 USch = $ 1 USD)
USSIA	Uganda Small Scale Industries Association
USE	Universal Secondary Education
USE	Uganda Securities Exchange
UVQF	Uganda Vocational Qualification Framework
VTI	Vocational Training Institute
WCRWC	Women's Commission for Refugee Women and Children
WDR	World Development Report

SECTION ONE: BACKGROUND

Chapter I: Introduction

*If knowledge is fundamental to globalization, globalization
should also have a profound impact on the transmission of knowledge.[1]*

*Education as an instrument of economic productivity, politicization, and
enculturation can play an important part in the humanization of the process of
globalization.[2]*

Overview

The proposed research is a case study of the impact of globalization on education

reform in Uganda. This study provides an opportunity to identify and assess the impact

of globalization on education in one African country, Uganda, with a focus on post-

primary education. Uganda is a country of contrasts that reflects many of the

conundrums facing other developing countries in Africa. Its economy grew in the wake

of substantial structural "adjustment" imposed from outside; however neither the

economy, society, nor the government has equitably distributed the benefits. The country

remains one of the poorest in the world. Historically, Uganda had an exemplary

education system but it declined after Independence and suffered during 20 years of

political turmoil.

The adoption of universal primary education in 1997 (and, 10 years later,

universal post-primary education) with the support of numerous external donors

rejuvenated education in Uganda. However, while access has improved, quality has

declined and large numbers of children are still not in school, especially in post primary.

Higher education, which received the lion's share of funding at another point in time, was

all but forgotten with the advent of UPE. Only recently has it regained the attention (and

resources) it needs to prepare Uganda's future leaders.

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[1] Carnoy, 2000, p. 43.
[2] Bola, 1998, p. 489.

Uganda is a country with a President who was elected democratically but the absence of effective opposition parties and the indefinite extension of the President's term of office raises questions for the country's political future. The country also struggled for 20 years with an insurgency in the north and large numbers of refugees and internally displaced persons (IDPs) around the country who desperately needed a broad array of basic services, including, and especially, education. Uganda decentralized its government and the provision of education but contests between the center and the periphery continue. It is a country with relatively poor health indicators yet it managed to aggressively target the HIV/AIDS pandemic and dramatically reduce the prevalence rate. Overall, Uganda is a country that faces some of the most challenging and intractable of circumstances. Yet it is making headway in education.

Focus and Purpose

The focus of this study is the impact of globalization on education reform in Uganda with particular attention to post-primary education. Uganda's commitment to universal primary education in 1997 expanded access to basic education for millions of children. The country's more recent (2007) pledge to provide universal *post*-primary education and training (UPPET) is intended to expand access and over time improve opportunities for the majority of Ugandan children, living largely in rural areas, to attend and complete some form of post-primary education, either secondary school or a vocational training program or both. The goals of this new policy clearly reflect the Government of Uganda's (GOU) commitment to making post-primary education pivotal to developing the competencies (both knowledge and technical skills) that will provide increasing access to the global economy for Uganda and thereby enhance national

development, reduce poverty by increasing family incomes and promote a knowledge-based economy.

The particular purpose of the study is to examine how globalization has influenced education reform in Uganda. The study explores the origins and implementation of selected reforms in education at the sector and sub-sector level to discern how these policies have been shaped, to some degree, by global trends. It also analyzes these reforms in terms of (a) their impact on the beneficiaries of education and (b) their potential to better position Uganda to respond to the opportunities and challenges of globalization. The study examines some of the internal debates about globalization and its impact on Uganda and on the education system. It also addresses a range of issues related to the implementation of the reforms and their impact on the beneficiaries.

Research Questions

The central research question is: To what degree are education reforms in Uganda attributable to globalization and what are the impacts and implications of these reforms in terms of positioning Uganda for globalization? The study seeks to answer three principal questions:

- How do education stakeholders understand globalization and its impact on Uganda, in general, and on education, in particular?

- What were the key education reforms adopted in Uganda between 1987 and 2007, the principal issues and debates regarding their implementation, and the impacts of the reforms on education beneficiaries?

- Have education reforms better positioned Uganda to respond to the opportunities and challenges of globalization?

Framework of Analysis

A qualitative research approach addresses the purpose of this study. Qualitative methodology encourages detailed description and fits with the need to document a set of circumstances surrounding reforms in education policies and practices. It also supports interpretive objectives such as understanding the impact of globalization on Uganda, identifying the links between globalization and education reform and assessing the potential of education reforms to strengthen a country's ability to embrace the positive impacts of globalization and mitigate its potentially negative effects.

Potential Significance

This study will contribute to theory regarding how the process of globalization affects the education sector and the role of education in development. The study may have practical significance for education policy and practice in Uganda and in other similarly positioned countries. It may broaden awareness and understanding of how globalization affects the context and challenges of education reform in a resource-scarce country, particularly a country seeking to position itself vis-à-vis globalization. In this regard, it may also highlight the need for governments to get "ahead of the curve" in terms of providing educational options such as expanded technical and vocational training, which would be more relevant to future investment and employment opportunities. This study will also contribute to an understanding of how globalization and the "transmitters" of globalization lead to changes in educational priorities, policies, procedures, and practice.

Chapter II: Literature Review

Introduction

A literature review was conducted to provide a context for the exploration of the impacts of globalization on education in Uganda. The review drew upon theoretical traditions, essays by informed experts and other research to build a logical framework for the proposed study and situate the study within a tradition of inquiry and a context of related studies. The literature review served several objectives: (1) Inform the research paradigm that undergirds the study; (2) Identify related research and intellectual traditions; (3) Identify gaps in previous research; and, (4) Add further dimensions to the research questions to be investigated.[3]

Theoretical Traditions

The case study draws on critical and globalization theories to frame the inquiry into globalization and its impact on education reform. This framework highlights the contextual nature of education, the importance of studying social institutions and their transformation, and the hegemonic relationships (historical and present-day) inherent in education policy and practice. It also creates space to explore how global mechanisms, e.g. of communication and technology, and integration not only of economies but also of cultures has impinged on education policy and practice. Viewed through these theoretical prisms, inconsistencies and conflicts in policy and practice that characterize the delivery of education and give priority and privilege to different aspects of education can be better understood.

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[3] These four functions of the literature review were proposed by Marshall and Rossman, 1999, p. 43

Critical Theory

Critical theory provides a framework for understanding and analyzing power relationships in society. It asks questions about injustice, inequality, and oppression that highlight the power imbalances in all societies. Concerning education, critical theory examines the structure of schooling as well as the many elements of the education process (e.g. teacher training, testing, governance, curriculum, etc.) that create unequal power relationships between and among administrators, teachers, and learners. It explores the context (historical, political, economic, etc.) in which education systems evolved and exist as a way of understanding the nature and depth of inequity. "Educators taking critical theory perspectives decide whether educational practices address social justice and empowerment for oppressed persons" (Capper, 1998, p. 356).

In seeking to understand how education reforms fomented by globalization have affected their beneficiaries, especially students, it is important to establish the lens through which both globalization and education reform will be examined and evaluated. Is globalization a neutral process or one that privileges certain constituencies or countries over others? Do the impacts of globalization differ depending on the initial conditions in a country or educational system? Do education reforms benefit everyone equally or are some individuals or groups more advantaged because of changes in policy and practice? Kellner (2000) described the link between critical theory and globalization:

> A critical theory of globalization attempts to specify the interconnections and interdependencies between different levels such as the economic, political, cultural, and psychological as well as between different flows of products, ideas and information, people, and technology.…While a critical theory of globalization analyzes both how globalization creates forces of domination and resistance and seeks and valorizes strategies of resistance to the oppressive and exploitative aspects of globalization, it avoids one-sided discourses on globalization that are purely denunciatory, and attempts to describe both the

positive potentials that globalization opens as well as it forces of domination….We should move to a higher level to develop a critical and dialectical theory of globalization that articulates both its progressive and regressive features, as well as its fundamental ambivalence that mixes old and new, homogenization and heterogeneity, innovation and destruction, and globalization from above opposed to globalization from below. (p. 304-305)

Critical theory emerged from the "Frankfurt School" in Germany as a social theory grounded in neo-Marxism. At its core was a critique of society that challenged the organization of society that benefitted the few at the expense of the many by maintaining dominant constructions of reality that promoted inequities. The intent of critical theorists was to understand and reveal inequities to then be able to constructively change society to make it more equitable. Critical theory draws on the work of many scholars including, but not limited to, Bourdieu, Foucault, Freire, Habermas, Marcuse, McLaren, Kellner, and Ladson-Billings. It incorporates several theoretical strands including critical race theory, queer theory and feminist theories.

Scholars define critical theory from different vantage points. Bourdieu contributed to critical theory through an analysis of three forms of capital—cultural, social, and economic. He focused on how inequality is reproduced not only through wealth but also through education. "Cultural capital is considered to be a key mechanism in the reproduction of the dominant culture through which background inequalities are converted into differential academic attainments and hence rewards." (Bellamy, 1994, p. 123) Those with cultural and social capital have an advantage especially when the education system is aligned with the values of the dominant class. Bourdieu also addressed agency and structure with his analysis of *habitus*. (Bellamy, 1994; Bourdieu, 2005)

Foucault addressed issues of power and how they are embedded in education. In explaining Foucault, McLaren (1991) noted that Foucault posited that power is "historically rooted, socially constructed, participates in a cultural politics, and serves interests which are structured into society." (p. 16) He further explained the linkages between power and knowledge and how "knowledge is used to legitimate and extend the interests of those served by the effects of such power and to justify the subjugation of certain groups on the basis of transcendent norms." (p. 17) Foucault conducted research on the evolution of the structure of schooling and noted how certain elements developed over time that reinforced particular power relationships between and among teachers and students. These elements included surveillance and supervision, systems of rewards and privileges, penalties and punishments, the establishment of ranks or grades which differentiates students according to their abilities and the complex rituals of examinations that "introduced a whole mechanism that linked a certain type of the formation of knowledge to a certain form of the exercise of power" (Foucault, 2006, p. 133).

Kellner (2003) viewed a critical theory of education as "conceiving of what education could be, in how radicalizing education could help change society" (p. 7). He cited Ivan Illich's critique of schooling (e.g. "one of the major instruments of [industrial society's] social reproduction") as part of his argument that the structures of education need to change dramatically to adjust to new global realities in the economy, technology, culture, etc. "The reconstruction of education on the grounds that socio-economic, cultural, and the material conditions of everyday life and labor are changing is a reasonable response to the great transformations now underway" (Kellner, 2003, p. 13). Kellner (2003) calls for a radical reconstruction and democratization of education. He

asserts, "Critical pedagogy must engage the difficult issue of overcoming differences, understanding cultures very dissimilar from one's own and developing a more inclusive democracy that will incorporate marginalized groups and resolve conflicts between diverse groups and cultures." (p. 14)

Ladson-Billings explains critical race theory "as a framework for researchers to both uncover the racism that continues to oppress people of color, as well as to provide guidance for racial social justice" (Mertens, 2005, p. 22) Her work on culturally-relevant pedagogy has been informed by critical race theory and her belief that racism is endemic in American life. She confirms the importance of "'naming one's own reality' or 'voice'" as a part of critical race theory. This is important for three reasons. First, one's individual situation becomes a part of constructing social reality. Second, it is important for the "psychic preservation of marginalized groups." Third, "naming one's own reality with stories can affect the oppressor….Stories by people of color can catalyze the necessary cognitive conflict to jar dysconscious racism." In reaffirming the link between critical race theory and education, "we contend that the voice of people of color is required for a complete analysis of the educational system." (Ladson-Billings, 2005, pp. 575-576)

Critical theory is intimately linked to critical pedagogy. Freire's seminal work, Pedagogy of the Oppressed, exemplifies the essence of this approach to education. Kellner (2003) notes "Freire argued that the oppressed, the under classes, have not equally shared or received the benefits of education and they should not expect it as a gift from the ruling classes, but should educate themselves, developing a "pedagogy of the oppressed" (p. 6). Recognizing this, education becomes an exercise in self-emancipation

through consciousness-raising (conscientization) in the classroom. Students participate fully in the education process not as objects of education but as agents of change through education. Kellner (2003) summarized Freire's beliefs as follows:

> Freire perceived that education is often a form of indoctrination, of enforcing conformity to dominant values, and of social reproduction in which one is tutored into submission and acceptance of an oppressed and subordinate status. Therefore, pedagogy of the oppressed must oppose dominant conceptions of education and schooling and develop more critical and emancipatory pedagogies aiming at radical social transformation. (p. 6)

Capper (1998) also addressed the issue of critical pedagogy. "Educators taking critical theory perspectives decide whether educational practices address social justice and empowerment for oppressed persons" (p. 356). Issues of diversity, curriculum content, school administration, service learning, and so forth, must all be viewed through a critical lens to identify and mitigate relationships of power that are detrimental to learning and the learner.

A number of other scholars have defined the elements of critical pedagogy. McLaren, for example, cited the importance of recognizing the ways that inequities in power and privilege in the classroom mirror those in the larger society and of developing new forms of curricula and teaching to counter the dominant "elitist, racist, and sexist assumptions." McLaren (1991) noted "the critical educational tradition has provided teachers with modes of self-critical reflection through which they can make the transition from seeing what they do in the classroom as isolated, individual concerns to profoundly social matters requiring a pedagogical praxis that is able to reflexively change the knowledge-base of their classroom teaching" (p. 11).

In applying critical theory to research, the researcher is obliged to study social institutions and their transformations as well as the historical context that has shaped the

institutions. This could involve a critique of society (e.g. the inequitable distribution of wealth or educational opportunities) as well as a review of the historical circumstances (e.g. colonial domination) which contributed to current circumstances of injustice and inequity. Critical research is oriented towards action and change, towards awakening awareness about conditions in society (and in education) that restrict options, reinforce hierarchies, reproduce unjust structures, and continue to marginalize certain groups of people. Feminist theories within the critical theory family focus on the role of gender "as a basic organizing principle that shapes the conditions" of women's lives. (Creswell, 1998, p. 84) Concerning education, feminist theory undergirds studies of the unequal access of girls to education, how women experience different forms of oppression (e.g. cultural, economic), and their role/position in society.

Comstock (1982) provided both a rationale and a methodology for critical research. He noted, "The function of a critical social science is to increase the awareness of social actors of the contradictory conditions of action which are distorted or hidden by everyday understandings" (p. 371). Critical social science challenges, "what is" and explores "what could be" if only the repressive ideas of the powerful and the structures which sustain them can be unmasked. Comstock affirms that critical research, like "critical knowledge is never neutral; it is always for some particular subject." (p. 374) Thus, critical researchers "must decide the interests they will serve" as they conduct their research. (p. 377) To facilitate such research Comstock developed a seven-step method for critical research that "combines disciplined analysis with practical action" (p. 388). It is not sufficient to merely gather descriptive data, analyze historical conditions or identify contradictions that were heretofore buried in rhetoric or oppressive structures, what

critical research needs to do is participate with the "subjects" of a study in developing a plan that will empower them to change their circumstances.

<center>*Globalization Theories*</center>

Introduction

Globalization is a contested term that evokes a range of images and responses depending on the context in which it is used and who is using it. "Googling" the definition of "globalization" yields more than 26.5 million "hits." That result alone signals the difficulty of trying to define a term that has multiple meanings and interpretations, is used in a variety of ways by different people for different purposes and the history, existence and impact of which is fiercely debated. While there is no single definition that encompasses all the interests encapsulated in the term, several common threads--economic integration, technology, socio-cultural exchange, and political shifts-- are woven into the fabric of most definitions. These common threads provide a framework for deconstructing the term and coming to a more fulsome understanding of the implications and potential impacts of globalization on education.

Globalization has had significant impacts on educational policies, structures and practices in countries around the world, though these have been differentially experienced. The driving forces of these changes in education have been economic, political, technological, and cultural. The transmitters of change are many, including supranational institutions and international conventions that have exercised influence both directly and indirectly from afar. This literature review explores the degree to which reforms in education over the past decade, particularly in developing countries, have been

"caused" by globalization and whether these changes have had positive or negative effects.

Defining Globalization

It has been said that no matter where you live in the world when you hear the phrase, "May the force be with you," there is an instantaneous and mutual recognition of the source of that phrase (Star Wars, 1977) and the power that it evokes, at least in movieland. This is an example of cultural globalization. The character Obi-wan Kenobi, a Jedi knight, explains "the force" as follows: "The Force is what gives the Jedi his power. It is an energy field created by all living things. It surrounds us and penetrates us. It binds the galaxy together." It is further explained as expressing two opposites—good and evil, light and dark.[4] Without carrying the analogy too far, globalization is something like "the force" in Star Wars. It is omnipresent, surrounding us and penetrating our institutions. It is an energy field of sorts with an uncertain agency that binds the countries of the world together, enthusiastically and reluctantly. (Uncertain agency is alluding here to the differing perspectives or contested viewpoints of globalization, i.e., whether or not it is a force to be reckoned with.) Globalization has its benefits (good, light) and costs (evil, dark).

Globalization evokes dichotomous definitions which instantly surface the tensions in describing a "process" that is so multifaceted. Nevertheless, most definitions of globalization address at least three common elements of globalization. (Burbules & Torres, 2000; Carnoy & Rhoten, 2002; Held & McGrew, 2003; Lauder et. al., 2006; Mebrahtu et. al., 2000; Nissanke & Thorbecke, 2007; Stromquist & Monkman, 2000)

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[4] http://exn.ca/starwars/taoism.cfm

The starting point for most definitions of globalization is economic globalization. Viewed through this prism, globalization is understood as a creation of a globally integrated economy (world market system) characterized by increased openness to, and interconnectedness of, international trade, capital, and labor movements operating in "real time" and integrated on a global level. Globalization is reflected in the magnitude of foreign direct investment and global trade, foreign exchange, speculative capital flows, and the reach of multinational corporations plus a new dependency on technology and information, i.e., the Knowledge Economy. While these factors of the global economy have come together at other times in history, the rapidity and intensity of the changes and the new linkages between so many countries make this period somewhat different. Burbules and Torres (2000) characterize globalization in economic terms as:

> A transition from Fordist to post-Fordist forms of workplace organization; a rise in internationalized advertising and consumption patterns; a reduction in barriers to the free flow of goods, workers and investments across national borders, and, correspondingly, new pressures on the roles of worker and consumer in society. (p. 14)

Political globalization reflects the changes in the political landscape resulting from the emergence of supranational governance via regional (e.g. European Union) and global (e.g. United Nations, World Bank) organizations that exercise economic and/or political power directly or indirectly. They do this by prioritizing certain forms of development assistance and/or through international agreements and conventions (e.g. Education for All and Millennium Development Goal declarations, environmental treaties, Doha round, human rights instruments, etc.). An array of financial mechanisms (including the existence of global networks of companies) and interest groups whose legitimacy may not be universally acknowledged, but whose existence invites collective

action or at least a framework for it, also exert influence beyond their geographical base.

This has changed the power dynamics both between and within so-called "developed"

(largely northern hemisphere, industrial-based countries) and "developing" (largely

southern hemisphere, agrarian-based) countries. The industrialized countries and their

surrogates, the multinational corporations, have largely set the terms of engagement and

parameters of discourse with many of the developing countries via the supranational

institutions and the economic mechanisms (e.g. terms of trade, development loans,

foreign aid) which they control. In this sense, globalization is often viewed as a process

that has diminished the role of the nation-state, though this point is contested. The term

institutional globalization is used to capture the convergence of policies and structures

that are mediated by this new group of supranational actors. "Globalization pushes

toward institutional uniformity, but considerable local adaptation and modification of

overall trends mark the actual processes of globalization" (Astiz, 2002, p. 68).

Cultural and social globalization represents a third prism through which to view

this "force" in our global society. Advances in transportation and in information and

communication technology (mass media and the Internet) have facilitated development of

a global consciousness and informal collective consensus in some areas of culture and

society. These changes have led to major movements of peoples and the rapid diffusion

of information, respectively, and to convergence of cultural, linguistic, and ideological

paradigms and patterns around the world (e.g. music, fashion styles, English language

dominance, etc.). Giddens (2003) defines globalization as "the intensification of

worldwide social relations which link distant localities in such a way that local

happenings are shaped by events occurring many miles away and vice versa" (p. 60).

Held and McGrew (2003) expand on this:

> …globalization denotes the expanding scale, growing magnitude, speeding up and deepening impact of interregional flows and patterns of social interaction. It refers to a shift of transformation in the scale of human social organization that links distant communities and expands the reach of power relations across the world's major regions and continents. (p. 4)

Globalists and Skeptics

The origins and impacts of globalization are contested. Many believe that this 21st century version of globalization is merely another round, perhaps "over-heated," of cross-border exchanges that have occurred for centuries. These exchanges are represented by increased trade, travel and migration, and cultural exchange (Abdi, Puplampu et. al., 2006; Tikly, 2001). The proponents of "globalization-is-not-new" cite other periods of globalization that witnessed trade expansion, massive migrations, growth in technology and colonization, especially in Africa. (Burbules and Torres, 2000; Held and McGrew, 2003; Lingard, 2000)

Others argue that globalization is a unique phenomenon that is occurring because of the confluence of key factors, specifically changes in technology that speed communications and make information and knowledge instantly and democratically available to all via the Internet and the integration of national economies into a tightly knit, global web on a scale not seen before. These changes have led to changes in the political and cultural spheres. (Castells, 2000; Friedman, 2003)

Held and McGrew (2003) draw on the work of others to point out how skeptics re-frame the concept of globalization:

> Rather than globalization, the skeptics conclude that a more valid conceptualization of current trends is captured by the terms 'internationalization'-

that is, growing links between essentially discrete national economies or societies-and 'regionalization' or 'triadization'--the geographical clustering of cross-border economic and social exchanges. This is an argument for the continuing primacy of territory, borders, place and national governments to the distribution and location of power, production and wealth in the contemporary world order.... [Skeptics argue that] the concept of globalization…is primarily an ideological construction; a convenient myth which, in part, helps justify and legitimize the neoliberal global project, that is, the creation of a global free market and the consolidation of Anglo-American capitalism within the world's major economic regions. (p. 5)

Despite debates about the definitions and origins of globalization, whether it is a new phenomenon, a recurrence of earlier patterns or merely a myth, the collection of meanings that are encapsulated in the term "globalization" reflect changes in the world system over time. These meanings also reflect events that precipitated this recent period of globalization and ideological approaches that explained or fostered patterns of globalization. Changes in the world system (the rise of nation-states, decline of empires, colonization, etc.) have been accumulating for many years. These structural changes have enabled the framework in which major changes could occur on a global stage. What makes globalization today

…different from everything that preceded it, is the interconnectedness of its political, economic, cultural, educational and technological agenda, complemented by the intensity of its omnipresence all over the world as measured by the speed with which its diverse components can affect people's lives. (Abdi et. al., 2006, p. 20)

A series of conjunctural events in the last two decades of the 20th century had a catalytic effect in terms of spurring globalization at all levels. These events are three: (1) Economic changes including the migration to a floating exchange rate regime, the removal of capital controls and expansion of private international finance that permitted harmonization in the world economy and the race to economic globalization; (2) Political changes, including the end of the Cold War and the collapse of socialist states which

were effectively a precondition to the spread of liberal democracy and market capitalism worldwide; and, (3) Technological changes (e.g. ICT) that facilitated the fast and free flow of information, knowledge and ideas (e.g. Internet "superhighway") and led to finely-tuned information systems and instant communication worldwide connecting people, governments, businesses, markets and cultures. These changes, in turn, collapsed time and space facilitating all the transactions in economic, political, and socio-cultural realms. Additionally, the ascendancy of neoliberal ideology supported the restructuring of the global marketplace (decentralization, privatization, structural adjustment programs, etc.) and nurtured the expansion both literally and figuratively of a broad range of supranational institutions, which created an enabling environment in which globalization could take root and flourish. Wolf (2005) calls this "the age of so-called neoliberal globalization" (Wolf, 2005, p. 139).

The World Is Flat (Or Is It?)

Thomas Friedman, in his book, <u>The World is Flat</u> put a slightly different spin on globalization, and on what it means for the global community. He argued that 10 forces, largely economic and electronic, have "flattened" the world since the late 1980s/early 1990s, knit the majority of the nations of the world together into a single global community and by so doing, leveled the "playing field of global competitiveness" (Ghemawat, 2007, p. 2). Beginning with the fall of the Berlin Wall in November 1989, Friedman (2005) said that the Internet and all the various financial activities and business collaborations it spawned (outsourcing, off-shoring, supply-chaining, in-sourcing) combined with the power of the web and a range of advanced technologies (e.g. digital) brought people together around the world in totally new ways, empowering not only

countries and companies but also individuals. He further argued that these 10 forces

began, over time, to converge and "work together in a complementary, mutually

enhancing fashion" reaching a tipping point around the year 2000 (Friedman, 2005, p.

176).

Friedman (2005) described the culmination of this confluence of events as the

"triple convergence" (p. 173). First, "the creation of a global, Web-enabled playing field

[allowed] for multiple forms of collaboration--the sharing of knowledge and work in real

time, without regard to geography, distance, or,…even language" (p. 176). Second, new

business practices (team orientation) enabled horizontal collaboration and management (a

shift from "top down" models) across companies and countries that enhanced value-

creation (profit-making) processes that could take advantage of the new playing field.

Third, three billion new players from China, India, Russia, Eastern Europe, Latin

America (Brazil) and Central Asia, whose economic and political systems changed

dramatically during the 1990s, joined the global economy. By bringing their human

resources, capital, technology, and markets, they helped to energize the global

transformations now taking place. This triple convergence, Friedman believes, "is the

most important force shaping global economics and politics in the early twenty-first

century" (p. 182). He believes that the playing field is open, in theory, to everyone who

can access it. All that is needed is a computer and competence in a world language,

which increasingly means English.

As for developing countries, Friedman (2005) lauds the value of macroeconomic

reforms (also known as structural adjustment programs) that push countries into "more

export oriented, free market strategies" affirming the mantra that "more open and

competitive markets are the only sustainable vehicle for growing a nation out of poverty

because they are the only guarantee that new ideas, technologies, and best practices are

easily flowing into your country" (p. 314). While lauding China and India for the great

progress each has made in terms of integrating with the global economy, Friedman

largely dismisses Africa as a region that is "too sick" and its people "too disempowered"

to benefit from the triple convergence noting that globalization has been slow to take hold

in Africa where poverty is increasing. One reason for this may be that while

macroeconomic reforms are necessary, they are not sufficient. Additional reforms need

to take place in other areas including infrastructure, regulatory institutions, *education*,

and culture to enable a country's full integration into the globalization process.

(Friedman, 2005, p. 317)

Education, in particular, is key and must prepare people to utilize the new

technologies, which are knowledge- and skill-intensive. Education in science,

mathematics and technology is critical but training also needs to prepare people for new

ways of working together (collaborative, team orientation) and develop their adaptability

to change. "Being adaptable in a flat world, knowing how to 'learn how to learn,' will be

one of the most important assets any worker can have, because job churn will come

faster, because innovation will happen faster" (Friedman, 2005, p. 239).

There are at least two problems with Friedman's thesis. First, it promotes a view

of the world as "uber-connected" that may not be borne out by the facts. Second, it

paints a rosy picture of the benefits of globalization and ignores the inequities that it has

produced. Regarding the first critique, Ghemawat addressed this in a 2007 article in

Foreign Policy entitled, "Why the World Isn't Flat" where he stated that globalization

proponents tend to exaggerate the extent of globalization. He cited statistics showing that

the levels of globalization associated with some common measures (e.g. foreign direct

investment, cross-border migration, telephone calls, patenting, and private charitable

giving among others) represent less than 10 percent of gross domestic product. He

further noted that domestic trade as well as web traffic within countries has increased

much faster than trade or traffic between countries.

Regarding the second point, Friedman does not address the "underbelly" of

globalization wherein those who cannot access the "playing field" (e.g. many countries in

Africa) cannot "play." While those countries that control global capital (e.g. the triad of

the U.S., the EU, and Japan) benefit from the knowledge economy, free trade, cheap

labor, etc., those countries that lack the financial, human, institutional and/or managerial

resources to get in the game fall further behind. Kiely (2000) described this trend in his

review of 10 books related to globalization and resistance:

> The world in which we live is a highly unequal one and inequalities are
> intensifying. As Hoogvelt…points out, the exploitation of the peripheries of the
> world system have been replaced by marginalization. From the point of view of
> the most powerful in the world today, much of the former Third World is not
> needed; it is simply surplus to requirements. One result has been an
> intensification of inequality. In 1960, the richest 20% of the world's population
> was 50 times richer than the world's poorest 20%; by the mid-1990s the
> proportion was roughly 82:1. (p. 1064)

Hallak (2000) echoes this theme in suggesting that globalization has led to the

segmentation of countries and the societies within them into three types of players:

> [There are] those who globalize, those who are globalized and those who are left
> out by globalization. Those who globalize concentrate on capital, resources,
> knowledge and the control of information. Those who are globalized are
> 'information poor' and 'knowledge poor' workers and consumers. Those who are
> left out have little or no access to information and knowledge, with no absorptive
> capacity as consumers and no relevance to production. (p. 25)

Broad and Cavanagh (2006) also critiqued Friedman's proposition of a "flat earth" and the value of macroeconomic reforms that he argued would ultimately empower countries, companies and individuals through technology and other global forces. They noted that poverty is not simply about per capita income, it is about the empowerment of the poor that is often sacrificed when global economic interests take priority. "Economic globalization has contributed to the widening gap between its wealthy beneficiaries and the marginalized within most nations" (p. 24). They criticized foreign aid as ineffective because it too has often reinforced existing inequities rather than tilting the balance of power towards disadvantaged groups.

Not all researchers, however, accept the inevitability of inequalities resulting from globalization. Wolf (2005) acknowledges existing inequalities both within and between countries. However, he argues that globalization as defined by greater integration in the world market has actually decreased inequalities in some of the largest, historically very poor and inequitable countries in Asia, including China and India. Having reviewed the data from many studies he concludes that in this era of globalization while "the absolute gap in living standards between today's high-income countries and the vast proportion of developing countries has continued to rise," the number and the proportion of people living in extreme poverty has fallen (p. 171). He also observes that the indicators of human welfare (e.g. life expectancy, literacy, etc.) have improved (though least in sub-Saharan Africa) and that "income inequality has not risen in most of the developing countries that have integrated with the world economy" (p. 171).

Globalization Fault Lines

Globalization and the multiple impacts it has had on various sectors are the subject of much debate. Is globalization ubiquitous and unstoppable, a train racing down the tracks without brakes? Alternatively, is it a capricious concept that serves a particular purpose in explaining certain events but is not volitional and can be/has been challenged and tamed? Are the impacts of globalization, such as they are, good or evil, and from what reference point? Do they support the nation-state or diminish its power? "Those on the political Left criticize globalization as Western hegemony and imperialism and seek alternatives, while those on the Right praise globalization as the triumph of Western civilization and liberal democracy" (Monkman and Baird, 2002, p. 497).

In the end, the benefits and costs of globalization are, like many other things, in the eye of the beholder. It is largely a matter of interpretation and positionality as well as one's political persuasion. What may be perceived as a gain or benefit by one country or a particular group (or groups) within a country may be perceived as a loss or a cost by others. Held and McGrew (2003) organize the debate on the impacts of globalization under two categories: "globalists" and "skeptics." The following paragraphs describe some of the "fault lines" in that debate as viewed through three prisms—economic, political, and socio-cultural.

Economic globalization. The existence of a global economy is the most visible and tangible result of globalization. It would not exist, or exist so powerfully, without the advances in information and communication technologies that speed transactions around the world. Yet, not all realize the alleged advantages of economic globalization.

Globalists recognize the rapid evolution of the global economy and its foundation in the principles of neoliberal economics enshrined in the Washington Consensus, which have provided a framework for a broad range of policy decisions that fostered the development of a global economy.[5] The key tenets of neoliberalism are trade and financial liberalization, deregulation and competition, elimination of barriers to direct foreign investment (minimal government interference with the economy), reductions in public spending, promotion of privatization and decentralization. These actions became the hegemonic policy discourse in the 1980s and 1990s at the same time the Internet was coming on stream and making it possible to undertake many of these economic policies quickly and in conjunction with other entities and countries around the world. (Friedman, 2005; Held & McGrew, 2003; Monkman & Baird, 2002; Morrow & Torres in Burbules & Torres, 2000; Rizvi & Lingard 2000; Welmond, 2002) "Neoliberal policies facilitated the globalization of nation-states' policies by creating conditions necessary for state restructuring" (Astiz, 2002, p. 69).

Globalists argue that globalization is the central force shaping the contemporary world order. (Castells, 2000; Held & McGrew, 2003) They point to the expansion of multinational corporations and changes in the global division of labor. Globalists also note the success of new players (e.g. India, China, and Brazil) in the global marketplace whose entry has been facilitated by the globalization. They acknowledge that states that are, or can become, well integrated into the global economy, will benefit from

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[5] John Williamson summarized the Washington Consensus in 1990. It consists of 10 economic policies or principles that should be adopted for major economic reforms especially in poor countries. These included fiscal discipline, public-expenditure priorities in education and health, tax reform to broaden the tax base and cut marginal tax rates, positive but moderate market-determined interest rates, a competitive exchange rate, trade liberalization, openness to foreign direct investment, promotion of privatization, deregulation, and protection of property rights. (Fischer, 2003, p. 6; Lauder et. al., 2006)

globalization. Weaker states (e.g. most of Africa), however, that cannot adjust their economy and whose population does not have the technological, scientific, or management skills to jump onto the knowledge/information-based economy train will be left behind. (Friedman, 2005; Held & McGrew, 2003) Globalists also acknowledge that globalization constrains government economic policy options.

However, not all globalists celebrate the Washington Consensus. There is a divide between those who see the neoliberal policy set as natural, benign, and essential for development and those who critique neoliberal policies as destructive and inherently unequal. The latter group recognizes the existence of economic globalization but believes integration should contribute more to development. This is a debate about who benefits from globalization and how. (Held & McGrew, 2003; Milanovic, 2002)

Skeptics, on the other hand, see globalization somewhat differently. They see the world as less economically integrated and ascribe whatever economic expansion has occurred to regionalization (e.g. regional trade agreements) and the domination of a few regional economic "units," namely the U.S., Europe, and Asia/Pacific. Skeptics continue to believe that nation-states are the central regulators of the global economy and that MNCs, while playing a central role, are not as powerful as globalists make them out to be. Moreover, they reinforce the long-standing primary commodity-manufacturing relationship between the south and the north. Skeptics make the Marxist argument that current trading relationships are really a new phase of capitalist imperialism and that only marginal changes have occurred in the international division of labor. (Held & McGrew, 2003)

All sides acknowledge that the benefits of an expanding global economy whether called globalization or regionalization are likely asymmetrically distributed. Poor countries (particularly, India and the Asian tigers) have benefited from globalization but "structural factors and policies within the world economy and national economies have impeded the full transmission of the benefits…of globalization for poverty reduction" (Nissanke & Thorbecke, 2007, p. 1).

In order to attract investments and participate in the global economy, many developing countries tossed aside their "welfare state" approach and undertook structural adjustment programs (SAP) on the advice of the World Bank and other international financial institutions. The purpose of the SAPs was to improve the economic and investment environment making their economies, allegedly, more efficient and productive. These "adjustments" included reductions in government expenditures (e.g. for education) to reduce budget deficits and achieve macroeconomic stabilization, decentralization of central government functions, and the privatization of state industries and some public sector services such as health and education. Such policies have generally had serious consequences, especially for the poor who relied on the state to provide free services. For example, the privatization of public services and especially the imposition of user fees often increase the cost of providing services previously provided by the government.

Trade liberalization (advocated by supranational financial institutions) is another integral element of SAPs. It can be beneficial and help to deepen a country's integration into the world economy if a country has valuable products (natural or manufactured) to sell and a regulatory environment that effectively governs foreign investment.

Unregulated market-opening policies may allow foreign investment to take advantage of local businesses, workers, and farmers. Trade liberalization can also be detrimental to a country's economy, especially for the poor. The removal of trade barriers can reduce tariff revenues that, in turn, reduce funds available for development. It can also lead to a rise in the cost of manufactured imports.

A study of value chains that linked to global markets for three products (horticulture, garments, and textiles) in four developing countries (Bangladesh, Kenya, South Africa, and Vietnam) provided "evidence of the impact of globalization on employment and economic opportunities for poor people." While unskilled labor benefited significantly from increased exports in Vietnam and Bangladesh, in Kenya and South Africa the "skilled workers (as proxied by education levels) benefited from globalization while unskilled workers were adversely affected" (Nissanke & Thorbecke, 2006, p. 4).

Finally, the technology divide has a profound impact on how globalization affects the economic well-being of different countries. Because new technology is heavily biased in favor of skilled and educated labor and often substitutes for unskilled labor that is in great abundance in developing countries, it may exacerbate existing inequalities both between and within countries as those without access or the skills to use technology effectively lose out. "Nations and regions that do not have sophisticated ICT infrastructures and a wide spread of usage are likely to be disadvantaged economically because they do not have access to the vast pool of knowledge and information or enjoy the speed of communication and knowledge transfer that more fortunate nations have" (Lauder et. al., 2006, p. 32)

Political globalization. Globalization's impact in the political realm is also contested. Globalists see globalization as promoting liberal democratic political models and agendas that are consonant with the "West" and view the expansion of supranational institutions of governance as a positive force. They argue that the rise of so-called "global governance" arrangements (international organizations, intergovernmental organizations and international NGOs), their collaboration on "global issues" (e.g. environment, HIV/AIDS) and the growth of economic, communication and knowledge networks has weakened the power of the nation-state. Why? Because the expectations, as well as requirements, of various international institutions and conventions constrain (or enhance, depending on one's point of view) the policy options of nation-states.

> Not that current nation-states will disappear in their institutional existence but their existence as power apparatuses is profoundly transformed as they are either bypassed or rearranged in networks of shared sovereignty formed by national governments, supranational institutions, co-national institutions (such as the European Union, NATO, or NAFTA), regional governments, local governments, and NGOs, all interacting in a negotiated process of decision making. (Castells, 2000, p. 694)

In essence, global interconnectedness trumps the individual decision-making processes for many nation-states, particularly those that lack the economic or political power to structure new relationships on their own. (Hallak, 2000; McGinn, 1996)

Skeptics, on the other hand, do not believe that globalization is undermining the power of the nation-state. Rather, they view this era as a time when nation-states are exerting their independence in many venues. Mann (2001) argues, for example, that while international financial institutions may exert some influence over economic decision-making at the national level, in other arenas such as the environment, nation-

states "are the only agencies with authoritative regulatory powers over territories and air-space" (p. 8).

Cultural Globalization. Globalization has had profound impacts on social organization and cultural life as well. From a globalists' point of view, globalization via the Internet, mass media, ease of travel, supranational organizations (e.g. NGOs) and conventions, have facilitated the spread of liberal democratic values and human rights and nurtured the growth of global civil society. "Improvements in communications and the spread of information were critical to the collapse of the Iron Curtain. People learned what was happening in other countries and understood that they did not have to live the way they were living, and the Iron Curtain fell" (Fischer, 2003, p. 4). They see "cultural flows [as] transforming the politics of national identity and the politics of identity more generally" (Held & McGrew, 2003, p. 18).

Globalization has increased interactions one-on-one and also via ICT which, in turn, has increased opportunities for learning from diverse sources and with diverse content outside of traditional education programs. (Stromquist & Monkman, 2000; McGinn, 1996) Cultural globalization has also fostered a certain standardization of cultural practices and promoted what some call the "McDonaldization" of the world wherein cultural trends and styles, an almost-common language (English) and consumerism have come to define a sort of global cultural milieu. (Rizvi, 2000)

On the other hand, the market-dominated culture has excluded or marginalized certain groups and, in this way, cultural globalization has had a negative impact. Proponents of this view argue that globalization has been associated with the destruction of cultural identities and "subverting many local norms and rituals governing such

important social spheres as marriage practices, parent-child relations and the submission of women" (Mann, 2001, p. 9). Responses to this range from anger and discontent (e.g. conservative Islamic groups that eschew the "Western" influences) to those who find ways to resist globalization by promoting and preserving cultural traditions. (Hallak, 2000) Burbules and Torres use the term "counter globalization" to describe these movements. They assert that "while globalization is clearly happening, its form and shape are being determined by patterns of resistance, some with more progressive intentions than others." (Burbules and Torres, 2000, p. 18) On this issue, skeptics see the world fragmenting into cultural or ethnic enclaves rather than integrating into a global culture. They affirm nationalism and national identity as the basic cultural form that anchors states and their culture and serves as a bulwark against the onslaught of global culture. (Held & McGrew, 2003)

<div align="center">Globalization and Education Reform</div>

The Context

Globalization in its several forms--economic, political, and cultural--has had major impacts on education. It has required a rethinking of education's purpose, structure, content and pedagogy, methods of delivery and assessment of outcomes. (Carnoy, 1999; McGinn, 1996) The global knowledge economy requires, and rewards, those who are better educated and more skilled. Thus, there is pressure to increase the average level of education in the labor force which, in developing countries, means expanding both secondary and tertiary educational opportunities. "The need for different societies to compete in a world where knowledge is a principal currency has turned the

organization and purpose of education systems into key factors for relative competitiveness" (Welmond, 2002, p. 39).

The need to expand educational opportunities to meet the social demands for more education and the economic demands of the global economy for better-educated workers means that governments need to increase their expenditures on education. Yet, in many developing countries, and especially in fragile states in Africa, additional public funds for education are in short supply. Ironically, this is because these countries are generally not well integrated into the global economy and fall, as Nissanke and Thorbecke put it, into the category of "unsuccessful globalizer," in part because their labor force lacks the necessary skills to compete. (Nissanke & Thorbeck 2006; Hallak, 2000)

The impact of neoliberal economic policies should not be underestimated in reviewing the impacts of globalization on education. When applied in the education sector, neoliberalism forces efficiency and effectiveness "means" tests on various educational endeavors and expenditures validating some and negating others. Samoff has criticized this approach by questioning whether education should be evaluated solely with a "rate of employment yardstick" which narrows the policy perspective on the purpose of education. (Samoff, 1993, p. 207) In the neoliberal paradigm, education as a human right or education for global citizenship are "economically irrelevant" because they do not produce a measurable output that directly contributes to economic development. Welmond (2002) cited Carnoy's observation that there is an inherent "conflict between a vision that intends to contain education spending in order to limit the role of the state and one that expects continued growth of educational opportunities for purposes of

productivity" (p. 40). Neoliberalism facilitated "the policy trend promoting fewer state responsibilities [that] legitimized new state policies of administrative decentralization and educational privatization" (Astiz et. al., 2002, p.70).

> Neoliberal policies which decentralized and privatized school systems, claim the following virtues: (1) being democratic, efficient, and accountable; (2) being more responsive to the community and to local needs; (3) empowering teachers, parents, and others in the education community while improving the effectiveness of school reform; and (4) being able to improve school quality and increase funds available for teachers' salaries through competition. (Astiz et. al., 2002, p. 70)

However, in reality, these policies have also spurred inequality and the marginalization of certain groups who cannot compete, thus leading to an increase in poverty.

The Impact of Globalization: Education Reforms

Globalization's impact on education is generally cast in terms of educational reforms. Carnoy identified three broad types of reforms driven, respectively, by competition, finance, and equity concerns, which are not mutually exclusive. Competition-driven reforms "aim primarily to improve economic productivity by improving the 'quality of labor" and of educational institutions. Such reforms include decentralization, the introduction of achievement standards, the improved management of educational resources, improved teacher recruitment and training and changes in the curriculum and pedagogy aimed at improved educational quality and relevance. (Carnoy, 1999, p. 37)

Finance-driven reforms are motivated by the need to improve the economic climate and conditions for economic growth in a country by reducing public spending and increasing efficiency and quality in service delivery. Such reforms include shifting public funding from higher to lower (i.e., basic) levels of education, the privatization of education, and the reduction in per student costs at all levels by increasing class size.

Whether such reforms are made for ideological reasons (e.g. a preference for private

investment in education) or because a country is too poor to increase its public

investment in the education sector make a difference in how such reforms are carried out.

(Carnoy, 1999, pp. 41-43)

Equity-driven reforms address issues of access for the poor, women, those with

special needs, and those living in rural areas. This, for example, is the motivation for the

Education for All and universal primary education movements which seek to ensure that

everyone has an opportunity to acquire a basic education and that such an education is

fee-free. Globalization, however,

> …tends to push governments away from equity-driven reforms, for two main
> reasons. The first is that globalization increases the pay-off to high-level skills
> relative to lower-level skills, reducing the complementarity between equity and
> competitiveness-driven reforms. The second is that in most developing
> countries…finance-driven reforms dominate educational change in the new
> globalized economic environment, and such reforms tend to increase inequity in
> the delivery of educational services. (Carnoy, 1999, p. 46)

This section discusses several of the presumed impacts of globalization on

education--decentralization, privatization, standardization and assessment and curriculum

and pedagogy--and provides examples from several countries both in and outside of

Africa. At the heart of assessing the relationship between globalization and education is

how these reforms affect what ultimately goes on in schools and in classrooms, how

parents and community members participate in education, how local and central

government officials formulate policy and processes to provide quality education and

how other elements of schooling (curriculum, pedagogy and teacher training) are

influenced by affected by globalization.

Decentralization. Decentralization is an example of the impact of institutional globalization, which promotes a "growing uniformity in the institutional and regulatory framework that stressed decentralization across countries" (Astiz et. al., 2002, p. 70). It can take several forms. It is the transfer of power from the center of government to a lower, often local, level. It may be defined in terms of its form (e.g. functional activities such as administrative, fiscal, market and political dimensions), its level (e.g. national to regional or provincial or local), and the degree of power that is transferred. The degree of power that is transferred ranges on a continuum from deconcentration (the lowest level of autonomy where there is no independent authority from the center but administrative tasks are shifted to a lower level), to delegation (the mid-range where some there is some independent authority, especially related to fiscal matters), to devolution (the highest level where local authorities have independent decision making authority most frequently found in political and market decentralization. (Naidoo, 2002)

Several rationales are provided for decentralization in education. One is economic as responsibilities for financing primary and secondary education are shifted to another level allegedly to increase efficiency. This also creates space for private sector responses unconstrained by the state bureaucracy. A second rationale is political in that decentralization is intended to make government more responsive and accountable to local communities while increasing democratization, promoting equity and access, empowering communities and increasing their participation in schooling. (World Bank WDR, 1999/2000; Naidoo, 2002) Finally, decentralization has an educational rationale, i.e., to improve service delivery by giving local control over curriculum and teaching

methods to local communities, principals and teachers in order to make education more

relevant to the local context. (Naidoo, 2002; Carnoy, 1999)

In practice, decentralization policies and reforms have been difficult to implement

and have yielded mixed results in terms of improving the quality of, and participation in,

education. Decentralization creates a challenging paradox for governments in that it

requires the state to simultaneously retain control of educational policy and standards of

quality that give it legitimacy while relinquishing control of the implementation of its

policies to lower levels of government where it has less control. This creates a double

bind—to relinquish control but retain quality, and, in a poor country, to do this with

fewer resources.

Conflicts are a natural consequence of this approach. Control of curricula

provides a good example.

> Control over the content of school curricula and methods of curricula
> implementation within classrooms are the key foci of decentralizing reforms in
> many nations. This emphasis is motivated by the overall importance of the
> curricula in the institutional grammar of schooling….In many nations, educational
> policy makers use rhetoric about more accountability within the curricula to
> prepare students for the competitive world market yet it is unclear how that is to
> be achieved. (Astiz et. al., 2002, p. 71)

While national policies and standards of achievement are set to be related to identified

national goals (e.g. in mathematics or science), decentralization permits "local adaptation

resulting from cultural imperatives, traditions, environment, historical legacy…[that]

produce cross-national variation in the decentralization of curricular control" (Astiz et.

al., 2002, p. 72).

Astiz et al. (2002) provides an example in Colombia where legislation devolved

the responsibility for the administration of public education to municipalities. This

reform changed the role of the Ministry of Education (MOE) in relation to curricular governance. The MOE retained control over policy, planning, evaluation and training and curricular frameworks but it left decisions about specific content to municipalities. However, problems with this approach led to the adoption of a new law that limited the role of the municipalities and left the design of the core curriculum and its assessment to the MOE with some adaptation allowed at the local level (p. 74). The U.S. has followed a similar route. National curricular goals have been established but implementation has been left to the state and local levels.

Decentralization can have an impact on quality. In some studies it appears that decentralization has not improved the quality (or productivity) of education and, in fact, has exacerbated inequalities in educational performance between rich and poor municipalities. Colombia undertook decentralization for financial reasons. Municipalities expressed outright resistance to decentralization. They rewrote legislation once they realized decentralization would increase their costs. Results from studying this process in other countries (Argentina in 1978 and 1991, Chile in 1980 and Mexico in 1991) revealed that while this type of decentralization may achieve intended financial goals, "it tends to increase inequality in educational performance between the poorer states and the richer ones." (Carnoy, 1999, p. 55) A later study by Galiani and Schargrodsky (2002) in Argentina cited by Winkler and Yeo (2007) examined

> the causal effect of secondary school decentralization on educational quality as measured by mathematics and Spanish standardized tests…. [The study] found that secondary school decentralization improves student performance…[but the] advantages of decentralization may be weakened when local governments lack technical capabilities. The analysis shows that the effect of decentralization on test scores is positive and stronger in provinces that are fiscally better managed. On the other hand, the effect can be negative for schools located in poor and badly administered provinces…worse than under centralization. (p. 10)

Ethiopia also decentralized and devolved education responsibilities to regional governments. A USAID project "supported the government's decentralization reforms in part by stimulating parent and community involvement" and by providing additional educational resources. Later evaluations of this project found that "enrollment rates for school-aged children increased" and increased participation by parents had several important and positive impacts on school quality. (Winkler and Yeo, 2007, p. 12) These studies bolster Carnoy's conclusion that decentralization and school autonomy may bring benefits to education but other key "inputs" such as improved teacher training, provision of adequate curricula materials, increased parent involvement, good governance, etc., are important to the success of the decentralization process.

Malawi provides another example of decentralization with an uncertain outcome. Before the country implemented UPE in 1994, it made a decision to decentralize some aspects of education. In the first phase, the focus was on deconcentration of several central administrative functions, including planning and training. Regional and district educational offices took on new responsibilities. But a combination of factors including the "uneven pace of broader government efforts to decentralize" and a lack of resources, management and accountability at the district slowed the process and left unanswered questions about future governance and financing of education at the local level. (Mundy, 2002, p. 37) A final example of decentralization can be found in India in the State of Kerala. From 1997 to 2002, "administrative responsibility for Kerala's approximately 11,000 government-sponsored schools was transferred from the state government to local self government institutions. Primary education became the responsibility of the village *panchayats* (elected councils)" (World Bank, 2005, p. 173). An evaluation found that

despite good intentions, "few local initiatives have been implemented and state-level regulations continue to dominate the day-to-day operation of the school system" largely owing to lack of understanding about the process and a lack of expertise for carrying out the new management responsibilities at the village level. (World Bank, 2005, p. 173)

Privatization. The privatization of education is another reform, which stems from the neoliberal policies that undergird economic globalization. Privatization is a response to diminished public expenditures in education, to ideological concerns that privilege the privatization of public services, and to social demand generated by placing an emphasis on education for development. As globalization has placed a higher economic value on particular types of knowledge and skills (e.g. English language, technology, communication, mathematics, science and business, etc.), the demand for such specialized and vocational educational opportunities has increased while the focus on a traditional "liberal arts" education which also serves society's broader, long term goals has diminished. The public sector, especially in many developing countries, has not been able to respond to this increased demand for post-primary education. Hence, the private sector, in both rich and poor countries, has stepped up and established private schools and universities to meet the social demand for education.

Worldwide, at the secondary level for 2005, the median percentage of students enrolled in private institutions as a percent of total enrollment was just 11 percent. The region with the highest enrollment in private institutions was Latin America and the Caribbean (22 percent) followed by East Asia and the Pacific (19 percent). For the African region, the median percentage was 12 percent. (UNESCO EFA, 2008, p. 292) Many secondary schools in these regions are sponsored by religious entities. A report on

secondary education issued by the World Bank in 2005 briefly addressed the issue of community and private funding options for secondary education. The report concluded that expanding secondary education via community-based financing was unlikely given problems of collective action, the need for more expensive facilities and the heterogeneous nature of the students.

Other privatization opportunities for expanding secondary education included seeking support from local private enterprise and/or public-private partnerships. Private enterprise-supported schools may provide education and training opportunities to increase the pool of skilled labor needed for specific economic activities though this approach could lead to more "functionalization" of schools to match the needs of the private sector and fail to meet broader public interest goals of education. Public-private partnerships have the potential to contribute to the expansion of secondary education though there is a risk that increasing the focus on private provision of education at the secondary level could increase inequalities of opportunity and fail to deliver a quality education unless well regulated. Public-private partnerships (PPP) come in many forms.

In Uganda, the Government has signed MOUs with private, mostly religious-affiliated schools, to provide education under Universal Secondary Education (USE). In South Africa, two government departments have partnered with a private water utility company to create "spinning pumps, similar to traditional children's merry-go-rounds, for school playgrounds" (World Bank, 2005, p. 241). In Colombia, a PPP was created when the government let the management of a number of schools as a concession to private institutions under long-term contracts that specify the delivery of educational services.

"As of 2003, some 277 concessions had been signed …about 25 percent of publicly funded enrollment" (World Bank, 2005, p. 242).

At the university level, privatization is rampant in many countries and has had mixed results. On the one hand, the creation of additional "places" at the tertiary level has expanded opportunities for students who otherwise might not have been able to attend university either because there were no places at the public university or because they were not qualified to meet the entry standards of the public university. On the other hand, many of the private universities established with a profit-making objective have paid less attention to delivering a quality education and more attention to expanding their enrollments and cash flow, effectively becoming "diploma mills" in some countries. Furthermore, their rapid proliferation has often eclipsed the government's ability to regulate, monitor, and license these institutions.

Privatization, therefore, is not a magic bullet and engenders its own challenges of increasing inequity. Klees (in press) reviewed a number of studies, for example, on voucher schemes and private schooling. Based on the evidence, he concluded that "it is very likely that greater privatization of primary and secondary schooling in developing countries will increase inequities and inefficiencies. The inequities result as the wealthy are subsidized to get even greater advantages than they have already." Klees cited studies of voucher systems in Chile and Colombia, which enabled students to attend private schools. The studies revealed no increase in student learning but did find that the voucher systems increased inequality. Colclough (1996) arrived at similar findings after reviewing the literature regarding the debate on public/private education provision. He noted that in Sri Lanka, Argentina and the Philippines privatization of education did not

lead to more equity. However, in Kenya and Pakistan there was evidence that supported the proposition that privatizing education did expand educational opportunities (p. 601).

   Curriculum and pedagogy. Curriculum and pedagogy have experienced the effects of globalization as nations seek to adjust the substance and approach to education to incorporate and promote the information, knowledge, and skills required to compete in the competitive global economy. Often, education systems do this simply by adding more courses rather than by reviewing the whole curriculum and revising both the framework and context. Moreover, curriculum changes are contentious because the curriculum represents much more than a training ground to develop skills to enable participation in the global marketplace. It is also the repository of cultural knowledge and an instrument of political and social control.

   Decentralization, standardization and, even more, privatization, tampers with the traditional curriculum and raises issues of control over content and pedagogical methods. Each of these global trends has a curricular response but how changes are mediated to accommodate and adjust to particular circumstances is unclear. What does it mean to prepare students to participate in a competitive world market? How does the state utilize curriculum to balance the preservation of local traditions and indigenous knowledge with the need to prepare students for their encounter with global culture? Adams (2002) quotes Leach who observed that "the definition and content of [formal] education is determined by politicians and bureaucrats, who [view education] through their own educational experiences and access to international fora of debate" (p. 622). How will the politicians, bureaucrats and educators in developing countries prepare the curricula

and their students for a world with which they may have little first-hand experience or knowledge?

In 2003, the first regional conference on secondary education in Africa was held in Uganda. "Participants [at the SEIA conference] discussed the gap between what students need to know in order to function effectively in their environments and contribute to the promotion of the social and economic growth desired, and the content of the curricula offered" (Bregman & Armstrong, 2004, p. 20). Opinions differed on the degree to which globalization should be considered in reforming curricula and pedagogy. A delegate from Benin argued in favor of making education relevant to local contexts and priorities, stating, "We must disassociate the question from globalization" (Bregman & Armstrong, 2004, p. 20). Another delegate from Ethiopia pointed out, "'localization is necessary but we need to work out globalization in our policy down to primary'" (Bregman & Armstrong, p. 20).

> Participants acknowledged that, in general, didactic, examination-focused teaching methodologies do little to develop analytical and problem-solving skills, promote team building, or motivate students to develop the skills for life-long learning. There was agreement that inadequate teacher preparation was a critical shortcoming. (Bregman and Armstrong, p. 21)

Curriculum revision and teacher training are linked. The pedagogies used in many countries, e.g. "chalk and talk," which require little of the teachers other than writing material on a board and requiring students to copy and memorize it, are inappropriate for teaching the types of skills (e.g. problem solving, critical thinking, etc.) that students need to learn to participate in today's globally-focused economic and political institutions. This means that any changes in curricula also require a massive

retraining effort for teachers not only in the substance of a new curriculum but also in its means of delivery.

Assessments and Standards. Globalization has also increased the focus on assessments and standards as well as accreditation. Such efforts are driven, in part, by concerns for efficiency and cost-effectiveness as played out through efforts to decentralize and privatize education. They are also driven by the desire to improve academic performance, increase accountability, ensure quality, and respond to the demands of market competition. Benveniste (2002) asserts that "the rapid spread of national assessment systems is part of a global culture that has embraced the evaluation of student achievement as a powerful instrument that monitors and stimulates education reform worldwide" (p. 91). Supranational organizations, both public and private, have played a critical role in promoting and funding such systems and undertaking international comparative studies of academic performance. Benveniste posits that many of these efforts are largely symbolic to "legitimize state action to the international community and its domestic constituencies without threatening the state's legitimacy" (p. 95). In this regard, they are also highly political in their structure and their use. He cited a study of national assessment systems in Chile, Argentina, and Uruguay to illustrate how the results of such assessments can be used for different purposes (to improve quality/ensure equity) and in different contexts.

Transmitters of Educational Reform

How has globalization actually influenced and/or induced reforms in education around the world? What caused the policy convergence followed by changes in operating structures, curricula, and pedagogy? This is a key question that links

globalization to the reforms in education, which have occurred in many countries over the past 20 years.

The literature records that the instruments of change have been, in large measure, international institutions, which have proposed and often imposed changes in education at the national level from a global perch. Lingard (2000) calls these "internationalizing mechanisms" (p. 92). Daun (2002) describes their impact in terms of a "world model" of education, which he defines as:

> [A]world model (signaling education for all, quality education, efficiency, effectiveness, school-based management, privatization and lifelong learning, among other things) that is propagated by the international agencies. The world model consists of 'tacit understandings', explicit recommendations and so on. It informs policy-makers and researchers and states what educational policies are opportune, desirable and appropriate. (p. 18)

In this way, "globalization is primarily an exogenous process which means that ideas and information arising from outside a system have the potential to produce fundamental change in that system" (Thomas, 2005, p. 138). In this same vein, Rambla (2006) notes that:

> Globalization impinges on state educational provision by establishing an agenda that encompasses official objectives and instruments of education. A significant innovation is that today states as well as international organizations, corporations, and social movements all endeavor to fashion the educational agenda at the global level…Globalization impinges on the national education policy agenda by means of re-scaling processes. Re-scaling takes place between the global, global-regional, state, sub-state, regional, and local levels of politics and policy-making. (p. 354)

While there is plenty of leeway to question the interplay between the global and the local in terms of what changes were actually implemented for what reasons, it seems clear that there is a "convergence of formal institutions within and across nations towards similar goals and operating structures" (Astiz et. al., 2002, p. 67). This was referred to

earlier as "institutional" globalization. "Once a country buys into a global economy, a broad set of decisions is removed from national debate. Countries reform their education systems in response to decisions made in non-accountable, nontransparent, and non-democratic corporate headquarters and international agencies" (McGinn, 1996, p. 350; Samoff, 1993).

Institutional globalization may exist but it does not always prevail. Roger Dale takes up this issue in several articles. In one, he interrogated two approaches to explaining the relationship between globalization and education, the Common World Education Culture approach and the Globally Structured Agenda for Education approach. (Dale, 2000) In another, Dale and Robertson undertook a study on how regional organizations such as the EU, NAFTA, and APEC affected the globalization of education. They concluded that there is an "increasingly globally structured agenda for education, but little increasing convergence of national practice or policy" (Dale & Robertson, 2002, p. 36.) In a more recent article, Dale (2005) explored the relationship between globalization, the knowledge economy, and education, reiterating his earlier position that "it can no longer be taken for granted that the power to set agendas for national education systems is held or exercised exclusively at a national level. The decisions may still be taken at a national level, but the issues on which they are taken may have been determined at a different scale." (p. 131).

Conclusion

Globalization has had multiple and complex effects on education policy and practice at different levels--economic, political, and cultural. Global agreements, multilateral and bilateral donor dictums, national economic policies, and political

institutions are also influenced by global movements, private investment, changes in the labor market and grassroots movements. Global information and communication technologies, mass media and international NGOs have also contributed to reforms in education directly or indirectly. Certain reforms seem to be common to most countries-- decentralization, privatization, standardization etc.--though there are variations on the themes depending on the country context. The question is: What do all these changes mean for current and future students in the classroom? Can (and will) education systems make the adjustments necessary to shepherd youth, particularly in Africa, through an educational process that prepares them for the complex, dichotomous world in which they live and which circumstance will require them to creatively and productively balance the local and the global?

Chapter III: Research Methodology

Overall Approach and Rationale

This study examines the impact of globalization on education policy and practice in Uganda with a particular focus on post-primary education. The central research question is: To what degree are education reforms in Uganda attributable to globalization and what are the impacts and implications of these reforms for post-primary education and training? The inquiry sought to answer three principal questions:

- How do education stakeholders understand globalization and its impact on Uganda, in general, and on education, in particular?

- What were the key education reforms adopted in Uganda between 1987 and 2007, the principal issues, and debates regarding their implementation, and the impacts of reforms on education beneficiaries?

- Have education reforms better positioned Uganda to respond to the opportunities and challenges of globalization?

Qualitative research methodology addresses the purpose of this study as it encourages detailed description and fits with the need to document a set of policies and practices that attend the changes in education in a poor African country resulting from, or at least fostered by, globalization. A qualitative approach also supports interpretive objectives. These objectives include determining how education stakeholders understand globalization and how they put their understanding into education strategy and practice. They include discerning the meaning of "relevance" for students whose lives will be lived on the fault line between the local and the global. They also include identifying the role education can play in equipping individuals to participate more fully in their country's development and in positioning a country for participation in the global

economy. A qualitative approach helps to elucidate how the external forces of

globalization inform national policies.

The framework for this research is a case study, an in-depth exploration of a

"bounded system" explored through detailed, intensive data collection involving multiple

sources of information, both primary and secondary, rich in context (historical,

economic, political and socio-cultural). (Creswell, 1998) This case study includes an

articulation of the research question, a thorough description of the context, the

identification of the issues related to globalization and education and an analysis of the

information and data gathered during fieldwork. The study required data collection from

various sources. Interviews were conducted with education stakeholders at the national

level: government officials, academics, businesspersons, teachers, representatives of

external donor agencies, and NGOs implementing educational programs. The documents

and data prepared and provided by the Ministry of Education and Sports, donors, NGOs

and others were carefully reviewed and analyzed. Notes taken at the Education and

Sports Sector meeting in October 2007 and during interviews were analyzed in light of

the secondary information.

Development of this study drew upon qualitative research literature. Shank

(2002), for example, identifies three approaches for "performing a case study [that]

predominate within the current qualitative research literature" (p. 53). He first highlights

the work of Stake who focused on the importance of field observations for a case study,

which should capture the details and nuances of a particular case. Stake also noted "the

single case has to make its own case" and not attempt to be a proxy for multiple cases.

Shank then points to the work of Merriam who noted that "qualitative case studies can be

characterized as being particularistic, descriptive, and heuristic" meaning that the researcher's efforts to capture vivid details of the case are only rewarded if their recordation and reporting enable readers to understand and experience the case more fully. Finally, Shank (2002) briefly describes the approach of Lawrence-Lightfoot and Davis whose work he describes as moving "beyond the simple notion of documenting a case toward the richer and more complex notion of portraiture" (p. 54).

This case study was motivated by my long-time interests, both personal and professional, in international education and informed by my extensive work in development across different sectors in many countries around the world, including in Africa, where education is increasingly understood as critical for socio-economic progress and for the development of democratic political institutions. There is ample anecdotal evidence that parents, communities, political leaders, and international aid donors want to improve the quality of education in Africa, and a number of countries in the region have begun to undertake reforms in an effort to attain that goal. Globalization, facilitated by advances in information and communication technologies that have fueled a global economy, has raised the stakes in the race to expand and improve education. This case study of the impact of globalization on education in Uganda explores the nexus between rhetoric and reality, policy, and practice as these ends of the education continuum are influenced by global trends.

I defined the study by the parameters noted. It is not an exhaustive study of either globalization or of education reforms as they have occurred in Uganda. It concerns narrowly the impact of globalization on education policy and practice with particular attention to the role post-primary education plays (or is intended to play) in equipping

people for participation in a global economy. The focus is on how various stakeholders understand globalization and its impact on education in Uganda with the intent of discovering how education polices and practices, and the education system itself, have responded to the realities of globalization.

<center>*Selection Decisions*</center>

The identification of the "case" to be studied is a pivotal decision as it sets the parameters for the research and provides the framework for inquiry. Several key selections decisions must be made: the place to be studied, the time to be reviewed, and the participants to be involved in the interview process. As such, "the study is defined by and intimately linked to that place" (Marshall and Rossman, 1999).

I selected Uganda as the site for the research for several reasons. First, it is a country of contrasts. Uganda is a small landlocked country located far from the global centers of power. Yet, as a signatory to numerous global compacts, it is well linked to the global community. Uganda is also a very poor country with most of its people living in rural areas on less than $300 per year. Yet the country has experienced relatively high economic growth rates over the past decade comparable to those of many industrialized countries. Uganda is a country that had very high prevalence rates (18 percent) of HIV/AIDS in the 1980s and 1990s. Yet with a ubiquitous education campaign, the country achieved a stellar drop in the prevalence rate by 2005 to just seven percent. These and other characteristics of this country make it an interesting study in terms of the potential impacts of globalization on education.

Second, Uganda is far ahead of most of its sister states in Africa in implementing education policies to improve access beginning with Universal Primary Education (UPE)

in 1997, followed 10 years later by the implementation of Universal Secondary Education (USE) in 2007.[6] However, its rhetorical aspirations have not yet been matched by realities on the ground. The country still struggles with many of the same challenging education issues (retention, repetition, quality, equity, and relevance) found in other poor countries.

Third, adequate and accessible data is available on education in Uganda that could support the field research. Uganda's education system has been well studied by the Ministry of Education, donors, NGOs, and other researchers, who have produced a myriad of reports. Additionally, Uganda's Ministry of Education and Sports has an evolving and improving Education Management Information System (EMIS), which routinely collects and publishes educational statistics, and a resource library containing copies of many official documents, policy statements, and studies. In addition, statutory educational bodies also conduct and publish research on education in Uganda. Hence, while the statistical data is not perfect, considerable efforts have been, and continue to be, undertaken to develop educational data. Text Box 1 provides a summary of the education statistics activities in Uganda.

Fourth, Uganda offered a rich and interesting mix of policies and programs as well as stakeholders and structures that would permit exploration of multiple issues related to globalization and education. In particular, the diversity and institutional strength of the various education stakeholders promised to provide insights beyond the data and documentation. It is for these multiple reasons that I selected Uganda as the location for the case study.

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[6] USE was announced in 2006 and implemented in January 2007. It was expanded to Universal Post Primary Education and Training (UPPET) in 2007.

Two primary entities in Uganda systematically collect statistical data on education: Uganda Bureau of Statistics (UBOS) and the Ministry of Education and Sports' (MoES) Educational Management Information System (EMIS). Other statutory entities, the Uganda National Examinations Board (UNEB) and the National Council on Higher Education, also regularly collect data.

In 1999, efforts were undertaken to design and implement a sector-wide EMIS with the district as the focal point. At that time, the Ministry restructured the whole system of data collection. EMIS was computerized in 2000. UNESCO conducted a study to help determine the data needs for Uganda's education sector. The European Union (EU) funded a capacity-building project. Initially, each of the six subsectors had its own database. Since 2006, the MOES has been using an integrated system.

However, despite the multiple entities that track data in the sector, data collection and accuracy are big challenges. The EMIS sends out the questionnaires for primary and secondary schools, both public and private, on an annual basis. EMIS sends the questionnaires to local district officers in March each year. The local district offices pass them on to District Education Officers and District Inspectors of Schools and local Education Officers and Inspectors for distribution to the individual schools. Despite monitoring by district officials and MoES staff, there is a persistent question about the reliability of responses. Training programs for all involved on the key variables in the survey instruments have been provided, but many fail to collect complete or accurate data. The Business, Technical, and Vocational Education and Training (BTVET) Department sends out questionnaires to the institutions for which it is responsible. The National Council for Higher Education (NCHE) collects data from the tertiary institutions and passes it on to the MoES. UNEB collects and analyzes data on examination results from all institutions.

Response rates vary widely. For the 2006 census, the response rate for government primary and secondary schools was 96 percent. However, for private schools for those sub-sectors the response rate was 39 and 35 percent, respectively. For BTVET and tertiary, the response rates that year were 83 percent and 92 percent, respectively. For non-formal education programs, the response rate was just 41 percent despite the plethora of activities in this sub-sector. Hence, EMIS cannot provide a complete array of statistics for the sector at this time.

There are several reasons for the low response rates, particularly among private learning institutions. Some institutions fail to release their statistics for fear that they may reflect weaknesses and poor performance. Schools may also be concerned that the data will be misinterpreted. Unfortunately, the consequence is that the statistical picture (enrollment, examination results, facilities, curricula etc) of education in Uganda, while much stronger than in years past, remains incomplete. The Ministry and its colleague agencies are continuing to seek ways to improve the quantity and quality of data collection and analysis.

A case study is also circumscribed by the particular time period selected for study. For this case study, I selected the 20-year frame, 1987-2007. It encompasses three critical periods:

(1)   The implementation of a number of important economic and education reforms in Uganda following the formation of a new government in 1986 under the leadership of the current President, Yoweri Museveni;

(2)   The "take-off" of the current round of globalization spurred, among other things, by the Internet and the pervasiveness of neoliberal policies epitomized by the Washington Consensus; and,

(3)   The convening of a number of global and regional conferences and resulting conventions that have addressed, directly or indirectly, different aspects of education reform.

The selection of participants for the study determines, to some degree, the tone and direction of the study. This is a complicated issue. Maxwell (2005) addressed the process of defining one's sample and determining its parameters. He noted that "the term 'sampling' is problematic for qualitative research because it implies the purpose of 'representing' the population sampled" which is not the case in the same way that a quantitative study using probability sampling might represent a larger population (p. 88). Hence, Maxwell identified "purposeful selection" or "purposeful sampling" strategies for which he listed four possible goals: (1) Achieving representativeness or typicality of the settings, individuals, or activities selected; (2) Adequately capturing the heterogeneity in the population; (3) Examining cases that are critical for the theories the researcher is

studying or developing; and, (4) Establishing particular comparison to illuminate the reasons for differences between settings or individuals (p. 89-90).

For this study, I used a combination of several purposeful selection strategies to address Maxwell's goals. These strategies were drawn from a "typology of 16 strategies for purposeful sampling advanced by Miles and Huberman" in 1994 and discussed by Creswell (1998) in his analysis of purposeful sampling strategies (p. 118-120). The strategies included "politically important cases," "snowball or chain," and "opportunistic."

I identified most of the informants selected for "politically important" reasons before the field research began in Uganda. These included officials in the Ministry of Education and Sports as well as representatives of bilateral and multilateral donor organizations. E-mails were sent to these individuals in advance of the field research in Uganda describing the study and requesting an interview. Once on the ground in Kampala, additional informants were identified via "snowball" and "opportunistic" strategies with a conscious effort to ensure representation from the diverse subgroups of education stakeholders in both the public and private ("for" and "non" profit) sectors.

The field research involved 47 individual interviews and conversations, some of which included more than one person, and two informal "group" interviews, one with five secondary school students and the second with a group of 15 vocational education principals visiting the MOES. The individual interviews involved 54 people (39% female, 61% male) representing the following types of stakeholders:

- Academia   4   8%
- Government (Central & District)   24   44%
- Civil Society   11   20%
- Funding Agencies   6   11%

▪ Private (for profit) Sector	4	8%
▪ Other	5	9%

I also attended the 14th Education and Sports Sector Review for 2007, which involved more than 100 education stakeholders in a four-day meeting. Participating in this meeting allowed me to hear "firsthand" some of the current debates in education. I also met many of the stakeholders I would later interview.

Most of the individual informants had strong education credentials and international experience. Nearly all of the informants in the individual, formal interviews had completed a university degree at the Bachelor's level, many at universities outside Uganda. A number of informants had earned their Master's degrees and at least 20 percent had completed, or were in the process of completing, their Doctorates. Many government officials had also traveled outside Uganda to participate in short courses and conferences. Virtually all of the private sector respondents had traveled internationally. Several of the Ugandan respondents have served, or are currently serving, on the boards of international education organizations or associations. Additionally, most of the Ministry officials had firsthand experience working in schools at some point in their career so were knowledgeable about the challenges education faces at the "grassroots" level in Uganda as well as at the policy level. While most of the respondents were based in Kampala and worked directly on education policy either inside or outside the Government at senior levels, some of the respondents lived and worked in remote rural areas teaching in schools or working as district officials. They brought "local" perspective to the discussions about the impact of globalization and education reform in Uganda.

Data Collection

I conducted field research in Uganda's capital, Kampala, over a five-week period in October and November 2007. I did preparatory tasks for the field research from July through early October. These tasks included completion and defense of the research proposal, request, and approval for the research by the University of Maryland Institutional Review Board, identification of a preliminary list of contacts and potential respondents and the conduct of preliminary interviews in Washington, D.C. Additionally, draft interview protocols were developed and revised with open-ended questions about globalization, education reforms, and the impact of those reforms.

Two events had significant effects, both positive and negative, on the conduct of the field research. The first was the convening of the annual, four-day Education and Sports Sector Review (ESSR) that took place the week of October 29, 2007. This Review was preceded by a week of field visits around Uganda by MOES officials and donor representatives. These activities occurred during the period of my field research. On the "plus" side, I had the opportunity to participate in the Sector Review meetings and listen to all the presentations and debates about current education policy and practice. Additionally, I was able to obtain some of the latest documentation on education in Uganda and make contacts at the Sector Review Meeting for future interviews.

On the "negative" side, the two weeks of Sector Review activities (the week of field visits plus the week of Review itself) meant that a number of key informants were not available for interviews during two of the five weeks I was in Uganda. Additionally, after the Review it was difficult to schedule interviews with several of these key informants because of other commitments to travel and work that had been postponed

during the ESSR. This meant I had to collapse my schedule for interviews, particularly with MoES officials and donors, into a shorter period than planned. This resulted, in a few cases, in shorter interviews than I initially planned, but otherwise caused no major problems.

A second event, the Commonwealth Head of Government Meeting (CHOGM) scheduled its annual meeting in Kampala beginning the end of November, a week after I had completed my work and departed Uganda. While this meeting occurred after my departure, the pending CHOGM event dominated the physical, political, and intellectual environment during the time I was conducting field research. In practical terms, a precipitous street closing to practice security procedures for CHOGM left thousands of Kampala residents and me sitting in a "parking-lot" of traffic for many hours unable to move in any direction. I had to cancel two interviews; I could only reschedule one of the two. Additionally, the MoES was extensively repairing and repainting its offices in anticipation of CHOGM and the potential visitors who would come to the MoES. This meant that some of the officials whom I was interviewing had to move out of their offices for a day or two; others had to endure the noise of drills and hammers and the inconvenience of having painters working in close proximity while they tried to attend to business. I conducted several of my interviews under these less-than-ideal circumstances.

I began scheduling interviews the day after arriving in Kampala. Some of the contacts I had made prior to departure for Uganda were very helpful in setting the initial appointments. I developed a calendar for the five-week period I was in country. The calendar set out blocks of time for interviews, document search and retrieval, and

"administrative" tasks including identifying respondents and scheduling appointments, doing research in preparation for interviews, downloading recordings daily, keeping a log of interviews, tracking documentation received and needed, following up on interviews for points of clarification and additional data, and writing thank you notes. The schedule also accounted for the "transaction" time necessary to find contact numbers, call for appointments, travel to/from the interviews that were located in widely dispersed areas in Kampala, wait for respondents who were delayed by other business elsewhere, and reschedule cancelled appointments. While I was experienced in conducting interviews in developing countries and knowledgeable about the problems in setting up, cancelling and rescheduling interviews, the "transaction" time I actually needed to organize and prepare for the interviews exceeded my expectations.

I experienced few problems gaining access to the individuals I wanted to interview. When requesting interviews I explained to each potential respondent what I was doing in Uganda, described the parameters of my research project and the expected outcomes. I also tried to make clear to each potential informant how their contribution could be helpful to the study, why I had a particular interest in interviewing them and the general range of questions or issues which would be covered in the interview. A few respondents asked me to prepare a memo to them with the questions so they could consider their responses and gather data in advance of the interview. Without exception, I found government officials as well as representatives of donor agencies, NGOs and the private sector to be welcoming and interested in the research, willing to share their ideas and make a contribution.

At the beginning of each interview, I informed the respondent of his/her rights as a respondent for this study as required by the informed consent process and gained their oral consent to proceed with the interview. I used a digital recorder to record 39 of the 49 interviews. I did not record eight of the individual interviews and the two group interviews. Of the eight individual interviews, I did not record four due to the request of the person(s) I was interviewing. I did not record the other four because the conditions were not conducive to recording. I used written notes to memorialize the unrecorded interviews.

In keeping with the requirement to protect the identity and ensure the confidentiality of all respondents, I indentified each interview by a numeric code. I kept a separate list of the respondents linked only by the numeric interview code in an electronic file. I disguised the file name and placed it in a secure place on a separate USB drive. All interviews were stored in a laptop computer with two back up drives stored separately in safe and different locations. I transcribed the majority of the interviews after I returned to the U.S. Collectively, the interview transcripts resulted in nearly 350 single-spaced pages of text.

In addition to interviews, I also collected a substantial amount of documentation on education in Uganda including policy documents, statistical yearbooks, annual sector and sub-sector reports and a myriad of studies conducted by both Ugandan and external consultants on various topics. Many of the people I interviewed in both the public and private sectors generously provided me with reports, recent policy statements, brochures, and other documents in print and electronic formats. In addition, I received considerable material from the Annual Sector Review I attended. I also spent time in the MoES

Library Resource Center, which contained thousands of public documents, reports, and studies on education in Uganda. I sorted through the documents primarily related to post-primary education (secondary, BTVET, adult literacy and tertiary) and made photocopies of these documents.

To ensure the integrity of the data and of the research project as a whole, I took account of the six strategic considerations Shram identified for fieldwork. (Shram, 2003) These include intent, focus, involvement, familiarity, and positioning and role awareness. The following paragraphs relate these strategic considerations to the fieldwork undertaken in Uganda.

Intent. Fieldwork served my research aims by allowing for first person interviews with informed individuals engaged with education policy and provision in Uganda. These individuals included government officials, academics, donor and NGO representatives, parents, community leaders, and the beneficiaries (e.g. post primary students) of education. I needed the views of these individuals to understand education stakeholders' perspectives on globalization, how they viewed its impact on Uganda as a nation and on education reform in policy and practice. Interviews helped to fill in the information gaps discovered during the research conducted in advance of the fieldwork. They also helped to identify linkages between policy and practice and provided concrete examples of how education reforms have addressed (or failed to address) critical issues of access, equity, quality and relevance. The field interviews provided perspectives on how different education stakeholders perceived the potential of education to position Uganda to participate in the global economy.

Focus. As noted by Schram, the key thing is to stay focused on the question "What's at issue here?", and to be certain during the fieldwork process that the broader conceptual significance of the study stays on the "front burner." In this case, it was necessary to ensure that the interview questions attended to the central research question: "To what degree are education reforms in Uganda attributable to globalization and what are the impacts and implications of these reforms for post-primary education and training?" It was not sufficient to collect data only on what happened in the past. I had to listen and learn through interviews how informants believe education responds to globalization. Appendix A provides a copy of the Interview Protocol. The selection of respondents was purposeful to ensure a diversity of viewpoints including those who critiqued globalization and reflected resistance to it. The primary data collection methods were interviews and document review. Coding and thematic analysis were undertaken.

Involvement. The dual aspects of involvement, degree of involvement and portrayal of involvement, are very important in doing fieldwork in a developing country. Given frequently sensitive political circumstances, many potential respondents, particularly government officials and sometimes donors, may be hesitant or otherwise reluctant to participate in a study unless they have a clear understanding of the researcher's objectives. I tried to establish the appropriate degree of engagement with respondents for this study by portraying my personal interests and my research purposes in an open and straightforward manner in the request for the interview and during the interview itself. In addition, as part of the informed consent process, I made certain every respondent understood I would keep confidential the comments he or she made in the

interview, unless specific written permission was received from the respondent to quote him/her by name.

Familiarity. It was important to discern the balance between what I already knew, what I needed to know, and what I wanted to know and how much of each of these to reveal to participants in the study. Of particular importance was the "shelving" of preconceptions about what I believed education can/should do or be in response to globalization so that I was open to hearing the new ideas, approaches, problems identified, etc., by the participants. I sought to be a good listener in each interview.

Positioning. One of the challenges of gathering data in a developing country is that data may be spotty, inconsistent, non-existent or otherwise unavailable. Thus gathering data, let alone generating data, can be a challenge. Before departing, and again on the ground, I had to decide what data was needed to address the research questions. A second task was to figure out what data was actually available and what was not. Then I had to identify ways to find and collect needed data, even though some of it was not easily available because it was privileged or had not been gathered or organized. This task also required discernment regarding what data was significant and essential to the study and then development of ways to find and/or generate that data.

Role Awareness. Gathering information about a highly charged issue such as education requires careful advance planning and the articulation of clear yet discrete interview questions. Participants could be wary of me as a researcher. Thus, I needed to be especially conscious of my role both as observer and as interlocutor. In developing the interview protocols and during the actual interviews, I tried to be sensitive to this

reality as the very posing of questions on certain topics might have raised concerns with a participant about the motives of the study.

Situating this case study in a postmodernist framework also required special attention to the organization and production of knowledge, as well as its utility. Knowledge is assumed to be subjective and intertwined with issues of power. Thus, in conducting research, particularly in another culture, where power may be defined differently than in one's own cultural experience, this approach required sensitivity to the perspectives of the informants and their concerns and priorities. As Marshall and Rossman (1999) put it: "We, as researchers, must examine closely how we represent the participants in our work…we should carefully scrutinize the 'complex interplay of our own personal biography, power, and status, interactions with participants, and written word' and we must be vigilant about the dynamics of ethics and politics in our work" (p. 5). Schram (2003) described a postmodern perspective in a similar vein: "Fundamentally, the postmodern conversation is about the positioning of inquiry and the inquirer amidst contradictory and complicated issues of power, ownership of knowledge and political and economic contexts" (p. 4).

Given the number of studies on education that have been conducted in Uganda, I was aware of the possibility that my "status" as a researcher from the U.S. might invoke stereotypes or even healthy skepticism about the motives or "hidden agendas" of the study. I was also aware this might interfere with the dialogue on education I hoped to have with stakeholders in Uganda. This did not turn out to be the case. I was open and forthright about this dissertation research, and I found the respondents to be candid and direct in response to my inquiries.

Data Analysis

The analysis of the data and information collected in Uganda took longer than anticipated. I shipped home more than 70 reports and other documents. I also accumulated considerable information electronically which was stored on my laptop and also, as backup, on two USB drives. I had 49 stakeholder interviews to transcribe, plus my notes from the four-day Annual ESSR meeting. This process alone took nearly two months and resulted in nearly 350 single-spaced pages of transcript text. The analytical process required the review and integration of the data and documents collected with the information and insights contained in the interview transcripts. This analysis would supplement the research conducted before going to the field.

Creswell (1998) lists six key steps in the data analysis process for qualitative research: Data managing, reading/memoing, describing, classifying, interpreting, and representing/visualizing. (p.148-149) Marshall and Rossman (1999) refer to six phases of analytic procedures, which should guide the research process: Organizing the data; looking for categories, themes, or patterns; coding the data; naming emergent understandings; identifying alternative explanations; and, writing the report (p. 152 ff). I used a combination of these analytic procedures to prepare this case study on the impact of globalization on education in Uganda.

Detailed ("thick") description of the case and its setting was essential. Prior to departing for Uganda, I carried out considerable background research on education in Uganda. The research process included both library and electronic searches. I gathered scores of journal articles at that time which, along with the new materials gathered in

Uganda, I hoped would provide a case study rich in detail and infused with personal reflections from education stakeholders.

I began the analytic process in the field by developing the outline for the dissertation and continuously identifying the data and other information that was needed to prepare the case study. This was an iterative process. It involved reviewing the materials obtained and reflecting on the interviews conducted and then writing memos and reflective notes, which captured initial conclusions, spontaneous thoughts, and questions for further exploration. This helped me identify additional information needed before departure to ensure I captured essential details in Uganda for the case description.

Upon my return to the U.S, my initial research task was to organize the voluminous amount of data collected in a way that made it retrievable for later analytical and writing tasks. I organized the electronic and the print materials by topic and placed them in files and binders, respectively. I also developed two timelines as a way to conceptually organize the reform efforts and see their progression across the 20-year period under review. The first was a chronology of education reforms by sub-sector from 1987 to 2007. The second was a chronology of policies and "events" that occurred at the national level in Uganda and at the global level that reflected some elements of the context in which the education reforms were taking place. Though not definitive, these two timetables (in Chapter VII) helped to identify some of the possible relationships between particular external "events" in the global context and discrete education policy reforms in Uganda.

Part of the analytical process involved careful scrutiny of the new materials and transcripts to identify inconsistencies and omissions. I did some of this work in the field

trying to reconcile data and fill in information gaps with data that was only available from local files or additional interviews. I continued this task upon my return and communicated with people in Uganda by e-mail to clarify certain points. I also began to identify themes and patterns in the interview transcripts that were confirming of earlier research using secondary sources. Identifying these themes and patterns in relation to the central research questions became crucial and involved looking for internal convergence and external divergence in the data. For example, I looked for convergence in the way different education stakeholders understood "globalization" and its impact both on Uganda as a nation and on particular reforms in education. This inductive analysis led to the emergence of categories suggested by the respondents and also constructed by me as the researcher through an informal coding process. Themes began to emerge in terms of stakeholders' perspectives on globalization and in terms of the challenges faced in the implementation of education reforms.

The development of the categories and the analysis of the data gradually led to some emergent understandings and conclusions about the impact of globalization on education in Uganda. To the degree possible, these were tested against hard statistical data to help determine their usefulness and confirm the validity of my interpretations.

The early outline for the dissertation that I developed in the field went through several revisions. I needed to strengthen the framework to present the data in a logical and systematic way that would allow the clear articulation of the theses and findings about the relationship between globalization and education in this country-specific case study. This was another step in seeking to understand how globalization has affected the provision of education in Uganda and how new approaches to education policy and

practice might better position Uganda to participate more fully in the global economy. It was part of the ongoing effort to relate practice to theory and contribute to knowledge and understanding of educational change in Africa.

Finally, during the interviews the education stakeholders shared their expertise and knowledge related to globalization and to education reform in rich detail. Many provided candid, first-person examples of experiences they have had working for many years in the education sector. I wanted these stakeholders to "speak for themselves" on the issues and thus have integrated extensive quotations and lengthy excerpts from the interviews into the dissertation narrative. This is especially true for Chapter VI, "Education Stakeholders' Perspectives on Globalization." The two chapters (Chapter VIII and IX) on globalization and education reform also include numerous quotations from the interviews. The chapters include description and analysis of the debates about the various reforms.

<div align="center">Data Integrity</div>

Trustworthiness and Reliability

The question of trustworthiness or credibility of this study was central to the research process and its outcome. Not only must it be viewed by others as having both validity and integrity, it was important for those who are the subject of the study to know that their comments and the facts about their circumstances were accurately reported and fairly interpreted. There were practical and ethical considerations in this regard.

The practical considerations were three—the consequences of presence, selective experience, and engaged subjectivity. First, the field research in Uganda influenced not only my perspectives about the reality on the ground, but influenced, to some degree,

those with whom I interacted during the course of the study. It also influenced how I gave events meaning and even how participants responded in my presence, which, in turn, influenced my understanding and interpretation of these events. (Maxwell calls this "reactivity." See Schram, 2003.) My field research provided a deeper understanding of certain issues and made me a more sensitive and active listener and recorder of events and conversations. It made me conscious of the need to be attentive to the issue of credibility so that any personal relationships that developed with the respondents did not prejudice my impressions or obviate my objectivity.

Second, since it was impossible to cover all the bases no matter how much time was available, my research and interview activities were necessarily selective: Whom would I interview? What questions should I ask (or not ask)? What would I "notice" and what would I ignore? What tidbits of information would I treat as "significant"? In addition, how did each of these factors play into my interpretation of events as the researcher? Schram's definition of selectivity was helpful. He defined it as purposeful, circumstantial, intuitive, and empathetic. For me, this meant that I needed to attend constantly to the *purpose* of my study. It meant obtaining evidence to support my conclusions and ensuring that my interpretation of the evidence was correct. It also meant acknowledging that my values and biases might influence both the conduct and conclusions of the study and that my findings would be contextual and circumstantial, not "absolute" or unchanging.

Third, to monitor the subjectivity that would influence the research it was important to acknowledge subjectivity as "given." At the same time, I sought to develop documentary evidence during the research process that respected diverse viewpoints to

help mitigate imbalanced findings and conclusions resulting from inevitably subjective

choices. I identified filters through which I assimilated data and used those as starting

points for understanding the rationale behind particular interpretations of data. I tried to

be sensitive to the respondents and recognize that their values, attitudes, and perspectives,

like mine, would be part of the research process.

Verification and Threats to Validity

Intertwined with trustworthiness is the issue of verification. Two of the eight

verification procedures mentioned by Creswell--triangulation of information and rich,

thick description--seemed appropriate for this case study in Uganda. Both were relatively

easy to conduct and cost-effective though both were time-consuming and required close

attention to detail.

Case studies, like other forms of research, require extensive verification. Through

the triangulation process, I looked for the convergence of information on various issues

relating to globalization and education reform. The education stakeholders had

perspectives on globalization and its impact on Uganda's education system, both positive

and negative. I used multiple sources and data-gathering strategies to provide

corroborating evidence on various issues, which shed light on the research questions. I

looked for information that supported or refuted my tentative theories about education

and globalization and drew heavily on the interviews with the different stakeholders to

confirm "assertions" and "key interpretations" offered by all informants during the

interview process. As a result, the study is replete with quotations from the stakeholders.

This was a way to ensure their voices, their perspectives on globalization and on

education, were "heard."

I have also used rich, thick description to develop an in-depth understanding of the "what" and "how" of education and globalization in Uganda, especially at the post-primary level. This approach was taken to validate for the reader that the research process was genuine and as complete as possible. To some degree, I used member checking to validate the information collected during the field research phase.

Researcher bias and reactivity are two potential threats to the validity of the proposed study. Identifying these threats before the field research stage was one way to try to mitigate or at least minimize their impact on the study's findings. This study could be threatened by researcher "bias" as a result of the data selected for analysis during the course of the study. My own preconceptions about globalization and education, the importance of relevance in education and of providing equitable opportunities for all students and my own experience working as an educator both in secondary school and in teacher training could have had an impact on the range and type of information collected and the line of questioning in interviews as well. I addressed this threat by acknowledging my assumptions and values entering the study and by interviewing a broad range of stakeholders, whose experiences and insights supplemented mine.

A second threat is that of "reactivity," the influence of the researcher on the setting or individuals being studied. This study created a certain dynamic. The focus of the study created an "effect." In addition, a researcher from the U.S. arrived in a developing country to study its education system. My home base (a rich donor nation) created a particular "power" dynamic that could have some consequences. First, respondents might say what they thought I wanted to hear instead of reporting what actually happened. Second, government officials or funding agencies might be tempted

to withhold information for fear that it will be misused or misconstrued in other contexts. I did not find either of these circumstances to pertain. However, I sought to address these potential threats and increase the credibility of my conclusions by using strategies to test the validity of my conclusions. The strategies included the collection of "rich data" (intensive interviewing, resulting in verbatim transcripts), respondent validation through constant and repeated queries, reframing and double-checking my interpretations with respondents, seeking discrepant evidence and representing contradictory viewpoints, triangulation (collecting information from a diverse range of sources), using statistical data where appropriate, and comparing scenarios (e.g. looking at education in the same setting at different times). While none of these strategies guaranteed the credibility of the data, employing them systematically and consistently provided a measure of assurance that I had exercised due diligence in addressing potential threats.

Ethical and Political Considerations

Education is inherently a political issue. Thus, any attempt to analyze what is happening with education in Uganda necessarily engages one in a discussion of a broad range of political issues, which, in turn, raise ethical issues about the conduct of the research process. These issues relate to how the data is collected (openly, not surreptitiously), analyzed (objectively and fairly), and reported (for the uses specified). In terms of role representation, I sought to find a balance between building genuine rapport with respondents and maintaining professional "objectivity."

While desiring to delve into the "truth" of a matter, I also wanted to be respectful of the boundaries, which a respondent set for his /her own professional reputation, and to ensure my data needs did not compromise those boundaries. Hence, I sought to present

my research objectives and myself candidly and seek to find the line between "passive observer" and "active participant." I recognized that the research process was also in some ways a "political" one, because I had to make choices about whom to include in the interview pool.

A second ethical issue relates to disclosure and the exchange of information. This research work relates to public policy and its implementation in a resource-scarce environment. I realized that some of the respondents in the study had made difficult choices regarding the allocation and use of resources. I wanted to understand why one decision and not another was made. Despite the political nature of some of these choices, I found the respondents open and willing to share their experiences and opinions. In part, this may have been because I assured the respondents I would hold their responses in the strictest confidence and that my objective was to learn from them why different decisions are made regarding education reform policy. This "disclosure" aspect of my work encouraged some reciprocity and collaboration in the research process. On occasion, after exploring a particular policy decision, several respondents expressed an appreciation for the inquiry and the discussion, noting that they had not thought about the issue in the broader context of globalization before.

A third ethical consideration related to the maintenance of confidentiality during both the interview and writing process. Given the context of the interviews, I believed it was important not to compromise a respondent's identity or position by revealing identifying details that might link them to specific information unless I had gained their express permission in advance to do so. This was the only way to build trust with potential respondents whose knowledge and insights were crucial to the research process.

As a result, many short quotes or excerpts from the interview transcripts refer only to "the respondent," "an educator," or "an official," etc., so as not to reveal the respondent's identity. In those cases where specific, written permission was requested and given to identify the source of the quote or excerpt, the respondent is identified by name. Otherwise, only the phrase "Personal Communication" and the date are provided.

Limitations of the Study

The context of this study is a single country in East Africa, Uganda. While the education systems and issues in other African countries have much in common with Uganda, they also exhibit differences in the priority given to different levels of education, the degree of education reform, the size of their population, and the policies and structure of their education systems. This study focuses on education reforms undertaken by one ministry, the Ministry of Education and Sports. The findings may also be limited by the relatively short time (five weeks) spent in Uganda conducting field research and by the universe of people interviewed. The principal respondents were national level stakeholders who were generally well educated (i.e., held one or more university degrees) and had travel or studied abroad. Some were active in international professional education organizations. Several interviews were also conducted (in Kampala) with teachers, district officials and NGO activists attending the annual Sector Review meeting or other meetings. These respondents lived and worked in other parts of Uganda, some in very rural areas. These interviews expanded my understanding of education issues as seen from a "local" or "field perspective. However, interviews were not conducted with parents, teachers, or students at the community level that would have added insights on the implementation of the reforms and/or on how globalization actually takes place for

people who are most affected by it. These perspectives would have added another

dimension to the study. This study does yield some interesting "lessons learned" about

the impact of globalization on education reform. However, there is no guarantee the

findings and conclusions of this Uganda case study are transferable to another context or

country.

SECTION 2: THE CONTEXT FOR EDUCATION IN UGANDA

Chapter IV: Uganda: The Historical Framework

Introduction

Uganda is a country of contrasts. It is one of the poorest countries in the world

and one that many might assume is not well integrated in the global community. Yet

Uganda is included in the Globalization Index (GI) devised by Foreign Policy magazine.

This Index measures the integration of 72 countries into the global community and their

openness to, and linkages with, the rest of the world. In the 2007 Index, Uganda was

ranked 44th, a drop of 8 points from its 2006 ranking of 36th. The Index ranks countries

across 12 indicators incorporated in four dimensions of global integration: economic

integration, personal contact, technological connectivity, and political engagement.

"These countries together account for 97 percent of the world's gross domestic product

(GDP) and 88 percent of the world's population" (Foreign Policy, 2007).

The 2007 Globalization Index (GI) ranks Uganda higher than the other six sub-

Saharan Africa countries included on the list above Botswana (# 47), Senegal (#51),

Nigeria (#57), South Africa (#59), Kenya (#60), and Tanzania (#61) and above much

larger countries including Mexico, Russia, Brazil and China and India. How did it

achieve this ranking? Certainly not because it has achieved great economic integration

with the world community like many of the countries listed above. Rather its

connectivity to the rest of the world is reflected in its high rankings on three of the 12

globalization indices: total remittances and personal transfers as a share of GDP (rank #

4), number of treaties ratified (55 since 1998; rank # 14) and total government transfer

payments and receipts as a share of GDP (rank #1).

On most other "global" indices, however, Uganda's ranking is quite low. On the GI, it ranks 69th in Internet use, 71st (out of 72) in international telephone traffic and 60th in international trade. It ranks 154 out of 177 countries on the UNDP's Human Development Index (HDI). Uganda emerged in 1986 with great expectations after enduring a reign of terror that lasted for nearly two decades, decimated the society and economy and led to the killing of hundreds of thousands of its citizens. It has had a stable government for the past 20 years.

On the positive side of the ledger, Uganda exercised leadership and attacked the HIV/AIDS pandemic with vigor and resolve when neighboring countries languished in their efforts. It succeeded in reducing its HIV prevalence rate from a high of 18 percent in the early 1990s to 6.7 percent in 2005. Similarly, Uganda was one of the first countries in Africa to adopt a policy of Universal Primary Education (UPE) in 1997 that doubled the enrollment in one year at the primary level. (Ward, 2006, p. 5) Uganda's economy also experienced steady growth during the 1980s and 1990s that reduced the number of people living in poverty. Finally, as a "donor darling," Uganda has been the fortunate recipient of substantial foreign aid from multiple multilateral and bilateral organizations and NGOs. The education sector has been a major beneficiary of donor support.

Uganda is a small, landlocked country slightly smaller than the state of Oregon in the U.S. Its borders are contiguous with five countries (Sudan, Democratic Republic of the Congo, Rwanda, Kenya, and Tanzania), most of which have experienced political and/or economic turmoil over the past 20 years that has spilled over into Uganda. While Uganda's economy has experienced high growth rates (6 percent plus) since the early

1990s, nearly 40 percent of its population of more than 28 million people still lives below the national poverty line. Uganda's population is largely rural (nearly 90 percent) and concentrated in the central and southern part of the country. It is also young (50 percent are under the age of 15) and growing rapidly, increasing at an average rate of 3.2 percent each year. (Burnett, 2007; UNESCO EFA, 2007; UNDP, 2007/08)

History

Uganda's history was characterized by "border crossings" long before the term came to define one key aspect of globalization. Before the arrival of Arabs or Europeans, a variety of ethnic groups moved into and out of the area now known as Uganda and established kingdoms and societies with different political systems and cultures. Large, centralized kingdoms such as the Buganda, Bunyoro, Banyankole, Busoga, and Toro were located in the south, both east and west. Their hereditary kings exercised power through chiefs and clan leaders. The people were Bantu. The majority practiced agriculture, though pastoral regions existed among the Ankole, Toro, and Bunyoro. A number of decentralized tribal groups such as the Lugbara, Acholi, Lango, Karamojong, Bakiga, and Teso were located mainly in the east and the north. These Nilotic peoples invested leadership in their clan leaders (who owned the land communally) and age groups that crosscut kinship linkages. Both the kingdoms and the non-centralized tribes periodically fought to expand their territory at the expense of other groups with the Buganda becoming the largest and most prominent by the mid-19th century. Eventually, these disparate groups were cobbled together into the country of Uganda though tribal ties have continued to play an important role in Uganda's modern history.

Non-Africans began arriving in the mid-19th century. Arabs arrived in the 1840s trading in ivory and slaves. British explorers arrived in the 1860s. Protestant, then Catholic, missionaries arrived 10 years later in the late 1870s. By the 1890s, the British East Africa Company exercised colonial rule over Uganda and Kenya. In 1894, Uganda became a formal British protectorate. At that time the colonial administration granted the kingdoms considerable autonomy though early on the Buganda were favored over others. The British negotiated the Buganda Agreement of 1900, which recognized the Buganda *kabaka* (king) as the "ruler of Buganda as long as he remained faithful to the protecting authority" (Encyclopedia Britannica, 1990, p. 861). By the outbreak of World War I, the boundaries of Uganda had been fixed and British administration extended countrywide. Uganda remained a British colony until it gained formal Independence from Britain in 1962.

The leadership of Uganda changed multiple times from 1962-1986, a reflection of the then-federal system struggling to balance the interests of diverse ethnic, religious and linguistic groups. Supporters of a centralized state competed with those who favored a loose federation in which the different ethnic groups would have a stronger role. The leadership initially granted considerable autonomy to the kingdoms. However, facing resistance from the Buganda, President Obote abolished all kingships in 1966 and brought these groups under the control of the central government.

A succession of dictators soon dashed hopes for a flourishing economy and establishment of democratic institutions in the swoon of the post-Independence period. They variously abolished the traditional kingdoms, devastated the country's economy,

and ignored human rights.[7] In between President Obote's two terms as President, Idi

Amin ruthlessly ruled the country. He expelled tens of thousands of Asian professionals

whose skills and businesses were important to the economy and nationalized scores of

British-owned businesses. These and other actions led to the collapse of the economy.

Amin ordered the executions of prominent civil leaders and the torture and murder of

thousands more. He was finally ousted in 1979. After a series of temporary leaders,

Obote returned from exile in Tanzania and served again as President from 1980 until

1985. The country was plunged into a civil war between those loyal to Obote and the

opposition led by the National Resistance Army. Overall, "it is estimated that politically

inspired violence caused the deaths of 800,000 or more Ugandans between 1971 and

1985" (Tripp, 2004, p. 4). In 1986, the National Resistance Army led by Yoweri

Museveni captured Kampala and Museveni became President.

The National Resistance Movement (NRM or the "Movement") has dominated

the government for the past 20 years and overseen a period of relative stability and

economic growth. Under President Museveni's leadership, the Government largely "put

an end to the human rights abuses of earlier governments, initiated substantial economic

liberalization, and general press freedom and instituted economic reforms in accord with

the International Monetary Fund (IMF), World Bank and donor governments" (State

Department website, 2007). Human Rights Watch has consistently reported, however, on

the abrogation of the rights of freedom of expression (e.g. to hold peaceful protest

demonstrations), judicial independence, and of lesbian, gays, bi-sexual and transgendered

(LGBT) individuals. It has also reported on the Government's efforts to suppress the

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[7] Principle leaders since Independence: Obote (Prime Minister: 1962-1966; President: 1966-1971; 1980-1985; Amin (1971-1979); Museveni (1986 to present)

voice of opposition parties that would dissent from the NRM by using law (e.g. the Political Organizations Law, 2002) and alleged state sponsored violence against opposition candidates. (Human Rights website, 2008) A 1999 Human Rights Watch Report called the NRM "essentially a state-party" meaning "that whatever the Movement hierarchy in Kampala says goes" (Azfar et. al., 2000, p. 46).

In 1993, Museveni used a constitutional amendment to restore the monarchies. He arranged for the adoption of a new Constitution in 1995. It followed a lengthy consultative process that included special provisions guaranteeing women's political and economic rights and every child's right to basic education. A change in the Constitution in 2005 eliminated presidential term limits and legalized a multi-party system. In 2006, the Government held multi-party elections. President Museveni was re-elected to a third, five-year term.

The Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) led a long-term insurgency in northern Uganda beginning in 1986. This complicated Uganda's efforts to develop economically and politically. While the LRA's original purpose was to overthrow the Government, the LRA did not pose a direct threat to the stability of the Government of Uganda (GOU). The army consisted primarily of children who the LRA abducted and forced to serve as child soldiers, laborers and, in the case of girls, sexual slaves. (World Vision website) This conflict displaced more than 1.5 million people. They resettled in internally displaced persons (IDP) camps. Various humanitarian aid agencies have been working in the region providing food, education and other services though these efforts are suspended from time to time (most recently in May 2007) due to the security situation. (World Vision website) Efforts to broker a peace agreement between the GOU and the

LRA have been ongoing since 2006. In June 2007, both parties signed an agreement on principles for accountability and reconciliation. An Annex negotiated in February 2008 detailed the means for implementing this agreement. Because of the relative peace, the Government closed two IDP camps.

Uganda's development efforts have also been sapped by its involvement in conflicts beyond its borders, e.g. in Sudan, the DRC and Rwanda, which, over time, have deposited close to 300,000 refugees on Uganda's doorstep. This is yet another sign of Uganda's engagement with the process of globalization.

Government

Uganda is a republic with a decentralized system of governance. It has a President and Prime Minister, a unicameral National Assembly, a Court of Appeal and a High Court. President Museveni began devolving power to local governments in stages soon after becoming the head of government in 1986. He utilized the local Resistance Councils and committees that had been developed during the civil war to unify the country and to bridge the gap "between the people-centered administrative systems the NRM had set up in liberated areas during the 1981-85 civil war and the highly centralized structures it inherited on taking power" (MoLG, 2007, p. 4). In 1993, the Decentralization Act formalized the Resistance Councils (renamed District Councils) administratively. Education and primary health became the responsibility of the districts. Subsequently, financial decentralization provided block grants from the central to local government and introduced the concept of locally decided budgets. (Tomasevski, 1999)

The 1995 Constitution enshrined the basic principles and structure of governance for Uganda and focused on decentralization. It defined the "district as the basic unit in

the system of Local Government in Uganda" and gave Parliament the power to determine

other lower local government and administrative units. Article 176(2) (b) of the

Constitution states:

> Decentralization shall be the principle applying to all levels of Local Government
> and in particular, from higher to lower Local Government units to ensure peoples'
> participation and democratic control in decision making. (MoLG, 2007, p. 3)

The key tenets of decentralization were five:

- Devolution of powers, functions and services to the people at appropriate levels where they can best manage and direct their affairs
- Empowerment of the people to participate in and take decision on all matters affecting their lives
- Transfer and distribution of adequate resources to support the implementation of decentralization
- Establishment in each Local Government a sound financial base with reliable sources of revenue
- Capacity building of Local Governments to plan, initiate and execute policies in respect of all matters affecting the people in their areas. (MoLG website, 2007)

The 1997 Local Governments Act (LGA) further delineated the legislative

framework for decentralization. There are seven types or levels of local governments

though only two, the district and sub-county levels, "have both political authority and

significant resources" (Azfar et. al., 2000, p. 9). "A local Government Council is the

highest political authority within its area of jurisdiction and has planning, administrative,

financial, management, budgeting, legislative, and judicial powers which it exercises in

accordance with the constitution, the Local Governments Act, and Government policy"

(MoLG, 2007, p. 9). There are also three levels of administrative units "that do not have

body corporate status." (*Ibid*.) The MoLG website lists these governing entities and their

numbers as follows:

Local Governments: Cities (Kampala)   1
                    City Division Councils   5

District Councils   79[8]
Sub-county Councils   958
Municipal Councils   13
Municipal Division Councils 37
Town Councils   83

Administrative Units: Counties   169
                      Parishes   5225
                      Villages   44,402

During the five-year period, January 2001 to May 2006, the LGA was amended 10 times

to respond to the changing realities of decentralization at the local level and to make

adjustments in the implementation of decentralization.

The Local Government Councils (LGC) are elected by popular vote through

secret ballot except "at village and parish levels where, due to limitation of funds, the law

allows election by lining up behind contending candidates" (MoLG, 2007, p. 4). In an

effort to ensure the inclusion of marginalized groups, specific quotas have been set aside

for women, youth, and the disabled. District Councils are elected every four years as is

"an executive (District Chair) who is directly elected and a member of the Council"

(Azfar et. al., 2000, p. 9)

Each district and sub-county also has a Chief Administrative Officer (CAO) who

is responsible for translating the Council's policies into action and monitoring local (and

lower) government department activities and the delivery of services. The districts were

to recruit the CAOs for appointment by the District Service Commission (the civil service

body for the district). The CAOs were to report to their Local Councils. However, a

respondent reported that as of October 2007 the appointment of the CAO had been

returned to the central government, the Ministry of Local Government, to rationalize the

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[8] The MoLG website and other government documents count 79 districts at the end of 2007. However, informants interviewed in Uganda in the fall of 2007 confirmed there are now 81 districts.

distribution of CAOs around the country. Additionally, "the President appoints Resident District Commissioners (RDCs) to represent central government interests, monitor governmental activities, and provide advice to each district" (Azfar et. al., 2000, p. 10; Naidoo, 2002; World Bank, WDR, 2000). NGOs have also been invited to play a role on district and local committees. (MoLG, 2007)

A broad array of powers, functions and responsibilities have been devolved to the local governments including, but not limited to, making their own local development plans, managing their own budgets, hiring and firing personnel and deliver a broad range of basic services, including education, to their local constituencies. This reform was intended to "improve accountability by moving resources and responsibilities to local governments more amenable to public monitoring and control" (Azfar et. al., 2000, p.10; Naidoo, 2002; World Bank, WDR, 2000).

Under the LGA, the *central* government formulates national policies and standards and monitors their implementation by local governments. The line ministries provide technical oversight, monitor the activities of local government agencies, and relate to international organizations under the overall coordination of the Ministry of Local Government. Local governments are expected to implement central government policies and decisions as well as develop and implement local development plans to provide basic services based on local priorities. They are also expected "to promote local democracy…and evaluate the impact of their policies, plans, and activities" (MoLG, 2007, p. 6). Primary education, among other social and basic infrastructure services, falls under the administration and management of the District Councils.

The districts themselves have no tax revenue base. Local governments (at the sub-county level) were allowed by law to raise revenue from the collection of the graduated (head) tax, property taxes and various licenses and fees, 35 percent of which is remitted to the district level (50 percent in Kampala).[9] The tax base, however, is small. A portion of these taxes (35 percent) are distributed to lower levels of government (village, parish and county councils) for, among other things, the provision of educational services. Local governments also receive unconditional, conditional and equalization grants from the central government for public services. (Azfar et. al., 2000; MoLG, 2007) Unconditional grants must give priority to five national Priority Program Areas (PPAs), one of which is primary education. Conditional grants support particular programs within the PPAs while equalization grants provide a subsidy to the "least developed Local Governments to enable them to meet the minimum standards of social service delivery" (MoLG, 2007). The districts administer the grants that come from the center, pass the funds on to the sub-counties and parishes, and provide oversight of their use.

Planning and budgeting for local governments is generally a "bottom-up" exercise within the funding constraints/ceilings imposed by the central government and passed on to the district level. Despite the alleged promise of decentralization to give more discretion to local jurisdictions, there is little flexibility, however, in the use of funds at the local level because (a) numerous conditions are included in grants from the central government and (b) international donor-funded programs are targeted to certain activities. Hence, there is actually a certain "top-down" approach to funding decisions and delays in

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[9] The graduated tax "was abolished in 2006 and has been replaced with local service and hotel taxes which Local Governments are yet to fully understand and apply" (MoLG, 2007, p. 17).

the receipt of funds from the center. "All officials, but those at the sub-county in particular, complain of insufficient resources, unpredictable levels, and timing of funding, and inflexibility in expenditure discretion" (Azfar et. al., 2000, p.86).

The implementation of decentralization, while successful in many ways, has also faced challenges. First, the number of districts, the key political unit in Uganda's system of decentralized governance, has increased six fold from an initial 13 districts in 1993 to 81 districts in 2007. Monitoring the activities of more districts has challenged the resources of the line ministries, which the government charges with their oversight. This was particularly true with the implementation of UPE. Moreover, the resources needed for this task have not matched the resources available. Second, while citizen participation has certainly increased under decentralization, many people at the grassroots level are illiterate, lack sufficient knowledge about issues (e.g. economic or educational), policies or regulations and/or are inexperienced in the ways of democratic participation and lack the organization and advocacy skills needed to take full advantage of opportunities for local governance.

Third, the technical and managerial capacity of local government entities is reportedly inadequate for the task of administering complicated programs and finances. The GOU has sought to address these concerns by creating a Local Government Development Program to strengthen the capacity of local officials as well as local government structures and policies. The MoLG has managed this since 2001.

Fourth, decentralization has devolved political authority, in principle, to the districts and sub-counties. In practice, however, the *de facto* single-party Movement system has left little room for political dissent, especially outside urban areas. In the end,

this may be leading to more centralization of power at the district level "which impose quite similar rigidities and principal-agent asymmetries on local government as the central government formerly did" (Azfar et. al., 2000, p. 88). Additionally, unless information is freely available about government services, etc., "local government, especially in a poor and socially heterogeneous society, runs a severe risk of elite capture" (Azfar et. al., p. 88).

Fifth, a lack of local capacity to deliver public services and unchecked discretion at the local government level has led to a culture of corruption, which may also have diluted some of the expected benefits of decentralization. Transparency International ranked Uganda 111th out of more than 150 countries on Transparency International's 2007 Corruption Perceptions Index (CPI). Its CPI score of 2.8 reflected the belief that those surveyed in Uganda view corruption as rampant in the country. A country survey conducted in 2000 reflected the fact that more than 80 percent of firms doing business with the public sector paid bribes to public officials whose actions directly affected the firms' business operations. (Transparency International website, 2007) This survey reflected the findings of the earlier study by Azfar et. al., which noted, "decentralization in Uganda has not lived up to expectations as a means of securing effective governance" (Azfar, 2000, p. 33). That study noted, however, that the Government (in the form of the Ministries of Finance and of Education) had taken (and continued to take) steps to improve transparency and financing to reduce corruption related to funds transfers to the districts.

Sixth, two key assumptions of decentralization were that the local governments will have better information about the needs/preferences of the local population and the

local population, for its part, would be more aware of the activities of the local governments and thus better able to hold them accountable for their actions. (Azfar et. al.*,* 2000) Yet, especially regarding education, "an inherent contradiction exists between the sector-driven approach of allocating funds nationally towards the achievement of sector targets, and that of decentralization, which promotes local autonomy in decision-making and local governments' responsibility for the services they deliver" (Ward, 2006. p. 112).

In sum, Uganda's system of decentralized governance has created opportunities for more participation by the populace at the local level. Locally elected councils, school management committees, increased media access and more transparency in government transactions has increased awareness about public issues such as education and health. Over time, it has also increased the capability of both district and local officials as well as of Uganda's citizens to address these issues. Challenges remain, however, as detailed above. Government is, or has been, addressing some of these in terms of increasing efficiency (see Chapter V) and addressing corruption. While Uganda has legally decentralized, the central government still retains considerable control through its funding of local activities, the oversight by line ministries and the RDCs who represent the central government's interests on-the-ground. Striking the appropriate balance between the "hierarchical discipline" of the center and the informed independence of the local communities continues to be an area of contestation.

On the international political stage, Uganda is a political "player." It has served as host to a number of international meetings including the regional meeting for the Secondary Education in Africa initiative (2003) and, most recently, the CHOGM held in

November 2007. Uganda is also a signatory to no less than 19 international treaties, conventions, and/or instruments. This includes nine environment treaties, seven human rights instruments, and eight international labor rights conventions. (UNDP, 2007) As noted above, this involvement with the global community has given the country a ranking of 14 out of 72 countries on the GI's "political engagement" sub-index. Uganda also participates in 50 international organizations.

Economy

Uganda's economy has been a part of the "global" economy since the first Arab traders arrived in the 1840s. The British introduced cotton and later coffee both of which became staples in south-north trade in the first half of the 20th century. Later sugar, tea, and tobacco were introduced to diversify the cash crops grown. Some mining, agricultural processing and other industries expanded after Independence.

Uganda's economy was devastated, however, during the years of turmoil before the NRM and Museveni came to power in 1986. "Manufacturing industries, based primarily on processing agricultural products operated at below capacity. The mining industry had almost come to a standstill. The rudiments of industrial production existed in the form of power stations, factories, mines, and hotels" but all of these were in disrepair. (Chamber Newsletter, 2007, p. 2) The new government's first priority was to decrease Uganda's dependence on imported manufactured goods by rehabilitating existing enterprises. It was successful in this endeavor and industrial output expanded by more than 25 percent by 1989. At the same time, Uganda initiated a series of economic stabilization and reform policies with the support of the IMF, the World Bank, and other donors. Beginning in 1987, the Economy Recovery Program (ERP) was designed to

reduce inflation, boost production, and export earnings. It "focused on macroeconomic stability, liberalization of the foreign exchange system, trade, prices, and marketing systems, improving the incentive structure and business climate to promote savings mobilization and investment, and rehabilitating the country's economic, social, and institutional infrastructure" (Kasekende, 2000, p. 3). Over the next 10 years, 1987-1997, the country undertook currency reform (1990), raised producer prices on export crops, increased the prices of petroleum products, and improved civil service wages. The economy also benefited from investments in infrastructure rehabilitation, improved domestic security and the return of exiled Indian-Uganda entrepreneurs. (CIA and World Bank websites, 2007)

The liberalization process proceeded gradually during the first five years and accelerated dramatically in the post-1992 period. Table 5 in Chapter VII provides a list of selected economic and financial reforms undertaken during this 20-year period, which created a favorable environment for private sector investment. The country experienced steady macroeconomic growth from 1987 to 1998 with real GDP growing at an average of 5 to 6 percent annually through 2005, while per capita GDP growth exceeded 3 percent per year. Uganda also reduced its inflation rate from a high of 250 percent in 1987 to 10 percent in 1995 to a low of 3.8 percent in 2000. It has been steadily rising since that time to 6.7 percent in 2006. (Kasekende, 2000; Kasozi, 2002; UNDP, 2005; World Bank website 2008)

During this period of reform, Uganda also sought to expand the role of the private sector and reduce the role of government in production. Privatization began soon after Uganda initiated its economic reform program. The IMF and World Bank put pressure

on Uganda to divest its public enterprises, roughly 150 in number. This process was "an integral part of its structural adjustment program" (Tangri, 2001, p. 127). The Government was initially reluctant to proceed, as it was fearful of foreign investors dominating the process. However, "in order to maintain the support of the multilateral organizations which were providing his government with considerable financial assistance, President Yoweri Museveni committed the NRM regime to privatization" (Tangri, 2001, p. 118).

Uganda proceeded with the process of privatization even before enacting the Public Enterprise Reform and Divestiture Statute in 1993, which facilitated privatization of over 85 percent of state enterprises by the year 2000. (Kasekende, 2000) Unfortunately, considerable corruption and cronyism characterized this process, though the multilateral donors leveled little overt criticism as "progress in privatization and other areas of structural adjustment took precedence over issues of transparency and corruption in public office" (Tangri, 2001, p. 130). Subsequent to the divestiture program, Uganda enacted other statutes and regulations that supported the expansion of the private sector. The first Poverty Eradication Action Plan (PEAP) developed in 1997 outlined the Government's vision of, and a framework for, how these economic reforms would address the problem of poverty.

In 1997, the Government licensed Uganda Securities Exchange (USE) to operate as an approved stock exchange. It began formal trading operations in January 1998. USE's mission statement reflects Uganda's intent to become a part of the global financial marketplace: "To develop and manage the most efficient, transparent securities market that matches international standards, and promotes a partnership with the general public,

foreign investors, institutional investors, employees, the Government and other stakeholders in the development of Uganda's capital markets industry" (USE website, 2007). At the end of 2007, USE listed 10 companies. It hopes to register two more per year in the immediate future.

Key economic indicators for Uganda as well as sub-Saharan Africa are provided in Table 1. Uganda's GNP in 2005 was US$8.7 billion, an increase of 34 percent since 1998. GDP growth was 6.5 percent the same year. The GDP per capita in 2005 was US$303; the comparable figure in purchasing power parity (PPP) was US$1454. (UNDP, 2007) Uganda's economy is still based in agriculture, which employed 69 percent of the workforce in 2005. Agriculture, however, represented only 32.7 percent of GDP, a decline from 37.3 percent in 2000. The manufacturing sector is small and constituted 24.8 percent of GDP while the services sector accounted for 42.5 percent of GDP in 2005. These two sectors employed eight and 22 percent of the labor force, respectively. Exports of goods and services represented only 13 percent of Uganda's GDP in 2005. Primary exports constituted 83 percent of all merchandise exports while manufactured goods accounted for 17 percent. High tech exports accounted for only 14 percent of the manufactured exports. Some mining activities have been restarted and oil exploration efforts are also underway. On nearly all indicators, Uganda ranks lower than the median rank of all other countries in the African region.

Foreign direct investment (FDI) in Uganda has increased over the past decade, though not dramatically, in response to Uganda's investment-friendly legal and regulatory environment. In 1998, FDI as a share of GDP was 3.52 percent. While this

Table 1: Key Economic Indicators for Uganda and Sub-Saharan Africa[10]

Indicator	Uganda	Sub-Saharan Africa
GDP (current US$ billions)	8.7	589.9
GDP per capita (current US$)	303	845
GDP (PPP US$ billions)	41.9	1395.6
GDP per capita (PPP US$)	1454	1998
GDP growth rate (%)	6.5	na
GDP per capita annual growth rate (%) 1990-2005	3.2	0.5
Inflation, GDP deflator (annual %)	7.8	na
Agriculture, value added (% of GDP)	32.7	na
Industry, value added (% of GDP)	24.8	na
Services, value added (% of GDP)	42.5	na
Merchandise trade (% of GDP)	33.4	57.8
Imports of goods/services (% of GDP)	27	35
Exports of goods/services (% of GDP)	13	33
Primary exports (% of merchandise exports)	83	66
Manufactured exports (% of merchandise exports)	17	34
High technology exports (% of manufactured exports)	14	4
Foreign Direct Investment, net inflow (% of GDP)	2.9	2.4
Other private flows (% of GDP)	0.1	1.7
Workers remittances/employee compensation rec'd (US$ billions)	0.45 m	8.7
Long term debt (current US$ billions)	4.3	176.7
Total debt service (% of exports of goods, services, net income from abroad)	9.2	8.8
Total debt service (% GDP)	2.0	na
ODA received; net disbursement (US$ billion)	1.20	30.17
ODA received (% GDP)	13.7	5.1
Unemployment rate (total % of labor from 1996-2005)	3.2	na
Employment by economic activity 1996-2005 (%) --Agriculture --Industry --Services	69 8 22	na
Electrification rate (%) 2000-2005	9	26
GINI index (2002)	45.7	na
Share of income/expenditure poorest 20% (%)2002	5.7	na
Share of income/expenditure richest 20% (%) 2002	52.5	na
Population below nat'l. poverty line (%)1999-2003	37.7	34.3
Telephone mainline (per 1000 people)	3	17
Cellular subscribers (per 1000 people)	53	130
Internet users (per 1,000 people)	17	26

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[10] Note: All figures are for 2005 unless otherwise noted. Primary Sources:
http://hdr.undp.org/hdr2007/2008; http://devdata.worldbank.org/external/CPprofile;

percentage increased to 5.13 percent in 2000, it had declined by 2005 to 2.96 percent. In dollar terms, FDI inflows in 1998 were US$210 million; by 2005, this had increased roughly 23 percent to US$258.5 million. According to the Uganda Investment Authority, "since 1991, over 2000 enterprises of various sizes have committed in excess of US$ 2.5 billion in actual investment into the country for projects that range from agriculture and manufacturing to transportation" (UIA, Brief Guide, 2007).

Uganda markets itself as an "attractive investment location" in Africa based on its strategic location with access to regional markets, its stable macro-economic environment and fully liberalized economy, an abundant natural resource base, and government commitment to the private sector. It also touts the "existence of a well-trained, English speaking work force [and] well-developed basic infrastructure, compared to other countries in the region" (UIA, Brief Guide, 2007). However, these latter two "benefits" might be contestable. It provides a "competitive incentive regime" to attract investors including a uniform corporate tax of 30 percent, import duty exemptions, fully liberalized foreign exchange regime and freely convertible currency, special allowances on plants, machinery, training, scientific research and mineral exploration and value added tax deferral.

The private sector in Uganda has prospered during the 20-year period under study given the reforms in the legal and regulatory environment. However, it has a long way to go to become competitive in the global marketplace. The private sector in Uganda is made up mostly of micro, small, and medium enterprises; the number of large-scale enterprises is very small. Of the small businesses, less than 20 percent are formal. The majority are informal. The Uganda Chamber of Commerce has 6000 members. Only

about 50 of them are large businesses. The former CEO of the Chamber, Tom Buringuriza, identified three challenges with regard to the business community: The first challenge is to move the majority of the informal businesses into the formal sector. The second is to get more formal small and medium enterprises (SMEs) graduating to the medium and eventually large-scale category. The third challenge is to improve the sustainability of all these enterprises.

Despite the fact that efforts to support, strengthen, and sustain these SMEs take place in a less-than-perfect economic policy environment, the Chamber has worked hard to link its members to opportunities in far-flung corners of the world such as a trade fairs in Dubai or Malaysia. Within the business community global issues of outsourcing, foreign direct investment, ICT, and energy audits are topics of conversation. "We do get inquiries from all over the world from businessmen who want partners, who need agents and distributors,… joint venture partners, [and from] financiers who are looking for projects to finance" (Personal Communication, October 25, 2007). The Uganda Investment Authority reported that more than 50 countries have invested in Uganda.

Uganda's manufacturing sector has been expanding gradually and, according to the Uganda Investment Authority, has potential for the future in a number of areas. Over the past 10 years, Uganda has reduced its dependence on imported raw materials now importing "only the raw materials for high technology manufacturing lines like steel" (Chamber Newsletter, 2007, p. 2). The main industries include the "processing of coffee, tea, sugar, tobacco, edible oils, dairy products, and grain milling as well as brewing. Other ventures include vehicle assembly and manufacture of textiles and metal products. The service and construction industries are currently the fastest growing industries" (The

Chamber, 2007, p. 2). Tourism has expanded considerably over the past decade with the number of international arrivals more than doubling between 1998 and 2005 from 195,000 to 468,000. Uganda is also rejuvenating its cocoa sector as one of several organic crops it is developing for export. The Government also negotiated a public-private partnership with the Government of China and Geely International in 2007 to open a car and motorcycle assembly plant in Uganda.

Expanding the manufacturing sector faces several problems. First, as many manufacturing industries are dependent on agricultural products for raw materials, problems in that sector impede progress in manufacturing. Second, the country's transportation and utility infrastructure does not adequately support its industrial sector. Only 9 percent of the country is electrified. As a landlocked country, good transport is very important. However, rail links are limited, roads are in poor condition, and electricity for industry is often unreliable. The Government has prioritized power and infrastructure to create an enabling environment for the private sector.

Expansion of the national data transmission "backbone" (a fiber optic cable being set up in Uganda) and Uganda's connection to the East African Submarine System in 2008 is stimulating some progress in its information communication technology sector. "This will bring the cost of doing business in Uganda down. That will draw in investors.… [It] would make teaching, using ICT-aided materials, very easy…[and] would bring the world to Uganda and Uganda to the world" (Personal Communication, October 25, 2007). The number of Internet hosts increased 23-fold from 1998 when there were only 113 hosts to 2005 when there were 2,678, though Internet users as a share of

the total population were still less than two percent in 2005 or less than 500,000 actual users. Additionally, cellular phone use continues to expand around the country.

Third, Uganda has yet to develop the production and quality controls needed to meet international standards. Currently "only about two percent of the manufacturers in Uganda meet the standards of producing for European and American markets" despite the fact that the Government offered a 10-year tax holiday for those local manufacturers who could meet the standards. (The Chamber, 2007, p. 2) Fourth, the manufacturing sector has been affected by the low purchasing power of many Ugandans caused by the collapse of the cash crop economy due to a fall in coffee and cotton prices on which farmers' incomes depend.

Fifth, and most important in terms of education, the supply of skilled labor in Uganda is insufficient in many areas thus impeding the country's ability to expand its economy in certain directions, particularly those activities that require scientific and/or technical skills. While Uganda has had a large number of university graduates, a common complaint from businesspersons is that the graduates, the majority of whom have arts and humanities degrees, lack the technical, scientific, problem-solving and/or managerial skills required to enable Uganda to compete in the global marketplace. Flower export enterprises in Uganda provide an example of this problem. When these businesses first got started, there was no skilled labor in Uganda to carry out the work, so laborers were imported from Kenya. Subsequently, a curriculum was developed to train people specifically for the flower industry. However, in the short term, while the foreign investment was positive in terms of diversifying Uganda's exports it did not initially

create employment opportunities for Ugandans. Similarly, one respondent commented

on the readiness of university graduates to participate in the workplace:

> They [the universities] have a big ceremony where they graduate 20,000 individuals and they shamelessly say that [they] have been training them…They release them onto the market and we have to start training them in order to use them. We train them to write letters…in filing, accounting, everything. (Personal Communication, October 25, 2007)

Added to the lack of skill training is the "low labor productivity of Ugandan

workers which trails far behind that of regional and international competitors at similar

levels of development [thus creating] a weak platform for launching export expansion"

(Ndlovu, 2007, p. 6).

Uganda's links to the regional and global economy are many. It is a member of

the Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA) and the East African

Community (EAC) Customs Union that was launched in 2005 with Kenya and Tanzania.

Uganda has access to the EU market, one of its leading trade partners along with

COMESA. It has benefited marginally from the U.S. African Growth and Opportunity

Act (AGOA). It also trades with several countries in Asia. Like other countries, it has

had to cope with an influx of cheap products from China and elsewhere which have

undercut locally produced products. Uganda's merchandise trade represented slightly

more than 33 percent of GDP in 2005. Its "major traditional exports are coffee, cotton,

tea and tobacco while the non-traditional exports are fish, cut-flowers, electricity, cereals,

hides and skins, beans and cobalt" (Ndlovu, 2007, p. 4).

In sum, Uganda faces a number of problems in expanding exports. It lacks skilled

labor, its agricultural products are mainly high volume/low value and often of low

quality, access to credit is low and the cost of finance is high, constraining investors and

producers alike. The country's infrastructure is inadequate and customs administration is inefficient. Additionally, Uganda has had difficulty meeting international product standards. In addition, when it joined the EAC, tariff levels increased which negatively affected import-dependent industries and hurt poor consumers. Uganda needs to address these issues if it is to expand its global market trade.

Uganda has also been a heavily indebted country, a circumstance that has had a significant impact on education. As of 2005, its long-term external debt was US$4.3 billion in current dollars. In 1998, Uganda was the first country to qualify for the Highly Indebted Poor Countries (HIPC) debt relief initiative with debt relief funds to be used to alleviate poverty including the provision of basic services such as education. Uganda received nearly US$1.2 billion in Official Development Assistance (ODA) in 2005. In the same year, the country also received US$476 million in workers' remittances.[11]

Overall, Uganda has been an economic success story in Africa though it continues to face a number of issues as noted above. It has established a number of links with the global economy and a strong record of economic growth. The benefits of this growth, however, have not been equitably distributed. While the overall GDP grew at 6.5 percent in 2005, the per capita GDP growth rate was only 3.2 percent. The share of income or expenditure of the poorest 20 percent was only 5.7 percent in 2002 while the share of the richest 20 percent was 52.5 percent. As of 2003 (latest statistic available) nearly 40 percent of Uganda's population still lived below the national poverty line. Disparities in the quality of the education system as well as in the delivery of other basic services to the rural poor result from these inequities.

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[11] See World Bank website, Uganda Data Profile.
(http://devdata.worldbank.org/external/CPProfile.asp?CCODE=UGA&PTYPE=CP) The amount of remittances represents a significant flow of income to poor families.

Ugandan society is diverse. More than 20 ethnic groups constitute 90 percent of the population.[12] Other African citizens, Arabs, Europeans and Asians account for the remainder of the population. Uganda has a religious population owing to the many missionaries who established churches there over the past 130 years. Christians represent 84 percent of the population (evenly split between Catholics and Protestants); Muslims are 12 percent. The different religious groups by all accounts live harmoniously though, as one respondent noted, Ugandans still have strong allegiances to their tribe and religion.

> Historically, the people of Uganda had been divided along the lines of tribes or religious factors…Those issues are still there. They are confounding factors. [However] people are now changing because there has been a movement of people from one region to another. Globalization has come in and we realized that you do not need to stay in your village, your tribe, your region. (Personal Communication, November 8, 2007)

English is the official national language though Luganda, Swahili, and Arabic are used in daily transactions and a number of indigenous languages are taught in the early grades of primary school. (UNDP, 2005; Ward et. al., 2006)

Table 2 provides a summary of health and social indicators for Uganda and Sub-Saharan Africa. Uganda's population of nearly 28.9 million is growing at a faster rate (3.2 percent annually) than the average rate for the rest of Africa. It tripled its population in about 30 years, and it is likely add another 12 million people by 2015. Half of the population (14.5 million) is under the age of 15. Uganda is one of the least urbanized countries in Africa with the urban population representing only 12.6 percent of the total in 2005 compared to an average of 34.9 percent for all other countries in Africa.

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[12] Ethnic (tribal) groups include the following: Baganda (17 percent); Ankole (8 percent); Basoga (8 percent); Iteso (8 percent); Bakiga (7 percent); Langi (6 percent); Rwanda (6 percent); Bagisu (5 percent); Acholi (4 percent); Lugbara (4 percent); Batoro (3 percent); and Bunyoro (3 percent). Six other groups each comprise about 2 percent of the total population for another 12 percent. (White, 2006, p. 2)

Population growth and the dispersion of the population in rural areas will continue to present an enormous challenge to the provision of quality educational services.

High levels of poverty, especially in rural areas, are very problematic. The extent of poverty equates to a relatively short life by Western standards and less than ideal health conditions. Life expectancy is 49.7 years. Infant mortality rates are high (79 percent) and only 60 percent of the population has access to a safe water supply. The ratio of physicians to the population is only eight per 100,000.

Uganda was hit very hard when the HIV/AIDS pandemic struck, experiencing prevalence rates as high as 18 percent in the early 1990s. The pandemic had a devastating effect on the country. The Government mounted an aggressive education campaign and reduced the prevalence rate to 6.7 percent by 2005. An estimated one million Ugandans were estimated to be living with AIDS at the end of 2005.[13]

Uganda has also become "home" to hundreds of thousands of refugees and internally displaced persons who have fled conflicts both in Uganda and in neighboring nations. The presence of these persons has presented many challenges to the Government in terms of providing shelter, basic services such as education, and security. International NGOs have placed a major role in providing support for these refugees and IDPs. Chapter V addresses this issue with regard to education.

Finally, the issue of gender is important to Uganda's social and economic development. Uganda ranks 132nd out of 177 countries on the Gender-related

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[13] See AVERTing HIV and AIDS. http://www.avert.org/aidsuganda.htm

Table 2: Key Health and Social Indicators for Uganda and Sub-Saharan Africa[14]

Indicator	Uganda	Sub-Saharan Africa
Human Development Index (value)	0.505	0.493
Human Development Index (rank/177)	154	na
Human Poverty Index (rank/177)	72	na
Population below income poverty line (%) 1990-2004	37.7	na
Population (millions)	28.9	722.7
Annual population growth rate (%) 2005-2015	3.2	2.3
Total fertility rate 2000-2005	6.7	5.5
Population under age 15 (% total)	49.4	43.6
Population aged 65 & older (% total)	2.5	3.1
Life expectancy at birth (yrs)	49.7	49.6
Infant mortality rate (per 1000 live births)	79	102
Probability at birth of not surviving to age 40 (%)	38.5	
HIV prevalence rate in adults aged 15-49 (%)	6.7	6.1
Urban population (% total)	12.6	34.9
Population using improved sanitation (%)	43	37
Population using improved water source (%) 2004	60	55
Population without electricity (millions)	24.6	547.0
Physicians (per 100,000 people) 2000-2004	8	na
Refugees by country of asylum 2006	272,000	2,227,000
Refugees by country of origin 2006	22,000	na
Internally displaced persons ('000) 2006	1,200-1,700	na
Gender-related development index (rank/177)	132	na
Ratio of estimated female to male earned income	0.70	na
Seats in National Assembly held by women (%)	29.8	na

Development Index. Life expectancy for women is slightly higher (50.2 years) than for

men (49.1 years). Literacy and educational attainment for women, however, tends to be

lower. Women and men participate equally in the labor force though women tend to earn

less than men (PPP US$1,199 to PPP US$1,708) as reflected in the ratio of estimated

female to male earner income of 0.70. Women received the right to vote and stand for

election in 1962. Today women in Uganda hold nearly one-third (29.8 percent) of the

seats in the National Assembly and there are several female Ministers, including the

Minister of Education. (UNDP, 2007; UNESCO, EFA, 2008)

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[14] All figures are for 2005 unless otherwise noted. Education statistics are provided in Chapter V. Primary sources: http://hdr.undp.org/hdr2007/2008; http://devdata.worldbank.org/external/CPprofile

Chapter V: Education in Uganda

Overview

Uganda's national education system includes both academic and technical training at all levels. Formal academic schooling includes 7 years of primary school (P1 through P7), 4 years of lower (ordinary) secondary (S1 to S4), 2 years of upper (advanced) secondary (S5 and S6) and an additional 3 to 6 years of tertiary for those who complete their secondary education. Vocational education runs on a parallel track beginning after P7. National examinations at the end of P7, S4, and S6 determine a student's future educational opportunities and restrict the numbers of students passing on to the next level. The system is further complicated by the fact that all these educational options are provided by a mix of public and private schools. In 2006/2007, Uganda's education system enrolled 8,354,650 students at all levels.[15]

The education indicators for Uganda reflect both progress and problems. Table 3 provides a summary of these key indicators for both Uganda and the Sub-Saharan Africa region as a whole. Uganda surpasses the rankings for the region on a number of indicators. Its adult and youth literacy rates are higher, school life expectancy longer and net enrollment rate at the primary level substantially higher than the median rank for the region as a whole.[16] On other indicators – survival rate to grade 5, transition to secondary level and enrollment rates for secondary and tertiary education—Uganda ranks lower

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[15] The enrollment figures for primary and secondary level are preliminary April 2007 figures; the figures for BTVET and tertiary level are 2006 figures. Total enrollment is underestimated because students attending private BTVET institutions are not included in the MoES enrollment figures.

[16] School life expectancy (SLE) is defined by UNESCO as the "number of years a child of school entrance age is expected to spend at school or university, including years spent on repetition. It is the sum of the age-specific enrollment ratios for primary, secondary, post-secondary non-tertiary and tertiary education." (UNESCO, 2007, p. 352)

Table 3: Key Education Indicators for Uganda and Sub-Saharan Africa[17]

Indicator	Uganda	Sub-Saharan Africa
Sector		
Adult literacy rate (% aged 15 and above)	66.8	59.3
Youth literacy rate (% aged 15-24)	76.6	71.2
School life expectancy (yrs)	10	8
Transition to Secondary level (%) 2003	36	64
Primary Sub Sector		
Enrollment 2007	7,362,938	109,663,000
GER (%) 2007	114.4	97
NER (%) 2007	92.1	72
Teaching Staff 2007 (% fem)	150,135 (39)	na
Trained teachers (%) 2004	80	81
Pupil/teacher ratio 2007	48:1	44
Enrollment in private institution (% total)	6	10
Repetition rate, primary all grades (%)	13.1	15.3
Survival Rate to Grade 5 (% grade 1 students)	49	73
Primary completion rate (%) 2007	44	63
Pupil textbook ratio overall gov't schools	1:8	na
Number of schools	14,385	na
Secondary Sub Sector		
Enrollment 2007	814,087	33,190,000
GER (%) 2007	22.1	32
NER (%) 2007	18.6	25
Teaching Staff 2007	42,673	1,171,000
Trained teachers (%)	82	28
Pupil/teacher ratio 2007	22	28
Enrollment in private institutions (% total)	40	14
Repetition rate (%) 2007	1.9	12.3
Located in rural area (%)	56	na
Number of Schools	2286	na
BTVET Sub Sector		
Enrollment 2006	40,435	1,854,000
Percent Female	34	na
Private Training Institutions	Over 600	na
Post-Primary Training Institutions (#)	116	na
Teachers in gov't schools	2,379	na
Tertiary Sub Sector		
Enrollment (2006)	137,190	3,300,000
GER (%) 2005	3	5
Teaching staff 2006	4000	149,000
Enrollment in private institutions (%) 2006	43	na
Students in science, engineering, manufacturing & construction (%) 1999-2005	10	na
Number of Institutions (inc. tertiary BTVET)	142	na

[17] Note: All figures are for 2005 unless otherwise noted. Any 2007 figures are only for Uganda and are preliminary. Sub-Saharan Africa figures are generally the median for region. Sources: UNESCO EFA Monitoring Report, 2008; http://hdr.undp.org/hdr2007/pdfs/report/HDR 2007/2008; MoES EMIS; MoES Education Sector Annual Performance Report, 2007. The primary completion rate is an estimate based on figures available.

than the region as a whole. Uganda still struggles with high repetition and drop out rates at the primary level and low enrollment rates at the secondary and tertiary levels. Uganda has made strong progress in improving access but most agree that quality has suffered as a result. Equity is improving but, with the exception of primary where a new thematic curriculum was introduced in 2007, relevance is largely missing in an antiquated curriculum at the post-primary level and misdirected at the tertiary level in terms of its heavy focus (until recently) on arts and humanities rather than the scientific and technical skills needed to position Uganda in a globalized economy.

The Ministry of Education and Sports is responsible for education policy and program and for monitoring practice. However, as discussed in later Chapters, other ministries such as the Ministries of Local Government, of Public Service, of Gender, Labor and Social Development, and of Finance, Planning and Economic Development also play roles in implementing education. The MoES is divided into departments that oversee the various sub-sectors. A number of statutory agencies report to the Ministry. These include the Education Standards Agency, the National Council for Higher Education, the Education Service Commission, the Uganda National Examination Board and others.

Brief History

Before 1986

Formal education in Uganda has a long history that was preceded by many informal and indigenous education activities. At the turn of the 20th century, missionaries (largely Catholic and Anglican, later Islamic) had established a few non-indigenous schools. These schools expanded in number over the next twenty years. The British

formalized the system of education in 1925 establishing the Directorate of Education to manage the education system. Throughout the colonial period, the curricula were not only religious in content they were also geared toward training an elite cadre of bureaucrats who could staff the colonial government. The majority of people remained illiterate.

At Independence, Uganda "had a well organized system of education which was among the best in sub-Saharan Africa. Formal education, however, was neither free nor compulsory" (Okech, 2005, p. 2; MoES, 1999). A series of four and five year strategic plans for education put forth from 1963-1976 focused primarily on secondary and higher education. These plans were implemented for an initial 10-year period then abandoned during the Amin years when the education system experienced years of neglect. The Act of 1970 gave the Government full control over schools. In the early 1980s, efforts were begun to rehabilitate the schools and expand secondary education. However, these multiple efforts to centralize decision-making and funding were never fully realized and "education continued through a combination of religious schools and parental and/or community initiatives" (Tomasevski, 1999, p. 5). English continued as the language of instruction as did the program of educational elitism that generally ignored practical subjects like agriculture. Secondary (mostly boarding) schools were privileged over primary schools that were geared towards preparing students for secondary school.

During the repressive regime of Idi Amin (1971-79), the education system suffered greatly. Teachers and students were targets of Amin's political wrath and expatriate teachers left the country. Parents and communities assumed much of the responsibility for education during these years and ensured that schools continued to

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provide educational opportunities. By default, the curriculum developed a more

indigenous focus as did the teaching corps.

Many of the attitudes about education that linger in Uganda today that affect

education reform were cultivated during the colonial period. While massification of

education has been occurring in Uganda for more than a decade, the aura of elitism as

symbolized by a university education still permeates people's thinking. Various

respondents interviewed during field research cited examples of this. One educator noted

how the colonial education system prepared students "to go and sit in an office and put on

a coat" (Personal Communication, October 24, 2007). Or, as another respondent put it,

students were trained to become an officer in the government who had a desk with two

trays, one on each side, and "your job was to take pieces of paper from this side, write on

them 'Mr. X please handle' and place them in the other tray" (Personal Communication,

October 25, 2007). Many students today still expect to complete their university

education and find an "office" job but have few of the skills required for problem solving

or management. Education did not prioritize the practical or the technical and did not

prepare students to go to the field and work. As a result, technical and vocational

education, which provide critical training needed for expanding the economy and

improving Uganda's position in the global economy, have not been highly valued.

"When you look at our secondary education it was meant to provide people like typists,

teachers, bureaucrats," not technicians which are needed for industrialization (Personal

Communication, November 2, 2007). Several respondents also noted the British

influence in regards to Uganda's "heavily certificate-oriented society" (Personal

Communication, October 25, 2007).

Soon after Museveni became President, an Education Policy Review Commission was established (1987) to review and restructure the education system. It made its report in 1989. Among other things, the Commission found that schooling "was not only 'too academic and theoretically oriented', preparing children for largely non-existent white-collar jobs, but also too centralized and lacking a language policy" (Tomasevski, 1999, p. 5). The Commission recommended that all students complete primary school as this was a "prerequisite for achieving national unity, for achieving economic growth and for living a full and satisfying life" (Higgins & Rwanyange, 2005, p. 11). This was the harbinger of the UPE policy to follow seven years later.

In 1992, a Government White Paper entitled "Education for National Integration and Development" became the defining policy document for education reform in Uganda. It set forth both broad goals for education as well as specific goals for each level of education and recognized the important role of teachers in contributing to education quality. Several key curricula recommendations in the report related to strengthening vocational and agricultural skills, introducing Kiswahili as a compulsory subject from P1 and using "the relevant local language" as the medium of instruction in rural areas while installing English as the medium of instruction in urban areas. (Ward et. al., 2006; Musisi, 2003; Moulton et. al., 2002)

Uganda's NRM government has considered education an important goal. The 1995 Constitution sets forth three education objectives as principles of state policy:

> "(1) The State shall promote free and compulsory basic education; (2) The State shall take appropriate measures to afford every citizen equal opportunity to attain the highest educational standard possible; and, (3) lndividuals, religious bodies and other non-governmental organizations shall be free to found and operate

educational institutions if they comply with the general educational policy of the country and maintain national standards. (Uganda Constitution, Article XVIII)

Articles 30 and 34 (2) of the Constitution also provided for the right to basic education for every Ugandan and specified in relation to children that such education "shall be the responsibility of the State and the parents of the child." The 1996 Children's Statute affirmed the parent's responsibility to ensure that a child received an education. In 1996, the President endorsed the policy of Universal Primary Education and in January 1997 Uganda became the second country in Africa (after Malawi in 1994) to abolish school fees and implement a policy of Universal Primary Education (UPE).

Various policy documents have defined the parameters of Uganda's educational reforms. The first Poverty Eradication Action Plan (PEAP) initiated in 1997 provided the planning framework for a broad range of reforms undertaken by the GOU including decentralization, macroeconomic reform, civil service reform, and sector investments.[18] Its aim was to reduce the population living in absolute poverty to 10 percent by 2017. The PEAP made universalizing primary education the Government's chief education priority.   The current PEAP (2004/5-2007/8) set forth goals to eradicate poverty and for Uganda to become a middle-income country in the next 20 years. It also highlighted the centrality of education for economic development, increasing incomes and enhancing the quality of life of the poor: "Investment in education contributes to the accumulation of human capital, which is essential for higher incomes and sustained economic growth" (MFPED, 2004, p. 153). The PEAP noted the social returns to education (highest in primary at 24%) and the Government's commitment to achieving the MDGs on universal

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[18] The PEAP is Uganda's version of the Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (PRSP) required of World Bank/IMF member countries in broad consultation with stakeholders and development partners. It is updated every three years with annual progress reports and describes the country's macroeconomic, structural, and social policies directed to reducing poverty and improving economic growth.

completion of secondary schooling by 2015 and eliminating gender disparity in *both*

primary and post-primary education by 2005 (a goal it did not reach). Recognizing the

challenges facing the education sector, the PEAP's medium term strategy was "to

improve the quality of education, expand post-primary education and skills development

opportunities, further decentralize post-primary education services and increase the

participation of the private sector in the provision of post primary education" (MFPED,

2004, p. 154). PEAP then sets forth specific "priority actions" to be taken in each sub-

sector to achieve its goals.

Uganda's Vision 2025 formulated in 1997 and adopted in 1999 incorporated a

commitment to education as a development priority. After undertaking a SWOT analysis

across all sectors to identify strengths and weaknesses, opportunities and threats in each,

recommended actions were developed including those for the education sector below:

- Reform the country's educational system to promote scientific and technological advancement and more practical and vocational education
- Provide free and compulsory universal primary and secondary education and establish affordable, appropriate and adequate tertiary educational institutions countrywide
- Provide specialized education and training programmes for the disadvantaged, vulnerable groups, and gifted students
- Improve the quality and standards of teacher training
- Enhance management and administration of education at national, district, and institution levels
- Promote non-formal education and functional literacy programmes in all districts and at community level (MFPED, 1999)

The Education Strategic Investment Plan I (ESIP) 1998 -2003 "arose from the

need to place investment in the education sector, in particular the UPE initiative of 1997,

within a planned framework of development that was fully consistent with the 1992

White Paper on Education" (MoES, 1998, p. 1). It focused on getting all children into

primary school. The ESIP adopted a medium-term strategy for education and committed

the Government to spend at least 25 percent of public expenditures on the education sector during that period. The ESIP addressed issues of access, equity, relevance, quality, partnership, financing and capacity building to strengthen the central government's and district level's capabilities to carry out planning and management of the education portfolio including facilities expansion and efficiency measures. It also focused on the importance of promoting scientific, technical, and cultural knowledge, skills, and attitudes needed for promoting development. (Higgins & Rwanyange, 2005; MoES, 1998; Okech, 2005; TVET Workshop Report, 2001) Like the 1992 White Paper, the ESIP identified the roles of education stakeholders including students, parents, the community, local and central governments, the private sector and donors. However, some of the expectations for the poor rural communities proved to be unrealistic.

The Education Sector Strategic Plan (ESSP) 2004-2015 was the successor to the ESIP of 1997-2003. It too was aligned with other policy frameworks both internal (e.g. the 1992 White Paper, ESIP I, PEAP) and external (e.g. the MDGs and EFA goals). Regarding the latter, the ESSP stated that the MDG most relevant to the MoES was to ensure that "by 2015 boys and girls will be able to complete a full course of primary schooling and that gender disparities will be eliminated at the primary level by 2005 and at all levels by 2015" (MoES, 2005, p. 3). However, the plan also noted the need for a "more balanced concern" for post-primary and other sub-sectors and the importance of "improving the quality of education—*what* participants learn and *how* they learn" (MoES, 2005, p. 5). The ESSP identified three key problems in the sector: The failure of children to learn basic skills in primary school; the failure of students to acquire the skills and knowledge needed for either the world of work or further education at the post-

primary level; and, the need to accommodate more students at the post-primary and tertiary levels in a way that ensures equitable participation for all regardless of economic status. It then set forth three objectives to address these problems: develop an education system relevant to Uganda's national development goals; ensure that students achieve education goals; and, maintain an effective and efficient sector.

Financing Education

Overview

Education is a budget priority in Uganda though it competes intensively with other sectors for its share. In 2005, the Government allocated approximately 18 percent of total government expenditures to education. While this is a higher percentage than many countries, this represents a decline from 1997-1998 when financing for the sector amounted to 25 percent of total government expenditures. Education expenditures as a percent of GDP jumped from 4.6 percent in 1997 to 16.8 percent according to budget estimates for 2007/08. In FY 2006/07, the budget for education was USch.720.81 billion (direct donor project support inclusive). This amounted to approximately US$ 430 million.[19] Sixty-eight percent of these funds were allocated to teachers' salaries; another 7.7 percent to capitalization grants.

Since 1997, primary education has continued to receive the lion's share of the budget (63.7 percent in 2006/2007) to support the implementation of UPE. Now that USE/UPPET has come on stream this percentage is expected to drop in 2007/2008 to 61 percent. Other budget allocations for 2007/08 are as follows: secondary, 22.19 percent;

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[19] The amount in U.S. dollars is an estimate based on the exchange rate as of June 1, 2007. The rate fluctuated during the year so the actual dollar amount could be more or less than this amount. The dollar amount is provided as a range for comparison only. Additionally, only 94 percent of the budget was released to the sector during the fiscal year. Percentage shares for different items (e.g. teachers' wage bill) provided above were calculated based on budgeted amounts, not actual amounts released.

BTVET, 3.79 percent; tertiary, 10.62 percent; and "other," 2.3 percent (MoES, 2007,

ESSAPR, p. xxv). These allocations reflect a reversal in educational priorities from the

earlier colonial and immediate post-colonial periods when secondary and tertiary

education received the majority of educational funding. (Musisi, 2003)

The Role of Donors

Key to implementing broad reforms in education was finding sufficient resources

to finance them. Donors were especially important to the success of UPE in terms of

providing the additional funds needed to fund the initiative. This also gave external

funders considerable influence on policy and practice particularly in setting up

institutional mechanisms and partnerships to implement UPE. (Higgins & Rwanyange,

2005) In the early 1990s, "external assistance …was being provided under more than

100 different projects and sub-projects by 12 donor countries, four UN agencies, three

major multilateral financing institutions (IDA, African Development Bank and the

European Union) and a large number of local and international NGOs operating

throughout the country" (Ward et al, 2006, p. 9). Poor coordination, fragmentation, and

duplication of effort characterized much of the aid to education prior to 1997.

> Each project, whether it was for improved education services in one District, or
> for a national program such as strengthening education management, or for
> teacher education, was separately developed and negotiated between the
> sponsoring development partner and the MOES. Almost all of these projects
> were outside the government's own budget and largely ignored the government's
> policy, planning and financial systems. (Ward et al, 2006, p. 9)

 Moreover, many of the projects reflected the donors' priorities, not necessarily those of

the Government.

In 1999, Uganda adopted a Sector Wide Approach (SWAp) for managing

educational resources to mitigate some of these problems. This approach enabled the

Government and the donors to contribute to a common pool of resources used to achieve agreed-upon sectoral objectives. Donors and government alike welcomed the SWAp, which was led by the MoES, as it brought harmonization to the funding process, helped to reduce duplications of effort on different projects, and created a singular focus on a common framework. The SWAp initially involved six donors.[20] It provided a way to "incorporate alternative methods for aid delivery, including sector budget support, with a particular accent on methods designed to increase local leadership and achieve a greater integration of development partner and government effort" (Ward et al, 2006, p. 10). It also sought to improve the policy, budgetary and institutional context for delivering educational services by encouraging "holistic and pro-active planning and enhancing collaborative participation of the stakeholders" (MoES, APR, 2006, p. 19).

The consensus among respondents in Uganda was that the SWAp has been successful and worked well for all parties. It has enhanced the "ownership" of education as reflected in the continuing high level of political commitment to the sector. The Education Sector Consultative Committee (ESCC) is the meeting place for SWAp discussions on sector issues between government representatives from various ministries involved in education and the donors. The Committee meets every two months and is chaired by Ministry officials. Within the ESCC, there are several technical working groups. The Monitoring and Evaluation group reviews all the studies to be undertaken, the terms of reference for consultancies and the technical assistance to be provided. The Sector Policy group approves policies. The Finance and Budgeting group works on financial issues. The work of these groups feeds into the Budgeting and Planning Workshop in the spring and into the AESSR in the fall of each year. It also feeds into a

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[20] DFID, the EU, Ireland Aid, the Netherlands, USAID, and the World Bank.

"top management" group in the Ministry, separate from the ESCC, where officials discuss and take appropriate action on what has been discussed in the ESCC.

In 2002, a common funding mechanism, the Education Funding Agencies Group (EFAG) was established to receive budget support funds from donors. In 2007, the EFAG had 12 development partner members.[21] Half of the donors provide general budget support; the other half provides funds for specific projects. These funds are, in turn, spent in accordance with the ESSP as managed by the MoES. "The medium term expenditure framework outlines the resources available to the sector and guarantees a minimum level of funding" (Higgins & Rwanyange, 2005, p. 8). The EFAG meets to discuss how the development partners can be most responsive to the Government's requests, talk about their own programs, and look at the overall budget picture from the donors' perspective. It is an internal donor meeting.

A Budget Workshop is held in March each year, which leads to a collaborative budget process with EFAG and the identification of "undertakings" which will be accomplished in the ensuing year. The EFAG plays a key coordination role not only related to funding but also in preparing for the annual AESSR including participation in the field visits prior to the AESSR. Successful completion of the "undertakings" or targets, which are agreed upon at the Annual Education and Sports Sector Review meetings held in October, triggers the release of funds. Initially there was a high number of "undertakings" but the number has diminished over time. An Education Management Information system (EMIS) provides data for planning purposes.

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[21] The members of EFAG include the following: ADB, DFID, EU, GTZ, Irish Aid, JICA, Netherlands, UNICEF, UNHCR, USAID, World Bank and World Food Program. .

Regarding the EFAG, one donor noted how it provides a forum for the very

heterogeneous group of donors to work on education issues.

> Everybody is there, with a different agenda, different focus. Therefore, a lot of
> the…key discussions are within EFAG because we need to go [to] the Ministry
> with one voice because otherwise it is impossible for the ministry to deal with it.
> So on the whole EFAG works well. But on and off there are some tensions with
> the Ministry. But on the whole, they would say it works well. There have been
> times when they feel we have been too strong or really got involved in...pushed
> too hard. But on the whole, I think it's been a good relationship. (Personal
> Communication, November 6, 2007)

The EFAG has also played a role in supporting the Ministry in the context of larger

government debates on educational issues. It can take positions on controversial issues

that support Ministry objectives but which could not otherwise be voiced by Ministry

officials.

Given the prominent presence of development partners in the education sector a

question arises as to whether or not the donors as major financiers of reform have

dictated the reform agenda. There are different perspectives on this. On the one hand,

respondents remarked on the Government's clear vision for education as articulated in

many policy documents as noted above and the strength of the Ministry in implementing

that vision. When asked whether the donors were pushing an agenda, two respondents

said:

> Let's go back to Uganda in 1989. The Government realized there was a problem
> with the education system…so they came up with the education policy review
> which resulted in the White Paper. So that was really a government-driven
> agenda. They realized there was a need. Then when the White Paper came out
> donors decided in which areas they could help the Government. But over time, of
> course, donors have their own agenda [and] in many cases they end up pushing
> for it. (Personal Communication, November 8, 2007)

> USE and UPE came straight from the Ministry. I'd say the decision is the
> Ministry's. The Ministry is very strong….If there is a reform donors are in favor
> of it gets a lot more support and moves a lot faster; if there is a reform they are

not in favor of maybe it doesn't move so much. For example…the thematic curriculum is a reform that the donors are all behind…It came from the Ministry. (Personal Communication, November 6, 2007)

Donors have used their financial leverage, of course, to promote certain programs or, in the case of the IMF, to encourage fiscal constraint. One respondent noted that the MOF budget ceilings, particularly related to the number of teachers that can be hired, are really "IMF-driven" (Personal Communication, November 8, 2007). Strong donor involvement can also be a positive thing. One donor noted the role development partners can play, for example, in providing "global knowledge and international experiences from countries that have increased their access to post primary education and training" (Personal Communication, November 8, 2007). This has been done by supporting officials' participation in conferences and by underwriting studies that the Ministry needed in order to move forward in developing certain sector strategies and policies. Donors have played a role in helping the Ministry to address education issues in a broader context.

Official development assistance for education in Uganda has been increasing. Total aid to education (in constant 2005 U.S. dollars) increased from US$147 million in 2000 to US$178 million in 2005. This represented 14.8 percent of total ODA provided to Uganda in 2005. *Total* aid to basic education increased from US$89 million in 1999/2000 to US$ 107 million in 2005 translating to US$18 per primary school-age child for 2005. Basic education's share of total aid to education was 60 percent. *Direct* aid to education by sub-sector was allocated as follows in 2005: US$84 million to basic (primary) education (nearly twice the amount provided in 1999/2000); US$6 million to secondary education (three times the amount provided in 1999/2000); and US$42 million

to post-secondary education (nearly three times the amount provided in 1999/2000) (UNESCO EFA, 2008, p. 388-389). As of the end of 2007, Uganda had not participated in the "Fast Track Initiative" largely due to the budget limitations imposed by the Ministry of Finance.[22] Participation in this program may be reconsidered in the future.

Efficiency

Efficiency has become a focal point in discussions about financing education. There are simply not enough financial resources to meet all needs of an education system that has expanded dramatically the past decade, first with the implementation of UPE and then, in 2007, with USE/UPPET. As one participant in the AESSR meeting noted, "Uganda seems to budget according to ceilings, not according to needs" (Personal Communication, October 30, 2007). There was a clear reluctance, however, to pour more money into the education sector, particularly by donors, until the system becomes more efficient and "fixes" its inefficiencies thus using current funds more effectively to expand educational opportunities. Questions about efficiency, and improving efficiency, were raised numerous times during the 2007 AESSR meeting. Key issues included teachers' salaries, teaching load, a range of teacher deployment issues, and the number of subjects currently taught in secondary school. The Minister of Education, the Honorable Geraldine Namirembe Bitamazire, had a slightly different slant on the issue. In a lengthy interview, she reported:

> We are addressing issues of inefficiency. But in my own view as head of the sector, I think it's not inefficiency, its lack of capacity….People have not been trained or exposed to high-level management, which requires a lot of skill. High-level management requires a lot of concepts on issues, which many don't have.

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[22] The Fast Track Initiative is a donor-supported program to help developing countries meet the MDGs and EFA goal of all children completing primary school by 2015. Participating countries agree to develop appropriate education plans to meet these goals. The World Bank and other donors provide funds for this effort.

They are doing their best. But they would have done better if they had the skills, if they were formally trained in educational planning, in educational management, in curriculum development. But we are not yet there.

A separate workshop on efficiency was held the day after the 2007 AESSR meeting. The purpose of this workshop was to validate a comprehensive Report on Efficiency of Public Education in Uganda undertaken by the MoES with the support of the World Bank. Text Box 2 provides a brief summary of the Report's main findings. The Report noted that:

> While it is difficult to precisely quantify the overall magnitude of inefficiency [it is estimated] that at least one-third of the expenditures on primary education are wasted or used inefficiently….[Additionally] the magnitude of teacher absenteeism, in particular, is so large that reducing it should be a principal focus of Government efforts to improve efficiency in primary education. (Winkler and Sondergaard, 2007, pp. 5-6)

The Report received some criticism for dealing in-depth only with the primary sub-sector, failing to concretize the efficiency indicators in the sector and making recommendations that were "radical" and "may cause the collapse of the system" (MoES Report, 2007, p. 2). The Workshop did succeed in reviewing all the recommendations from the Report and coming to agreed positions between donors and the Government for implementing the recommendations.

Assessment

Assessment has a long tradition in Uganda. Responsibility is vested in the Uganda National Examinations Board (UNEB), which was established in 1983. Prior to that time, the East African Examinations Council (established in the late 1960s) was responsible for overseeing national examinations in Kenya and Uganda.[23] When Uganda undertook major reforms in response to the 1992 White Paper, assessment was identified

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[23] Tanzania was also a member of this Council until 1971.

Text Box 2: Improving the Efficiency of Public Education in Uganda

In September 2007, the MoES studied efficiency in Uganda's education system. The study focused on recurrent expenditures, which constitute more than 95 percent of the Government's education budget. It focused primarily on the primary and secondary sub-sectors, updated existing information on tertiary education, and gave the least attention to BTVET and teacher education sub-sectors, in part, because data on these latter two sub-sectors was lacking. A rapid unit cost survey of 180 public and private primary schools in six districts in three regions was carried out to obtain data on primary education. The study was reviewed and validated at a workshop in November 2007 involving government officials, donors and other education stakeholders. Agreed positions were reached on how to implement a broad range of recommendations. The findings are summarized below.

External efficiency: Increased access to education has sacrificed quality. The study recommended that improvements in quality at all levels (but especially in lower primary) should take priority over improving access at the post-primary level.

Internal efficiency: In primary education, internal efficiency is low due to: (1) Leakage of resources between the central government and the school through ghost teachers and misuse of UPE grants to district governments; (2) Leakage of resources within the school related to high rates of student, teacher and headmaster absenteeism plus high repetition and dropout rates among students; (3) Poor teacher deployment; and, (4) Misallocation of resources within schools. Regarding primary teacher training, the cost effectiveness of pre- and in-service training needs to be examined.

The internal efficiency of secondary education is also low. This is attributed to low workloads, poor deployment and high salaries for teachers and an unwieldy curriculum. The study recommended a reduction in teaching costs (e.g. increase student-teacher ratios, simplifying curriculum, and addressing teacher deployment), a focus on quality and encouraging private provision of secondary education. At the tertiary level, key efficiency recommendations related to the reform of government finance of education and the promotion of privately financed supply.

Winkler and Sondergaard (2007)

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as one of the key components of the educational reform. A review of the assessment process was carried out and a decision made to improve the quality of existing examinations as well as to introduce new approaches such as continuous assessment.

UNEB decided to model its national assessment, National Assessment of Progress in Education (NAPE), along the lines of the National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP) in the U.S. It uses this assessment tool not only to "select" students for the next level of education but also to help teachers become better at their craft. UNEB develops and conducts national examinations for all sub-sectors of education. Exams are both written and oral (to test foreign language proficiency). UNEB also conducts research to provide needed information for policy formulation.

At the primary level, UNEB began administering literacy and numeracy exams at the end of P3 and P6 in 1996. They conducted these exams again in 1999 at which point the results showed a decline in test scores due primarily to the huge influx of students under UPE. In 2002, UNEB administered exams at P3 and P6 in science and social studies. Literacy and numeracy exams were conducted again in 2003 and since 2005 these exams have been administered every year. The results of these national exams are fed into the policy-making process. UNEB also administers the Primary Leaving Exam (PLE) at the end of P7. Students who pass their Primary Leaving Certificate (PLC) with an aggregate score of 28 or *less* are eligible to proceed to secondary school under USE/UPPET.

At the post-primary level, UNEB conducts multiple exams. At the secondary level, there are currently two key exams, the "O" level and the "A" level, given at the completion of four and six years of secondary school, respectively. The "O" level exam

tests in eight subjects and students need to pass all of them to continue. These exams

serve as "filters" for channeling graduates to the next level of education, either to

BTVET, teacher training institutions or universities. Starting in 2008, students in

secondary school will also be tested at S2 in English language, mathematics, and biology.

Regarding BTVET, UNEB conducts examinations, both theoretical and practical, for

business and technical programs for the purpose of selection and certification. It also

administers exams for teacher education.

UNEB faces several issues as it seeks to improve the educational assessment

process. First, it is working to revise and update exams and promote continuous

assessment in the classroom. It has "shifted from asking merely recall questions…to

more questions that are thought provoking" (Personal Communication November 2007).

UNEB has had less success with instituting continuous assessment, which has been more

controversial among teachers who do not know how to use it effectively to improve their

instruction. Second, the assessment process can be threatening for teachers, head

teachers and others who fear that exam results will be used against them in evaluating

their performance. In this regard, UNEB has had to work with teachers when they face

pressures from local politicians and communities who want them to deliver "good"

results on the exams regardless of the actual results and challenging circumstances. In a

few instances, this pressure to perform has led to a problem with cheating.

Third, the use of the exam results has also affected the way teachers teach.

Several respondents noted that historically exams were intentionally made very difficult

because there were few opportunities to go on to school and if many people passed the

exam there would be no way for the system to accommodate them. In this way, the end-of-cycle exams (e.g. PLE, "O" and "A" levels) have served as academic filters.

> The exams are really made hard to eliminate [students]. So the best way you can pass the exams is by cramming and learning and re-learning things…they even have what we call "pamphlets"….You get a question, like about the role of super powers. So somebody will write all the possible points for you so you just memorize and memorize and learn so many questions. So when it comes to the exam you are able to really give so many [answers] but it's not about arguing or analyzing and you see that most of the questions are…recall questions and not analysis questions….So children and the teachers follow that method. So for you [as a teacher] if you teach your children to reason, nobody will ask them that question. (Personal Communication, November 8, 2007)

Another respondent summed it up this way: "It depends on the use of it. Assessment is a good thing particularly if you use it for improvement of the system" (Personal Communication November 2007).

Primary Education

Primary education begins at the age of six and lasts for seven years until age 12.[24] Primary schools are public and private, the latter largely supported by local communities or religious institutions. At the end of primary school, Primary 7 (P7) students take a national exam, the Primary Leaving Examination (PLE), in English. After primary school, students may continue their education at either a secondary school or BTVET institution.

The implementation of UPE in 1997 led to a dramatic (and sudden) increase in primary school enrollment. Under UPE, the Government initially provided free primary education to four children per family though the policy was expanded to include all children in a family shortly thereafter. With the abolition of tuition fees and PTA

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[24] Pre-primary Early Childhood Education programs in Uganda are currently run by the private sector since the Government does not have the funds to provide for ECE. The MoES, however, has offered a learning framework for ECE that is equivalent to a curriculum at that level.

contributions, primary school enrollment nearly tripled from "about 2.5 million in 1996 to about 5.5 million in 1998, and to about 6.5 million in April 1999" (Tomasevski, 2003, p. 138; Okech, 2005). Preliminary EMIS figures from April 2007 showed an enrollment of 7,362,938 students.

Other achievements attributed to UPE include increasing the number of schools and classrooms by roughly 55 percent respectively between 1996 and 2002 and developing a Teacher Development and Management System (TDMS) to improve the recruitment, training and retention of teachers. (Higgins & Rwanyange, 2005; Ward, 2006) The Gross Enrollment Ratio (GER) declined to 114.4 percent in 2007 indicating a reduction in the percentage of under- and over-age children in primary school while the Net Enrollment Ratio (NER) had increased to 92.1 percent. There are 14,385 primary schools, 79.6 percent of which are funded wholly or partly by government. The total number of teachers including those in private schools was 150,135. In 2007, 128,371 were funded by government out of the targeted ("ceiling") number of 129,000 allowed by the Ministry of Finance. Repetition rates remain high (13.1 percent) and survival rates to Grade 5 (49 percent) and to the last grade, Primary 7, (25 percent) remain very low. Thus, while many more students have enrolled in primary school, the enormous "bulge" in terms of transition to secondary school – originally expected because of UPE graduates – has not materialized at levels forecast.

Maintaining quality when faced with the dramatic increase in quantity has been difficult. Parents have complained about the poor quality of education. They attribute this inadequate education quality to poor quality teaching, shortage of textbooks and other instructional materials, high teacher/pupil ratios and poor school management.

(Tomasevski, 1999; Okech, 2005; Higgins & Rwanyange, 2005; Azfar et al 2000; UNESCO EFA, 2007) A study undertaken by the GOU in 2002 found that parents saw education as a "means of rising out of poverty" but they were concerned about "deteriorating quality and lack of relevance" (Higgins & Rwanyange, 2005, p.15). This situation is confirmed by the "quality indicators" developed by the MoES which show that in 2007 less than half of primary pupils passed the NAPE competency tests in literacy at P3 (45.5 percent) and P6 (49.6 percent). However, these results were a very substantial improvement over the 2003 results for the same exams of 34.3 percent and 20 percent, respectively. For numeracy, the 2006 results reflected a decrease in pass rates at both the P3 level (from 45 to 42.6 percent) and the P6 level (from 33 to 30.5 percent) (MoES, ESSAPR, 2007, p. 7). Both sets of results demonstrate the challenge of providing a quality education and focus the spotlight on repetition, which has become a major issue.

> Parents don't control their kids so they don't care if they repeat. It's not their money. It is a question of improving the quality of housing and providing housing for the head teachers. Also, how to use the threshold grants. It was USch 7 million; now it is down to USch 5 million. There are enough teachers [in the system] but no one wants to go to teach in the rural areas. (Personal Communication, November 8, 2007)

Part of the problem is that the massification of education was not initially matched by corresponding and essential increases in the physical or institutional infrastructure that would enable the consistent delivery of high quality educational services. (Musisi, 2003) One example of this was the challenge associated with recruiting, training, and retaining sufficient teachers to meet the new demands of UPE. During the six-year period, 1999-2005, the number of teachers at the primary level increased more than 25 percent from 113,000 to 143,000. This improved the

pupil/teacher ratio (PTR) which dropped from 56 students per teacher in 1999 to 50 students per teacher during the same period (UNESCO EFA, 2007). Given the ceilings on hiring teachers, the PTR was about the same in 2007. This, however, is a far cry from the 29/1 ratio posted for 1990 before UPE when a much smaller cohort of children attended school. (UNESCO EFA, 2003/04)

Despite the reduction in class size, the stress associated with teaching (large classes, inadequate training, low salaries often paid late, etc.) led to high rates of teacher absenteeism. In a six country study, which included Uganda, conducted in 2002 and 2003, researchers found that, on average, 19 percent of full-time teachers were absent in primary schools, both public and private (Chaudhury et al, 2005). The issue of absenteeism, not only of teachers but also of students and head teachers has been taken up in earnest as part of Uganda's efforts to make the system more efficient. (See Text Box 2)

More than 90 percent of primary teachers in Uganda now meet the criteria of "trained" teacher, meaning that they have completed an O-level education and are eligible for full teacher status. (Eight-five percent have completed O-level; another seven percent have completed A-level or higher.) However, those that are untrained and even many who qualify as "trained" on technical grounds still need in-service training aimed at upgrading their pedagogical and knowledge skills and qualifications. And still more teachers will be needed not only to meet the demands of increasing numbers of students but also to compensate for the loss of teachers to HIV/AIDS and other jobs.

UNESCO estimated that Uganda needs to recruit at least 4.3 percent more teachers each year between 2004 and 2015 to attain the goal of UPE by 2015 (UNESCO

EFA, 2007, p. 55). To avoid further teacher shortages extraordinary efforts to train teachers will need to be undertaken at a time when public resources for that task may be inadequate and, in this era of globalization, qualified teachers choose other employment opportunities. One way to increase the stream of teachers is to shorten the pre-service training period, an approach that Uganda has adopted. (UNESCO, 2007, p. 80)

Uganda also initiated a large in-service training program using a combination of distance education and workshop sessions to provide training and professional support for teachers, head teachers, SMCs, and other education stakeholders. This has been done by developing a cadre of tutors linked via local education coordinating centers to Primary Teachers Colleges. While these tutors have reached hundreds of teachers, studies have found that "teaching and learning…is dominated by teacher directed delivery" and considerable work remains to be done to upgrade the requirements for teachers, recruit and train new teachers and continually provide in-service training for those in the classroom. (Verspoor, 2003) The fundamental problem remains, however, that there is a ceiling on the number of teachers who can be hired (129,000), which hinders the Government's ability to address quality and other issues.

Community and religious schools are an important component of the education system in Uganda, especially at the primary level. Community-based schools have a long history beginning with the establishment of mission schools at the end of the 19th century and continuing into the 20th century with the establishment of independent village schools particularly in rural areas that the "formal" system did not serve. These village schools were especially important in terms of continuing schooling during the periods of economic decline and political instability of the 1970s and early 1980s. Even after the

implementation of UPE, community schools have continued to play a role in meeting the

schooling needs of marginalized or disadvantaged children who had "little access to

school and for whom the established system was not working well enough" (Glassman et

al, 2007, p. 102).

> In most cases, these community schools are targeting the poorest of the poor.
> Knowing entrepreneurs don't want to go there because the investment would not
> really be worthwhile. So the community, instead of being left out, gets somebody
> to donate the land or sometimes in a church or a mosque but not really a church-
> founded school. But the church or mosque agrees to help them get started. It is
> only starting when the church is open…But sometimes the politicians, their
> leaders, the government might come in and take over that school. (Personal
> Communication, November 8, 2007)

Community-based schools are not totally separate from the formal government schools.

Many of them are government-aided, but not all. Most community schools use the

Uganda national curriculum, which facilitates students' transfer to the formal primary

system and/or to secondary school. Community schools also interact with the district

level, which may provide textbooks, pay some recurrent costs such as teachers' salaries,

and administer year-end exams. In 2006, there were 854 community primary schools.

Primary schools currently "owned" by the community represent only 5.9 percent

of total primary schools of all types. However, parents founded 12 percent and religious

groups founded another 72 percent of primary schools. Some of the latter category falls

into the community school category. Some community schools have now become

government-aided schools meaning that the Government at least partially funds the

school to ensure that a government school is available, particularly in remote areas.

Many of these community schools provide more "flexible" educational opportunities for

children in diverse cultural settings (e.g. children of pastoralists, fishermen).

A number of international NGOs has helped to establish community-based schools via donor-supported projects since 1999 (e.g. Save the Children's CHANCE project funded by USAID). Community schools easily "fit" into the GOU's decentralization framework as they draw upon local resources to finance and manage the schools. Save the Children, for example, set up School Management Committees (SMCs) made up of village volunteers (parents, teachers and community representatives) to oversee the day-to-day running of the community schools. (Glassman et al, 2007) These SMCs identify, hire and supervise teachers, work with parents, mobilize the community to construct and maintain school structures, and help with registration and follow-up with students. Training is provided for the SMCs at the sub-county level.

Primary curriculum has undergone three reforms in the past 20 years. The first occurred in 1990 in response to the recommendations of the Education Review Commission. The second occurred in 1999 addressed recommended changes in the 1992 Government White Paper that resulted in the introduction of another primary curriculum in two parts, in 2000 and 2002. Both curricula had 10 subjects, recommended the use of local language in the lower grades and included both vocational components (e.g. agriculture and Integrated Production Skills) and Religious Education in additional to the traditional subjects of Mathematics, Science, Social Studies, English, and Performing Arts and Physical Education. Kiswahili was introduced in P4 making 10 subjects for grades 4 to 6. The Local language requirement was dropped in P7. Guidelines were provided to teachers for teaching and assessing achievement for each subject (Ward et al, 2006).

The 2000/2002 curriculum incorporated six national aims for education and 14 additional aims and objectives for primary education. The six national aims included the following:

- Promote an understanding and appreciation of the value of national unity, patriotism and cultural heritage, with due consideration to international relations and beneficial interdependence
- Inculcate moral, ethical and spiritual values and develop self-discipline, integrity, tolerance and human fellowship
- Inculcate a sense of service, duty and leadership for participation in civic, social and national life
- Promote scientific, technical and cultural knowledge, skills and attitudes to enhance individual and national development
- Eradicate illiteracy and equip the individual with basic skills and knowledge to utilize the environment for self and national development
- Equip learners with the ability to contribute to the building of an integrated, self-sustaining and independent national economy (Ward et al, 2006)

A number of implementation problems attended the introduction of this curriculum due to inadequate planning, text materials, in-service training of teachers, and unresolved issues related to the language of instruction, etc. As a result, a review of the primary curriculum was again undertaken in 2004 and a "roadmap" for primary curricula reform adopted in 2005.

A new Thematic Curriculum was introduced in February 2007 after a lengthy development and field testing process. The curriculum is centered on the interests and needs of young children in grades P1 to P3. The curriculum was developed to respond to the discovery (see NAPE test results above) that most of the children finishing their primary cycle and getting ready for secondary or technical school were still largely illiterate. They did not know how to read and their writing skills were very poor. In studying the problem the Ministry concluded that the existing curriculum did not address

critical skill building in reading and writing and also that the knowledge that children

were getting from school was

> …actually knowledge for consumption but not knowledge to apply…not for
> application to their daily experiences….So the Ministry of Education came up
> with an idea that after every five years or more the curriculum has to be reviewed
> so it matches the dynamism of the society and also to match global trends.
> (Personal Communication, November 6, 2007)

The Thematic Curriculum was designed to increase students' mastery of critical reading,

writing, and numeracy skills. It is based on the theory that young children find it easier

to learn when the content is both relevant to their daily lives and linked throughout the

disciplines. It is taught in the mother tongue "as a medium to facilitate first learning and

entrench literacy" (MoES, ESSAPR, 2007, p. 7). For example, "if you are talking about

water, you don't have to talk about it [only] in science" but it can also be discussed in

social studies and English and "when you go to religious education, 'God created…the

waters separated'" (Personal Communication, November 6, 2007). This curriculum is

being rolled out one year at a time. It was introduced in P1 in February 2007, P2 in 2008,

P3 in 2009, and so forth. It was reported at the 2007 Sector Review meeting that 90

percent and 70 percent, respectively, of participating schools reported improvement in

their reading and numeracy competency levels after using the new Thematic Curriculum.

Work is beginning to extend this curriculum through P7.

Secondary Education

In 2007, Uganda implemented a policy of Universal Post Primary Education and

Training (UPPET) to address inequitable access to post primary education in the country.

The basic tenets of UPPET were four:

- Targeting of poor areas or social groups in the country;
- Abolition of user fees for target groups;

- Creation of a conditional grant to cover operational costs (variable costs) of target institutions; and,
- Entering into collaborative arrangements (based on signed MOUs) with selected private providers of post-primary education in the country (MoES, ESSAPR, 2007)

The implementation of UPPET followed the announcement of the policy of Universal Secondary Education providing support for all eligible post-primary students. UPPET has two parts—Secondary Education and Post-Primary Business, Technical and Vocational Education and Training (BTVET). The following pages address these two sub-sectors separately.

Secondary education in Uganda is long established. During colonial times, it received considerable attention. Missionaries, and later communities, founded many secondary schools, especially boarding schools. Religious bodies, including the Church of Uganda, the Catholic Church, and various Islamic groups, founded more than 40 percent of Uganda's secondary schools. The system was designed for a small academic elite who proceeded through private schools to Makerere University. In the early 1980s, government-supported secondary schools numbered 510 with 37,000 students. By 1996, those numbers had increased to 621 and 256,258, respectively. (Musisi, 2003, p. 612) Ten years later, enrollment had nearly tripled to 738,207, nearly half of which (45 percent) was female. (MoES APR, 2006) There are two types of secondary school, general and comprehensive. Comprehensive schools include practical skill training courses (e.g. ICT, entrepreneurship) in their program in response to the 1992 White Paper's proposal for the "vocationalization" of education. The objective was to make all schools fully comprehensive though this has not happened. Schools in rural areas, in

particular, have been unable to participate in the ICT part of the program due to the lack of electricity. This program was started around 1996.

With the implementation of UPE in 1997, there was recognition that access to secondary school would need to be expanded to meet the demand resulting from increasing numbers of students completing primary school as reflected in the enrollment figures above. Previously the focus had been on primary education as policymakers had been conditioned by the EFA and donor mantra that the poor benefited less directly from secondary education and that basic education at the primary level was more important to improving people's life circumstances. (Kasente, 2003) That began to change, however, with the adoption of the PEAP, which focused on alleviating poverty. The corollary to PEAP was that post-primary education would play an increasingly important role not only in training youth for better employment opportunities but also in contributing to national economic development. In 2000, the GOU undertook a four-year study in preparation for expanding access to post-primary education (PEAP, 2004/5-2007/8; Ward et. al., 2006).

The President, in his 2006 Election Manifesto, announced a policy of Universal Secondary Education (USE). He defined it in the policy statement as "the equitable provision of quality post-primary education and training to all Ugandan students who have successfully completed primary leaving examination" (MoES, USE, 2007, p. 1). USE was initially voluntary and covered only the first four years of lower secondary. It removed the burden of school fees from parents by covering non-boarding expenses for students enrolling in participating secondary schools. Not all schools were required to participate.

Implementation of USE began in February 2007, phasing in one year at a time beginning with the Senior 1 class. USE applied only to December 2006 primary school graduates who successfully passed the PLE with a score of 28 or less. The policy of USE was introduced both to provide more access to secondary education for poor students and to address the student "bulge" that was expected as a result of UPE implemented 10 years earlier. Whether or not a "bulge" has actually occurred is a matter of debate. Enrollment in secondary schools increased from 518,931 in 2000 to 814,087 in 2007, a 57 percent increase over eight years. This is significant. However, in light of the tripling of enrollment in primary school since 1997 because of UPE, the increase is not so large.

The number of students enrolled in secondary education is small (under 20 percent) relative to the potential need and the large number of age-eligible children in Uganda. For example, in 2003, the secondary school age population was nearly four million though total enrollment in that year was only 688,000, or slightly more than 17 percent of the secondary school age cohort. Preliminary figures for 2007 show an 18 percent increase in enrollment (126, 087 students) over the four year period for a total enrollment of 814,087. However, the NER remains very low at 18.6 percent, which reflects the low transition rate of 36 percent from primary to secondary school. (MoES, 2007; UNDP, HDR, 2007/08) One respondent did point out, however, that USE has made a difference:

> The transition rate between primary and Senior 1 has been rather low. But with USE it has gone very high. Just for the first year of USE we've had an increase of close to 50% in S1 entry. So you can see how this is really jacking up the system. Just the reduction in the fees. That tells you that cost remains a major issue at that level. (Personal Communication, November 9, 2007)

A total of 120,954 *eligible* students were enrolled in S1 in government-aided secondary schools under the USE program in 2007. Another 40,595 (or 25 percent of the total) *eligible* students were enrolled in S1 in private secondary schools which participated in the program through public-private partnerships. There are 2,286 secondary schools in Uganda. A total of 794 government-aided and 363 private secondary schools are participating in the USE program. Students enrolled in S1 under the USE program in 2007 represented 77 percent of all students enrolled in S1 that year. Female students constituted 43 percent of students enrolled in the USE program. In addition to the USE program, the government provided bursaries to pay the school fees for 9,250 "bright but needy/poor students" and for 36,384 students whose parents live in IDP camps. (ESSAPR, 2007)

Secondary education in Uganda begins at age 13 and lasts for six years until age 18. It is divided into two parts—four years of lower or "ordinary" secondary and two years of upper or "advanced" secondary. Students who successfully complete primary school and pass the PLE may attend secondary school either in a USE/UPPET school or in a non-USE public school or a private school.[25] A national selection process depending on a student's PLE aggregate score determines which schools (mainly public) a student attends. Historically, this selection process has reaffirmed an aura of elitism in schooling. "First" grades on the PLE range from 4 to 12. (A score of 12, for example, would be the average of 3 points in each of the four PLE subjects) This is the score students need to get into the better schools. The very best schools will actually have grades ranging from four to six. (One public secondary school in Kampala, for example, that is not a part of

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[25] School fees for public schools are not consistent around the country and can vary widely from one sub-county to the next. Many poorer students, particularly girls, are supported in their educational endeavors by scholarships provided by NGOs often supported by foreign donors.

USE takes boys with grades no higher than aggregate 6, girls no higher than aggregate 7.) The "grade range" for second tier schools is 13-20. Third tier schools enroll students with grades from 21-28; the fourth tier from aggregate 29 to 32. Sometimes the private schools take the students with the highest numerical scores (considered a "low" ranking in terms of Uganda's scoring system) because they are paying customers and it is the only school into which a student with such scores will be accepted.

Phasing in USE one year at a time and for a select cohort of students is unhelpful to students who want to continue their education but do not have the resources to do so. However, it does provide a window of time for the Government to expand the institutional base, both physical plants and personnel, for secondary education. This approach applied a lesson learned from the implementation of UPE where sudden demand totally outstripped the supply. Of the 2286 secondary schools, the Government owns only 35 percent, and just 24 percent are funded by the Government. The Government has entered into public-private partnerships with private (mostly religious) schools to get coverage (it provides a capitation grant for USE students) though many of the 314 sub-counties in poor remote areas have no secondary schools, which affects poor students disproportionately. The absence of schools in certain regions combined with boarding costs which poor parents can ill-afford and cultural and economic constraints contribute to the low enrollment figures.

To address this problem the Government has embarked on a project to build Seed schools around the country in areas where there is no other school. As of October 2007, 39 such schools were completed or nearly completed. The building of 25 additional Seed schools was to begin in October 2007. Though these schools have received their

complement of furniture and textbooks, recruiting teachers for the rural schools has been more difficult. These schools are viewed as less desirable because of their characteristic remoteness so once teachers are recruited and find out what their post will be like they often transfer back to Kampala. So, as one respondent said, "the schools have no teachers" (Personal Communication, November 6, 2007).

The implementation of USE has also increased the demand for more trained teachers to meet the expanding enrollments at the secondary level. In 2007, there were 42,673 teachers at the secondary level, 22 percent of whom were female. Eighty-two percent of teachers at this level were considered "trained." The pupil/teacher ratio for both lower and upper secondary was reported to be 22 for 2007. (UNESCO EFA, 2008; MoES, 2007) In 2007, the Government recruited an additional 2,329 teachers to meet the needs of USE.

The secondary school curriculum is out-of-date (it has not had a major review for more than 20 years) and "not delivering the kind of skills that the labor market requires to meet the emerging needs of the nation" (Clegg, et. al., 2007, p. 4). Historically, reviews of particular subjects such as English were undertaken periodically. Over time, Uganda "updated" its curriculum by adding subjects to the secondary curricula ranging from entrepreneurship to HIV/AIDS and Life Skills. Teacher support materials were revised minimally to help teachers navigate the curriculum. By 2006, there was a menu of 42 subjects for secondary schools. Each school decided which 10 subjects it would offer.

> They looked at the structure. They looked at what they can afford, what they are able to handle, and then determine which subjects they can present. No one determines that. We just give them a menu. It's up to a particular school to determine. (Personal Communication, November 2006)

In 2006, a decision was taken that "no school will offer more than 14 subjects out of 22 on the national curriculum menu. Every participating secondary school will offer 10 core subjects out of which at least eight will be examinable by UNEB" (MoES, USE Policy Statement, 2007, p. 4). With an eye to producing more students with scientific and technical skills who can "contribute to enhanced economic growth…to ensure sustainable poverty eradication…and enhance the country's competitiveness," science also became compulsory (MoES, 2007, ESSAPR, p. 13). The first group of students sat for the national exam in December 2006. Students are required to take seven core subjects: Mathematics, English, Biology, Chemistry, Physics, History, and Geography. Students may then select two or three other courses for a maximum of 10. Optional courses could include fine arts or a practical subject such as tailoring, agriculture, a foreign language, etc.

In 2007, the MoES undertook a study of curriculum, assessment, and examination with the support of the World Bank. The report identified a broad range of challenges posed by the existing curriculum. These included lack of alignment between primary and secondary curriculum and between Uganda's curriculum and international benchmarks, a failure of the curriculum to address the needs of all abilities, matching the curriculum with needs of further education, the workplace and society, the absence of an "overarching guiding curriculum document" that could meet the demands of the economy, a pedagogy oriented towards teaching skills and the absence of content that addresses contemporary needs in a global economy. These challenges were also linked to the current structure of education, the capacity, and institutional development needed

to facilitate the curriculum reform process and the assessment process. (Clegg, et. al., 2007)

Developing a new curriculum will also mean a massive training program if current and future teachers are to adapt new pedagogical approaches in their teaching of a new curriculum. This issue of pedagogy is at the heart of many current teaching/learning problems at the secondary level. In commenting on why a Senior 4 student could not express himself very well in English, one respondent said:

> I would attribute it to the curriculum because the teachers who are teaching this curriculum went through the same curriculum. And during their training they were not trained to prepare their students for the world of work. It was just passing on what they have gone through….so it is back to the training, back to the curriculum. It's all about the curriculum really. But it is more than the secondary school curriculum. It goes back to the…National Teachers' College curriculum, the university curriculum for everybody who has to do with education. They should be prepared to prepare the learners on how to face the world of work. (Personal Communication, November 6, 2007)

Like the curriculum, the textbooks are also 20 years old and oriented towards "rote learning and mechanical exam question answering that conspire to ensure good marks but minimal understanding of the subject" (Clegg, et. al., 2007, p. 16). Few textbooks have teaching syllabi to assist the teacher in using the materials and, as one respondent mentioned, teachers feel that teaching the syllabus is somehow a waste of time as they are focused always on their students passing the exams. The problem of outdated curriculum and textbooks is compounded by the pressure on teachers to "teach to the test" (O and A-level exams), which is the key to students' educational futures. As one respondent said: "It's all about 'marks' and not about competencies." Therefore, teachers use the O-level and A-level testing books as their "syllabus" to ensure that their students pass the exams.

The teachers here are bent on teaching what comes out on the test because it is all about grades here. If your students don't pass well then you answer to your head teacher who answers to the district inspector who answers to the district education officer who will go to the CAO and so many levels. Here it is about grades. That's political. It is all about grades. So you will find that the teaching is very tailored to passing exams. (Personal Communication, November 6, 2007)

The Uganda Certificate of Education (UCE) or "O" level is awarded to students who successfully complete ordinary secondary; those who complete advanced secondary receive the Higher School Certificate (HSC) or "A" level.[26]

The First Regional Conference on Secondary Education in Africa (SEIA) w as held in Kampala in 2003. Conference participants identified four key issues in secondary education in Africa: inadequate data to inform policy decisions; the lack of a clear vision for secondary education; limited and unequal access; gender equity, and the impact of HIV/AIDS (Bergman and Armstrong, 2004, pp. 19-21). The Conference also sought to identify certain guiding principles for secondary education that would address "what kind" of education and "for what?" The list of principles was long and laudable. The first principle was "relevance." Other principles identified for SE were that it be realistic and sustainable, knowledge-based, innovative and future-oriented, participatory, equitable, gender-sensitive and student-centered and effective. (Bregman and Armstrong, 2004) "A critical step…is determining the ultimate purpose of secondary education in economic, cultural, social, and political terms. This involves identifying the essential knowledge, skills, and values that would prepare students for leading a productive and happy future life" (Bregman and Armstrong, 2004, 25).

All of these issues challenge Uganda. Making secondary education "relevant" engenders further questions about education for what future—for the global labor market

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[26] The HSC is the same as the UACE, Uganda Advanced Certificate for Education. HSC has become the preferred term that is used by the examination body, UNEB.

or the local? For a life lived in cities or in villages? The draft thematic report issued in

conjunction with the 2003 SEIA conference highlighted the danger of "selling people the

myth of their equal chances of global success" and of promoting education adapted to the

modern economy at the expense of providing training relevant to the rural population

(Bregman and Armstrong, 2004, p. 27). One conference participant from Uganda argued

that given the new global order that allows for rapid exchange of ideas it is important to

understand the global context. She said, "'we need leadership to look at the world in

different ways.' Secondary education should provide that exposure" (Bregman and

Armstrong, 2004, p. 27). Y.K. Nsubuga, Commissioner for Secondary Education in

Uganda and a participant in the SEIA conference, noted that "Secondary education

increasingly determines life's chances: therefore, the poor, rural children and girls are

being denied opportunities to realize their potential" (Bregman and Armstrong, 2004, p.

20). In a news release on June 9, 2007, President Museveni affirmed the importance of

education for development stating, "The NRM government priority is provision of free

education through the Universal Primary and Secondary Education so that people

can be empowered to develop their societies." (GOU website)

Business, Technical and Vocational Education and Training (BTVET)

The BTVET department in the MoES oversees programs at two levels of

education, post-primary and post-secondary. Post-*primary* institutions admit students

who have successfully completing P7 and the PLE. These 62 institutions include the

following: farm schools (4), community polytechnics (16), vocational training center (1),

technical schools (25), and other private institutions (16). The Department is responsible

for budgeting for these institutions, supervising their performance, regulating their admissions, etc.

BTVET also includes post-*secondary* institutions, which admit students who have completed four years of secondary school and successfully passed their O-level. This category includes technical institutes (34) and approximately 20 nursing, clinical and paramedical schools formerly under the Ministry of Health that offer two-to-three year courses. Over 50 percent of these two categories of BTVET institutions are located in rural areas. Nearly 70 percent are full boarding type. Students have the option of attending a large number of post-secondary colleges after completing six years of secondary school and successfully passing their A-level exam. Listed below, this group of colleges includes 81 technical, commercial/business, health, and other colleges, about half of which are private. Another 600+ private BTVET training facilities and programs operate independent of the Government. These institutions are discussed in more detail in Chapter VIII.

Agricultural and Forestry Colleges	5	
Commerce and Business Colleges	48	(43 are private)
Co-operative Colleges	2	
Hotel and Tourism Schools	2	
Health Colleges	15	(6 are private)
Meteorological Colleges	1	
Technical Colleges	6	(1 is private)
Survey and Physical Planning	1	
Wildlife	1	

Students receive Diplomas upon completion of these programs in such fields as Electrical, Mechanical or Civil Engineering, Tourism Management, and a range of business degrees. Students can also transition from these schools to universities. In 2006, 44,585 students enrolled in post-secondary BTVET institutions.

Shortly after announcing USE, the GOU expanded USE to Universal Post-Primary Education and Training (UPPET) to increase access and improve attendance in business, technical, and vocational education and training (BTVET) programs at the *post-primary* level. Like USE, the purpose of this program was to introduce students to formal reasoning, problem-solving skills and occupationally relevant content and application of knowledge. It was also intended to develop competencies that would improve Uganda's access to the global economy via a highly skilled workforce. In 2007, 40,435 students were enrolled in post-primary training institutions.[27] Roughly one-third were female. Of these students, only 2,502 benefited from the tuition-free UPPET program, which allows admission under the same criteria as USE students are admitted to secondary school.

While many acknowledge that BTVET programs are essential if Uganda is to develop a skilled work force that can help the country integrate successfully into the global economy, this sub-sector has been largely neglected for more than 30 years. Uganda's PEAP for 2004/5-2007/8 set a goal for increasing the transition of students completing four years of secondary school to BTVET from 10 percent to 50 percent. It noted that "vocational education needs to be well matched with the economy's need for skills" and that "an appropriate balance (needs to be achieved) within post-primary education between academic and vocational education." In the PEAP, BTVET is aligned "with the importance of non-agricultural self-employment as a route out of poverty" (PEAP, 2004/5, pp. 160, 161).

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[27] As noted earlier, the total number of students enrolled in post-primary BTVET programs is understated because the number enrolled in many private training institutions is not known.

Historically, vocational training has been given short shrift in the development of Uganda's education system, even though various efforts have been undertaken to promote and expand technical and vocational training programs. It has also suffered from the stigma of negative attitudes associating vocational education with academically poor performers, manual labor, and low status jobs. As the current Minister of Education, Hon. Namirembe Bitamazire (then the Minister of State for Primary Education) said at a 2001 workshop: "Most of the negative issues begin at dinner tables when children are interacting with parents" (UNESCO National Commission Report, 2001, p. 12). Parents viewed vocational training as a failure in academics. Haan noted that "a severe cultural bias [exists] against vocational training and work in Uganda" which has been reflected historically in the academic focus of secondary education (Haan, 2001, p. 98). To counter this stigma, the MoES has undertaken a number of education efforts including "films, radio talk shows, pamphlets, discussions in school, [and] visitations at parents' meetings" to broaden public awareness (Personal Communication, November 13, 2007).

Christian missionaries started most of the technical and vocational institutions now owned and funded by the Government. These schools were intended "to train craftsmen who were used to construct churches and schools for the missionaries, for the expansion of the missionary work in this country" (Personal Communication, November 13, 2007). Under the colonial regime, academic training was prioritized in order to prepare "white collar" managers, clerks, accountants, and teachers for the British administrators. Even the chiefs emulated this training for their children so that there was little regard for technical education. The British did develop skills training centers in the

late 1940s, and in the early 1950s they established an Artisan Training Organization and Trade Testing and Apprenticeship Training Sections. Nevertheless, at Independence skilled manpower was in short supply. Little planning had been done and there was "no serious concern to budget for technical education" (Personal Communication, November 13, 2007).

In 1972, the Industrial Training Decree No. 2 was passed which has regulated vocational training until the present day. This Act established the Directorate of Industrial Training (DIT) as a semi-autonomous body, which was initially placed under the Ministry of Labor. Its mandate was to "develop, monitor and promote an effective and efficient industrial, vocational and apprenticeship training system for continued and sustained skilled manpower development in the country" (MoES, 2001, p. 1). It required the formation of an Industrial Training Council (ITC) whose members would represent three critical stakeholders—the government, workers and employers as recommended by the ILO – to oversee the DIT and advise the Minister. The Decree permitted the establishment of a training levy to finance industrial training for specific industries and provided trade test regulations. In 1975, the DIT was reorganized to include four sections: Apprenticeship and In-Plant Training; Trade Testing and Guidance; Curriculum Development; and Vocational Training Institutions.

In 1992, the Government White Paper on Education focused on the vocationalization of education with the intent of strengthening the relationship between education and the world of work. Key elements of this approach were intended to increase the vocational and technical components in primary and general secondary

schools, strengthen the technical and vocational training institutions, and promote more in-service and on-the-job training. (MoES, 2001).

In 1996, the President announced his vision for a massive program that would locate a total of 850 community polytechnics around Uganda, ideally one in each county or sub-county. The purpose of establishing these institutions was to provide a place to train students coming out of primary schools as well as people who already had some skills and wanted to enhance them. The NCDC developed syllabi for some 16 short and long courses for a range of business and technical courses such as secretarial, bookkeeping, computer studies, carpentry, welding, home economics, catering, etc. While the plan was included in ESIP I, the program did not get off the ground as expected and only 16 community polytechnics have been established to date.

Civil service reform in 1998 transferred responsibility for all technical and vocational training institutions previously spread out in various line ministries to the MoES thus consolidating a system that had been fragmented and of uneven quality. This transfer also included the transfer of the DIT as well as responsibility for four vocational training institutes (VTIs) which had been under the Ministry of Gender, Labor, and Social Development. At that time, a BTVET department was set up in the MoES for the first time with responsibility for BTVET at all levels including the vocationalization of education in secondary schools. Prior to that time, the MoES had little involvement with vocational training.

What this reform did *not* do was to transfer any resources from the ministries that had previously managed these programs and institutions. Thus, while the consolidation effort may have been wise in terms of developing a more coherent structure for all of

Uganda's education endeavors, the demands created by this "unfunded mandate" to handle all of the public sector's training activities, not only in education but also in health, created resource challenges for the MoES, which persist to this day. The legal framework for BTVET is outdated. The Ministry's capacity to handle all the training activities is stretched very thin. In addition, the resources which the levy provision from the 1972 Decree had been expected to provide never materialized because Uganda did not then, and does not now, have a sufficiently strong industrial base to bear the costs of a levy to support BTVET institutions. Instead, it has a large informal sector with thousands of very small businesses and few very large companies that could sustain a levy system.

As few funds were made available for vocational and technical education, the public training institutions fell into disrepair. The Government inherited the physical facilities built by the missionaries, which were "transformed" into rural technical schools. The curriculum was outdated and teachers received no in-service training to enhance their skills. As a result, the training institutes often produced "low quality graduates with poor moral values and limited practical skills" (TVET Workshop Report, 2001, p. 33). This situation still exists. As several vocational educators recounted in an impromptu meeting in Kampala:

> We are resource constrained. We need ICT. Very few of our facilities have electricity…We need more training as educators and managers to become more professional…We have no textbooks and we need to upgrade the curriculum [which was last revised] in the 1960s….We need transportation for materials and equipment. (Personal Communication, November 5, 2007)

In recent years, a number of workshops and studies have been undertaken to assess the options for improving technical and vocational education and training (TVET). For example, in 2001, Uganda hosted a sub-regional workshop on the promotion and

reform of TVET in Africa. The workshop participants recommended that: (1) Legal

frameworks and curricula for TVET be reviewed and updated; (2) TVET be integrated

into all levels of the education system; (3) Business and Entrepreneurial Studies be

included in TVET programs; and, (4) Strategies be devised (a) to forge linkages between

TVET and the business community and (b) to include more women and girls in TVET

programs. The then Ugandan Minister of State for Higher Education, Hon. B. Akech,

gave the opening address. He put TVET (soon to become BTVET with the inclusion of

business training) into a global context by saying:

> Carefully conceptualized, planned and executed TVET can be one of the most
> powerful instruments for enabling all members in the African community to face
> the new global challenges [including] unemployment, technical advancement,
> social development, wealth creation, eradication of poverty, skill development
> and thereby becoming productive members of society. It is indeed true to regard
> TVET as the most effective tool for social integration and uplifting self-esteem.
> Therefore, TVET should be at the core of any country's educational reform
> process. (UNESCO National Commission Report, 2001, p. 13)

Some at the workshop were critical of the "Western" training model that emerged in

Africa. In his keynote address, Prof. Musaazi of Makerere University stated that this

model had given

> …birth to formal technical education systems. This led [to] the syndrome of
> technological transfer; the feeling that the best education is Western Education
> and the quickest way to develop was perceived as the transfer of western
> technologies to LDCs irrespective of the context issues. [This formal TVET
> model] contributed to high unemployment by displacement of village labor-
> intensive industries by Western led capital-intensive industries….Furthermore,
> Structural Adjustment Programs (SAPs), especially retrenchment exercises, have
> left many school leavers/graduates unemployed. There are no appropriate modern
> safety nets to address the effects of SAPs. The major dilemma is the 'wrong kind'
> of education that does not prepare youth for work in their context. (UNESCO
> National Commission Report, 2001, p.16)

In 2002, DFID funded a study that investigated skill links between secondary

education and small business success in Uganda. The same year, GTZ studied the sector

to identify the challenges and the opportunities in the sector as well as needed reforms. Key findings included the following: (1) A mismatch existed between supply and demand. The training being provided did not match what the private sector industries needed in terms of skills and knowledge; and (2) Training institutions were underutilized. A TVET Policy Task Force was formed and in 2003 developed a policy document intended to bring coherence to the sector. It noted the "disparities between rural and urban areas, regional imbalances in the provision of TVET facilities and the cost of education and training" which had increased considerably, putting such programs out of the reach for many people (MoES, 2003, p. 5). Furthermore, it noted that TVET programs were input-oriented and focused mainly on certification with little attention to training people to be entrepreneurs. The policy document set forth the vision, mission, policy principles, and objectives for TVET as well as proposal for a TVET coordination framework and financing.

A follow-up study of third and in-country training sponsored by JICA in 2007 arrived at a number of confirmational findings about BTVET in Uganda. It concluded that in nearly all the public institutions tools and equipment are absent or outdated, facilities are inadequate and in disrepair, financial support has not been effective, and instructors and teachers lack competence, practical experience, and certification. It also noted that the "best performing institutions are those supported by the development partners, NGO's and religious bodies" (Kiwanuka, 2007, p. 40).

The stakeholders in BTVET are many. In the public sector the MoES and the Ministry of Tourism, Trade and Industry are, among other ministries and statutory bodies, keenly interested in BTVET. In the private sector, the business sector and its

associations (e.g. the Uganda Chamber of Commerce and Industry) and hundreds of NGOs that provide training programs have an interest in BTVET programs. Other groups such as the Uganda Investment Authority (UIA), the Uganda Manufacturers Association (UMA), the Uganda Small Scale Industries Association (USSIA) and the Uganda Association of Private Vocational Institutions (UGAPRIVI), to name a few, are all very interested in improving BTVET. However, despite the increasing rhetoric about the importance of training skilled workers for a global economy, the BTVET sub-sector still receives the lowest share of the education sector budget, just 3.79% for FY 2007/08.

The German aid agency (GTZ), German Development Bank (KfW), the Japanese aid agency (JICA), and the African Development Bank (ADB) have supported BTVET in Uganda. GTZ, for example, initiated a 15-year program in 1999 titled "Promotion of Employment Oriented Vocational and Technical Training" (PEVOT), which has addressed the needs of the labor market and trainees by focusing on new training models that "ensure relevance, employability, and employment." The program has also supported the development of common frameworks for training providers, the Uganda Vocational Qualifications Framework (UVQF). This is the major reform in the BTVET sub-sector. The German Development Bank (KfW) supports a program to develop private training providers and has helped start 100 training institutions to date. Similarly, the Japanese aid agency, JICA, has provided considerable support for the Nakawa Vocational Training Institute.

Today the BTVET sub-sector is made up of a number of differentiated institutions, public and private, that offer a range of courses and certifications depending on the level of entry. There are also some enterprise-based training programs and an

unknown number of apprenticeships (PEAP, 2004/5, p. 160). Unlike with USE partnerships, the Government has not developed systematic public private partnerships with private training institutions to provide bursaries for students to enable them to attend private training institutions. Formal linkages between the private sector and the training institutions, particularly those supported by government, are in a nascent stage. Private businesses do provide some skill training for their employees but this too is also at a beginning stage. Some adult literacy programs are incorporating separate training programs for livelihood or income-generation activities. (Oxenham, 2002) Additionally private training centers and colleges are providing practical skill training in a range of skills that can lead to better employment opportunities.

The 2007 ESSAPR highlighted the establishment of the Uganda Vocational Qualifications Framework (UVQF), the appointment of an Industrial Training Council, the submission to, and approval by, Cabinet of a set of principles in the BTVET Act, which became a BTVET bill, and the development of draft Assessment Regulations with a broad group of stakeholders. (MoES, ESSAPR, 2007)

While demand and consequently enrollments have been rising, the public sector has been unable to respond fulsomely. Hence, private technical and vocational training facilities have proliferated. Many have external backing from religious groups, NGOs or other donors. UGAPRIVI, the association of private vocational institutions, has 433 registered members and estimates there are another 150+ unregistered private training institutions in Uganda. Private institutions outnumber public training institutions almost six to one. No comprehensive study of the private training institutions has been done. However, they are filling a need.

They are good for the economy. Some of them are offering good success because if you look at their facilities, some of these are very good. They are well equipped. Management is good. [They are] well funded by the donors, either by the churches or private donors from abroad….and in many cases they have better infrastructure than the public institutions…. [The establishment of these institutions] has lessened pressure on government because it didn't have the resources to reach all those places. (Personal Communication, November 13, 2007)

BTVET institutions provide training in a number of areas including all the building trades, welding, tailoring, business studies, handicrafts, hotel management, catering, nursery teaching (i.e., kindergarten), and beautician skills. Formal training programs include short courses that are less than one year in duration and longer programs that may last as long as three-and-a half years. Short courses are also offered in the informal sector. Ironically, despite the fact that farmers make up 80 percent of the population, there is not much formal training in agriculture. There are practically no agriculture training institutions in the private sector. Benon Kwikiriza, General Secretary, Executive Committee, UGAPRIVI, and Director of the Nile Vocational Institute, Njeru, explained it this way:

It is a question of attitudes. When they talk of agriculture people, they look at it in a negative way. And yet, there is potential in the agriculture sector. There is a way it can be done in a professional way and there are lots of sub-sectors in agriculture. So once people understand when we are talking about agriculture we are not talking about subsistence agriculture, then it would be attractive. We are talking about mechanized agriculture.

The technical institutes award the Uganda Craft Certification I upon the successful completion of a course in construction trades (carpentry, joinery, bricklaying, plumbing, electricity), tailoring, and motor vehicle maintenance. Short courses such as driving and textile design are also offered. Tuition costs for technical institutes are met in one of two ways. The Government, which pays USch 50,000 per student per term in

tuition, sponsors window 1 students. The Government also pays USch 1000 per student per day for food (roughly US$0.50). Window 2 students are on a private pay scheme. These students pay USch 170,000 per term. Teachers are also on a dual pay scheme. The Government pays some directly; the local Board of Governors pays others. Additional studies can lead to a Craft II Certificate.

Competition for visibility and funding may have become an issue between secondary and BTVET education programs. There is a sense that USE may have undermined post-primary BTVET programs as parents still see "academic" pursuits as more valuable than technical or vocational ones. "Parents are now saying that if I can take my child for secondary education [under UPPET] why do I take him for BTVET?" (Personal Communication, November 13, 2007). Therefore, there may be a trend in the next few years to phase out BTVET programs at the post-primary level. There are 12 times more USE schools than BTVET schools eligible for UPPET funding. BTVET was given an allotment of 60 students in each school but in many cases has been able to identify only 10 or 15 UPPET qualified students. Hence, with the President's priority on secondary education, post-primary BTVET programs may be gradually phased out. Yet these programs can play an important buffer role in the future in terms of "catching" the students who may try for secondary education but not make the grade. Post-primary BTVET programs provide an opportunity to reduce "wastage" resulting from those students who drop out of secondary but still need to develop skills in some area.

Tertiary Education

Enrollment in higher education expanded dramatically in the past decade, a response to increasing demand for access. The number of students enrolled in

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universities more than doubled in the five-year period 1999-2004 from 41,000 to 88,000. (UNESCO EFA, 2007) Female enrollment increased from 34 percent of the total to 38 percent during this same period. By 2006, enrollment in *all* tertiary level institutions had increased to 137,190, of which 92,605 were university students. Sixty percent of university students attended public universities. Roughly one-third of all university students attend one public university, Makerere. Teaching staff in these higher education institutions numbered approximately 4000, of which only 19 percent was female. Both UPE and UPPET will continue to spur demand for tertiary education in the coming years as beneficiaries of those programs "come of age." In addition to 26 universities and two university colleges, the higher education sub-sector includes 32 tertiary-level, non-university institutions in addition to the 81 post-secondary BTVET institutions. The following paragraphs address primarily the university institutions.

Musisi (2003) identified five phases in the history of higher education in Uganda. During the first phase (1922-1950), the British assumed responsibility for the education sector, which was formerly dominated by Christian missionaries. Makerere University Kampala (MUK) was established in 1922 as a technical school for the primary purpose of training assistants for the British colonizers in areas such as "agriculture, carpentry, medical care, motor mechanics, teacher training and veterinary science" (Musisi, 2003, p. 614). In the second phase (1951-1961), higher education concentrated on the "Africanization of the civil service structure to encourage modernization and development" in anticipation of the granting of Independence. In the third phase (1962-1970), Makerere became a part of the University of East Africa and later an independent national university of the Republic of Uganda. "Largely influenced by the Castle

Commission of 1962 and the World Bank, the secondary and post secondary education goal of this phase was to produce the high-skilled labor power needed for post-independence economic growth" (Musisi, 2003, p. 614).

Uganda had an excellent system of higher education at Independence but during the subsequent years of political dictatorship that decimated the economy, funding for education in general and higher education in particular, was drastically reduced. Hence, the fourth phase (1971-1992) of Uganda's higher education history was characterized by an overall decline in quality as infrastructure deteriorated and poorly or unpaid administrative and professional staff negatively affected academic activities and standards. Students protested by staging riots, professors by departing for opportunities elsewhere.

During this period when critical external support was needed to offset the consequences of the political and economic turmoil, donor priorities shifted to primary (basic) education and left higher education "high and dry." World Bank funding decisions, in particular, had important implications for higher education in Uganda and elsewhere in Africa. Enthralled with rate-of-return analysis, the Bank determined that continuing to invest in higher education did not have the same development payoff that was realized from investing in basic education which was increasingly "understood as a key strategy for poverty reduction" (Samoff, 2003, p. 22). To add insult to injury, the Bank's policy pronouncements also critiqued the contributions of higher education to development. Thus, at a critical time for higher education in Uganda, World Bank and other donors redirected their funding to primary (basic) education. "This orientation…

was institutionalized during the 1990 World Conference on Education for All" (Samoff, 2003, p. 4).

Uganda's political leaders initially ignored the situation with Uganda's universities. The university situation was further undermined by several policy decisions made by the GOU, including provision of full government scholarships for Ugandan students admitted to Makerere, Uganda's embrace of Structural Adjustment Programs (SAPs) which promoted a reduction in public expenditures such as education, and the continued adherence to the University Act of 1970 (amended in 1973 and 1975), which gave the Government considerable "political control over university administration" (Musisi and Muwanga, 2003, p. 13). As a result, there was a decline in the quality of higher education and in the number of graduates with the technical and financial skills needed to rehabilitate the economy. Since 1993, the focus in higher education has been on diversifying and expanding approaches to financing, revitalizing "the educational structure to restore quality and relevance" and expanding "access to education selectively, in particular increasing access for traditionally disadvantaged groups" (Musisi, 2003, p. 615).

Higher education today is governed by the Universities and Other Tertiary Institutions Act, 2001. The National Council for Higher Education (NCHE) is a statutory agency with responsibility for promoting university education, advising the Government on higher education issues, regulating and guiding the establishment, administration, financial management of national universities, coordinating student admissions, ensuring quality through accreditation and serving as a data bank on higher education institutions.

There are 61(non-BTVET) institutions in the higher education sub-sector, 69

percent of which are privately owned. These are listed in Table 4.[28] The Government

Table 4: Tertiary Institutions

Type	Private	Public	Total
Law Centers		1	1
Management/Social Development Institutions	5	3	8
Media & Communication	2	1	3
National Teachers colleges	3	6	9
Study Center	1	1	2
Theological Colleges	9		9
Universities	21	5	26
University Colleges	1	1	2
Independent Degree Institution		1	1
Total	42	19	61

funds seven of the universities and related institutions. They include five universities--

Makerere University in Kampala (MUK), Mbarara University of Science and Technology

(MUST), Gulu University, Kyambogo University, and Busitema University--and the

Uganda Management Institute (UMI) and Makerere's Business School. Makerere,

Uganda's oldest, largest and most renowned university enrolled the largest number of

tertiary students, 31,081, in 2006, of which 44.6 percent were female. MUK has 22

faculties, institutes, and schools, and offers bachelors, masters, and doctoral degrees.

MUST offers certificate and diploma courses in science and computer applications as

well as bachelors degrees in several medical fields, science education, business

administration, computer science/information technology and development studies. The

next two largest universities are the private Kampala International University with 13,938

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[28] The NCHE includes the post-secondary colleges supervised by the BTVET Department of the MoES and other tertiary-level institutions under the category "Other Tertiary Institutions." The EMIS collects statistics for these institutions in the "tertiary" category. The post-secondary colleges are discussed under the BTVET sub-sector in this study. Future reforms may shift responsibility for the post-secondary BTVET institutions to the Higher Education Department.

students and the public Kyambogo University with 10,566 students. All the other universities enrolled less than 4000 students and most less than 1000. UMI was established in 1969. It acquired the status of "other degree-awarding institution" in 2006 after an amendment was passed to the Universities and Tertiary Institutions Act. It focuses on "developing skills and management capacity to support development efforts especially in the areas of public service reform, decentralization, macro-economic management, poverty alleviation, service provision and private and non-government sector development" (UMI website, 2007).

Access to higher education has increased with the establishment of 21 private universities in the past 20 years.[29] Over half of these have been established since 2000. Two-thirds have a religious affiliation. The Government's scholarship program (which is discussed in more detail in Chapter IX) has enabled enrollment of a minimum of 10-11 students from each of the 81 districts in public universities. Similarly, affirmative action programs have been undertaken to encourage women to enter science and technology programs at the university level.

The tertiary level is dominated, two-to-one, by *university* students, which has raised a concern for policymakers who recognize the importance of training many more technical people for Uganda's economy. Out of the total 137,190 tertiary level students, only 44,585 are attending non-university tertiary institutions.[30]

> The ratio, for every two university students, we have one non-university student, which we as planners think should be the other way around. For every two non-tertiary university students you have one university student. [Now] there are

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[29] Actually, more that 21 private universities were established in the past 20 years but some have already closed down.
[30] The figure incorporates students at all post-secondary institutions, i.e., it includes the post-secondary BTVET students that were discussed in the previous section.

more university students than those who are in the "middle class" institutions. (Personal Communication, November 8, 2007)

Academic choices of university students are shifting gradually from historical patterns. In 2005, slightly more than three-fourths (76.7 percent) of higher education students were enrolled in the arts and humanities. The other nearly one-fourth (23.3 percent) were enrolled in science and technology (S & T) programs. This represented a substantial increase in enrollment over the previous year due, in part, to the substantial enrollment increases in technical colleges. "This implies that the sector's affirmative action to fund subjects key to economic development is beginning to pay-off. There is also a growing realization by students themselves that science and technology disciplines offer more career choices and prospects especially in the growing ICT sector." (MoES, APR, 2006) The Honorable Gabriel Opio, Minister of State for Education and Sports (Higher Education) put it this way:

> In our public universities, the ratio between those who take Science and Technology and those who take Arts and Social Sciences is 1:4, i.e., 25 percent take Science and Technology and 75 percent take Arts and Social Sciences. The Government is aiming at 40 percent for Science and Technology and 60 percent for Arts and Social Sciences. The National Council for Higher Education [a national body that supervises higher education] has recommended that the country should be aiming at having 40 percent of her population educated at a tertiary level. Currently, the population educated at a tertiary level is 1.4 percent.

The impact of globalization on tertiary education may also be found in the GOU's conscious effort to both encourage foreign students to study in Uganda and Ugandan students to study abroad. Because of international collaborations, the Government provided scholarships to 82 students from "friendly countries like China, Algeria, New Zealand, India, United Kingdom, Canada, Egypt, Cuba and Russia" in 2005/06. (MoES APR, 2006) In 2006, nearly 12,000 international students were enrolled in Uganda's

public and private universities. Between 2000 and 2006, 600-800 Ugandan university

students per year studied in the U.S. While this does not represent the entire universe of

Ugandan students studying abroad as many are studying in Europe and Asia, it does give

a sense of the magnitude of exchange that is occurring.

Uganda is also pursuing "borderless" education strategies with its neighbors. In

July 2007, a Rwanda-Uganda education exhibition was held in Kigali. The Ministers of

Education from Uganda and Rwanda affirmed the importance of such strategies for

"promoting cooperation to share strengths and best practices through frequent networking

forums." Uganda's Minister, Hon. Namirembe Bitamazire said, "Education can solve

almost all problems in development. We believe in partnership to strengthen the link

which is essential to improve service delivery in education." Rwanda's Minister of

Education responded that "Investment in education is essential in the global marketplace

in the 21st century…Investment in education is not an option but a must for economic

strength and social harmony." (Karibwije, 2007) The NCHE has also just begun an

international initiative with Kenya and Tanzania to develop an accreditation system. The

establishment of "minimum requirements" for academic programs in the three countries

would eventually enable students to transfer between universities both within and

between countries without losing credits.

Adult Literacy Education

Literacy programs have a long history in Uganda. Missionaries played a major

role in early literacy programs that were continued, though on a more limited scale, by

the colonial government. In 1964, after Independence, a mass literacy campaign was

launched which continued into the early 1970s. However, during the years of turmoil in

the seventies and eighties, literacy programs fell by the wayside. They were resurrected in 1992. Since that time, adult literacy programs have been embedded in various national policy documents such as *Vision 2025* and the Poverty Eradication Action Plan (PEAP). The Government developed A National Adult Literacy Strategic Investment Plan (NALSIP) in 2002. There is no national *policy* for adult literacy, however, only a program. This is a reflection, in part, of how the international donor community drives educational priorities. Primary education is a global priority, adult literacy programs are not. As a result there is less attention to their expansion. The Ministry of Gender, Labor and Social Development has responsibility for this program, which is located bureaucratically in the Department of Disabilities and Elderly.

Interest in literacy has been spurred, in part, by the implementation of UPE, which has engaged more parents in the process of education and thus increased their interest in becoming literate. In 2004, the estimated number of adult illiterates (15 and over) in Uganda was 4.23 million, of which 65 percent were female. (UNESCO, 2007, p. 236) The Uganda Adult Education Network's (UGAADEN) estimate in 2007 was much higher, perhaps eight or nine million people. Not surprisingly, the participants in adult literacy programs are overwhelmingly female and quite poor though many have already had some primary education experience and studies show that their attendance and completion rates are high. Demand continues to exceed supply, however, so the goal of "reaching 50 percent of the non-literate adults by 2007 as planned…is no longer considered feasible" (Okech, 2006, 14).

New approaches have been developed to meet the demand that go beyond the confines of traditional literacy programs. Additionally, the definition of adult literacy has

also been shifting. Traditionally adult literacy was defined in terms of teaching adults to

acquire reading, writing, and numeracy skills. "It was looked at as a skill which one

acquires, and that you have it, use it, it is a one-time acquisition, even if it takes a

process…literacy is now a 'social practice'….the literacy which people use and acquire is

relevant to their local situations…these days the focus is on the use" (Personal

Communication, November 2, 2007).

The Government launched the national adult literacy program, Functional Adult

Literacy (FAL), in 1992. It grew from a pilot program in only eight districts to a

nationwide program in 56 districts by 2002. It is an example of a "literacy first" program

that "incorporates training for livelihood skills into literacy instruction" (Oxenham, 2002,

p. 105). For example,

> In Karamoja, there has been "cattle rustling" as a social-economic practice. So
> when you look at the primer it tries to address that. It is not viable to continue
> engaging in those activities. So they address it by providing a program that tries
> to address the social ills of cattle rustling. They are learning how to read and
> write but the reading, writing, and accounting is related to those activities in
> which they are engaged. And…it is done in a different way….They [the teachers]
> find them where they go to bring their cattle…following them where they
> are…trying to relate the literacy to their different practices. (Personal
> Communication, November 2, 2007)

The FAL program is "considered very important to increasing the ability of the poor to

raise their incomes and thus enhance their quality of life" (Okech, 2006, p. 6).

In an effort to address growing demand, a number of programs have been initiated

by donors, international and national NGOs. The Government works in partnership with

these other stakeholders. A Literacy Network for Uganda (LITNET) has been organized

to help coordinate programs and resources. On the one hand, a broad range of programs

are offered to meet the differing needs of participants; on the other, Okech contends that

the diversity of non-governmental program interventions which are largely uncoordinated has limited their impact overall because they have limited coverage and the activities are often of short duration. (Okech, 2006, 21)

In line with the FAL, other literacy programs are using local issues as the focus of literacy programs. For example, because many parents are illiterate and lack numeracy skills they cannot function effectively on school management committees (SMCs). Literacy programs are teaching parents and guardians at the parish level how to develop and track budgets and how to hold head teachers accountable. "Some of the members of the SMC who were formerly illiterate are now literate and becoming very powerful" (Personal Communication, October 25, 2007).

Adult literacy programs face several challenges. While the rhetoric regarding education for adult literacy is laudable, the absence of an adult literacy *policy* combined with the failure to allocate sufficient resources for adult education programs has made it difficult to actualize a national effort that would eliminate adult illiteracy. Research has shown that the basic education of children and adult literacy is positively correlated. A 2004 study of the link between adult basic education and children's basic education concluded that participation in adult basic education programs

> …led to improvements in the provision of scholastic materials, school attendance and feeding of children. The learning environment at home was also improved by provision of time and space to pupils to study and do homework. Equitable distribution of household chores to school children was allowing the girl child an improved learning environment. (Okech et al, 2004, p. 39)

Given the GOU's commitments to UPE and UPPET in the formal sector, securing adequate funding to expand adult education programs in the near term is doubtful. There is a sense that adult education "comes up as an 'after thought' and

[not]… so much as one of people's critical issues to deal with. And our argument has

always been that 'yes, you can prepare for the future but the individual's right to asking

for the future is now'" (Personal Communication, November 2, 2007).

Adult literacy programs face other challenges as well. First, many languages are

spoken in Uganda so developing a comprehensive program that can be utilized across all

these languages is a challenge. Second, most of the literacy teachers are volunteers.

Many may not be qualified to teach and/or adequately trained or supervised and do not

have a long-term commitment to the process. Turnover is also high, a likely consequence

of using unpaid, volunteer tutors. Third, students come to literacy classes with different

skills and expectations for the class. Mr. Nuwagaba, Honorary Secretary, UGAADEN

and lecturing at Kyambogo University, said:

> When you visit many of these classes…you find that some of the participants in
> these programs are literate. Some of them have been even to senior secondary
> level. But they attend these functional literacy programs because they want to
> develop certain skills. Others because they want to socialize [and still] others
> because they want to be part of the learning environment which unfortunately
> drives away the real illiterates.

Fourth and finally, given that the Government's adult literacy program is managed not by

the Ministry of Education but by the Ministry of Gender, Labor and Social Development

under the Department of Disabilities and Elderly as an "activity" with only a coordinator,

it has little visibility or clout. (Okech, 2005)

The Uganda Adult Education Network (UGAADEN), a national network of adult

learning organizations established in 2001 is a strong advocate for adult literacy. In an

effort to get adult literacy on the education agenda, UGAADEN has drafted an adult

literacy policy that is currently under consideration by the Ministry of Gender, Labor and

Social Development. UGAADEN also recommends paying literacy tutors, i.e., putting

them on the government payroll, in hopes of attracting more skilled and committed teachers.

In sum, policy and budget allocations do not prioritize adult literacy programs. Despite the excellent efforts of the NGO community, it will be very difficult in the short term to have a major impact on adult illiteracy. However, the diversity of programs provides hope for the future. This is especially true if programs such as REFLECT (a program based on Friere's approach to education) can be expanded, other programs can be designed with special attention to the needs of women who are the literacy programs' primary participants, and ways can be found to more effectively emphasize the integration of livelihood skills into literacy programs.

Special Issues in Education

Girls' Education

The 1995 Constitution (Article 33(4)) provided for equal protection of women's rights to include "equal opportunities in political, economic, and social activities." In 1998, the Government adopted a national strategy for girls' education aimed at redressing the gender imbalance in education at all levels. (Okech, 2005) The goal of the strategy was to ensure that all girls would have full access to education opportunities to attain their maximum potential as equal and effective citizens. This policy has had results at the primary level.

UPE led to equalization in the number of girls and boys enrolled in primary schools. However, it has not led to an equalization of educational outcomes. For the period 1995-2004, the youth literacy rate for females (ages 15-24) was 71 percent while the rate for males was 83 percent. In large measure, this is a result of the "social

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construction of gender," a condition that disadvantages girls who have significant household and reproductive responsibilities. School life expectancy is roughly the same (officially) for males and females, as are GER, repetition and drop out rates at the primary level. The MoES supports a Girls' Education Initiative and a number of NGOs sustain scholarship and mentoring programs that target girls. These statistics, however, are somewhat suspect. Several respondents reported that while the statistics show parity between male and female students in primary school the girls simply are not staying in school as long as boys. It is likely true that at the time of enrollment and throughout the early grades girls equal boys in school numbers. But in the last three to four years of primary school there is a high drop-out rate among girls whether recorded or not.

At the secondary level, females transitioned to secondary school at the same rate as males (37 percent) though females represented only 44 percent of secondary school enrollment in 2005. (This percentage inched upward to 45 percent in 2007.) The gender parity index (GPI-the ratio of females to males) for overall GER in 2005 was 0.81, a significant increase in the GPI from 0.66 in 1999. In 2005, the GPI for lower secondary was higher (0.84) than for upper secondary (0.68) reflecting the high drop-out rate for girls in upper secondary. (UNESCO EFA, 2008) The NER GPI for the same year was 0.90. As discussed in Chapter 10, the Government has made special provisions to give girls preferential treatment in the form of a slight "point advantage" on their PLE scores to enable more girls to qualify for USE. Overall, while more girls are going to secondary school, parity is a long way off.

At the tertiary level, the Government has also adopted an "affirmation action" program for females with a Scholarship Initiative and an affirmative action program in

science and technology for female students at Makerere and Mbarara Universities. Despite these efforts, enrollment of women in 2006 lagged behind that of men, 57,721 to 79,469. (MoES EMIS, 2007) At all levels of education, only a small percentage of teachers/professors are women thus girls encounter few professional role models in their education journey.

A number of NGOs have developed programs focused on promoting girls' education. One example is the Uganda chapter of FAWE, the Forum for African Women Educationalists, founded in 1997. Like its sister chapters in 31 other African countries, FAWE works towards bridging the gender gap in line with the goals set for EFA in Jomtien in 1990. FAWE is an advocate for girls' and women's education and works closely with the MoES on gender policy issues such as sexual maturation. When research confirmed that many girls were not attending school several days every month because of menstruation, FAWE worked with the MoES to get Parliament to reduce the tax on sanitary towels, which made them more affordable for more girls thus decreasing the rate of absenteeism due to menstruation.

FAWE has addressed the issue of pregnancy in its efforts to keep girls in school. Historically, when girls became pregnant they dropped out of school and were not allowed to return while the boy/man responsible for the pregnancy continued his education/work. While not wanting to encourage teen pregnancy, FAWE also wanted to rectify this unfair practice. Lobbying the Government has not resulted in a complete reversal but a "silent policy" has developed "then when a girl is pregnant if she still has the will to go back to school she should not be denied the opportunity" (Personal Communication, October 24, 2007). FAWE has also carried out programs at the school

level, training teachers on "gender responsive teaching methodologies," promoting science, math, and technical education for girls, providing mentors and role models. The organization also coordinates several scholarship programs for girls (and a few boys) supported by USAID, Irish Aid and a UK charity.

Education and ICT

Uganda is gradually linking education to the information and communication technologies that bind societies and cultures, economic and political systems to one another around the world as part of its efforts to improve the quality of educational services in Uganda. Secretary-General Hamadoun Toure of the International Telecommunication Union pointed out the importance of ICT for Africa on the eve of the Connect Africa Summit: "ICT is a catalyst, an enabler in all sectors of the economy in Africa. This would be the accelerator to achieve the MDGs by 2015" (UN/The Economic Times, 2007). Two of the goals of the summit were to connect all African capitals by 2012 and connect African villages to broadband ICT services by 2015.

The MoES prepared a draft policy for Information and Communications Technology (ICT) in 2006; it was approved in 2007. The policy's goal is "to improve and broaden equitable access to information, communication, and technology as a way of creating new opportunities for socio-economic development in the country" (MoES, ICT Policy, 2006, p. 13). More specifically, the policy articulates several reasons why ICT skills are an important part of the education system. In the short term, the policy statement notes that ICT skills contribute to employability and the development of a workforce that can attract investment in industry and commerce. In the longer term, ICT moves Uganda towards full integration in the global knowledge economy as e-

government and e-commerce become more widespread. The 2006 Education Sector

Performance Report (SPR) noted that "this policy has emerged at a critical point in time

when the country is transiting from being a primary producer to a knowledge-based

economy that emphasizes global information-sharing as a strategy for enhancing

partnerships with the private actors and communities" (MoES, SPR, 2006).

Adopting an ICT policy is one thing; implementing it in a country with a limited

electrical grid is a challenge and poses questions of access and equity as well as issues of

curriculum reform and teacher training. "The fundamentals underlying the

transformation from the 'information society' to 'knowledge-based society' are in

investing in ICT in education right from primary to tertiary levels" (MoES, ICT Policy,

2006, p. 7). Some programs have been initiated at the secondary and tertiary levels, but

mainly in urban areas. Only 30 percent of the country's secondary schools have

computers.

ICT's full operationalization is dependent on increased connectivity and the

acquisition of hardware and software. Even more important is the training and upgrading

of teachers' knowledge and skills through both pre- and in-service programs and skills in

this area. In 2007, over 1300 teachers trained in ICT and used it to teach science in 100

secondary schools. Ninety-three of these schools received computer hardware and

software. Additionally the MoES has established a training platform to access on-line

courses.

The Government is looking to partnerships with the private sector and "twinning

relationships" with other institutions in rolling out its ICT program in the sector. To this

end, Uganda has received free software for all schools from the Gates Foundation, but

most schools lack the computers in which to install the programs. Additionally, a number

of schools, largely in urban areas, are participating in global internet programs. The

Global Teenager Network has adopted schools in Uganda. School Net Uganda is a

national network of professional educators and schools whose aim is to transform the

Ugandan educational system from an industrial model (learning by assimilation) to a

knowledge-based model to better prepare students to participate in a global economy

based on knowledge, information and technology and make graduates of Uganda's

education system more globally competitive. (Eremu, 2005) ICT is being integrated into

the curriculum at secondary (e.g. Computer Studies at O- and A-levels) and tertiary

levels. BTVET programs are training computer technicians. Very few schools at the

primary level, however, have a computer.

Ensuring equitable access to ICT is very important to prevent the expansion of an

already existing "digital divide" in the education system. Urban children whose parents

(and schools) are more affluent already access the Internet while rural children whose

communities have no electricity and whose parents and schools are poor are largely

missing out on this connection to the global community which will have downstream

economic and social disadvantages for these groups if not addressed directly.

> You are also creating a divide here in Uganda because the only schools that can
> effectively use ICT are the schools that are either connected to the power grid
> and/or if they have a generator and have money to buy fuel for the generator,
> which are the good schools in Kampala. (Personal Communication, November 6,
> 2007)

As one observed noted, "those who have the skills, the entrepreneurship, the ICT

services, are going to get the jobs and go forward." Rural districts have installed some

computers but "those schools that are really rural, they are lost" (Personal Communication, November 13, 2007).

The Ministry's policy addresses issues of equitable access for all citizens. While recognizing that it is not feasible in the short term to provide computers to all schools the policy proposes several measures to tackle the issue of equity including promoting programs in rural or poor urban areas, setting up a fund targeting schools in these areas and ensuring that all teachers receive ICT training. However, bridging the gap between those who have access and those who do not takes time and money so, as one observer noted, "the gap looks to be widening" (Personal Communication, November 13, 2007). Concerning gender equity, the policy also calls for giving priority to training of female teachers and ensuring that girls and boys have equal access to ICT courses in school.

Refugee and IDP Education

Uganda's education system has coped with a large and growing population of internally displaced persons (IDPs) affected by the long-term conflict in the north. Children and women comprise 80 percent of the IDPs. (UNICEF website) More than 200 camps largely in the northern provinces with limited services became a temporary "home" for 1.7 million people who relied "largely on international assistance to survive" (UN News article, 2005). Studies show that 54 percent of the population in these camps is between the ages of 1 and 14. (Personal Communication, October 25, 2007) Many of these children are orphans and have been psychologically and physically abused. Some are former abductees, many are child mothers who were sexually abused and raped. Uganda has also become a magnet for refugees fleeing wars in Sudan, Rwanda, and the Democratic Republic of Congo. At the end of 2005, Uganda hosted over 250,000

refugees who lived almost exclusively in camps. Roughly 50 percent of these refugees were female and nearly 60 percent were under the age of 18. (UNHCR website, 2007)

Providing education for the children in these two groups under trying circumstances has presented additional challenges to Uganda's education system. According to a report published in 2004 by the Women's Commission for Refugee Women and Children, the education of over 450,000 children and youth in these and other provinces "is severely impacted by the continuing conflict, insecurity and low operational level of the formal schools" (Bethke & Braunschweig, 2004, p. 84ff). One estimate placed over 300,000 children out-of-school because of the conflict. On the other hand, those who attend school exhibit strong performance:

> The number of students in the north may be small but their performance compared to students in other very stable districts is much, much better. Out of 81 districts, you might find that among the top 20, there are about four districts from the conflict north among the top trained…and then you wonder. In those [districts] which are really, really stable, [and have] no problems…and they are in the lower quartile….There is an argument that children in camps have nothing to do apart from study. Unlike children in stable districts where they can go into trade, into economic activities…so they are limited and school is the only thing that keeps them going. (Personal Communication, November 8, 2007)

The Ministry has worked closely with other line ministries, NGOs, and donors to continuing providing equitable access to school. It constructed schools, provided curricula materials, recruited teachers, paid school fees for secondary school students whose parents live in IDP camps, and provided training in psychosocial care and support, peace education, leadership and management for teachers in conflict districts. Nevertheless, challenges remain. Teachers are traumatized.

> They cannot easily reach out to the district headquarters to get their salary because they would be attacked on the way. Not only that, you find the housing is not there. Respect for them is not there. They are living in this squalid situation so the teacher has no respect. So there was teacher exodus from [the north and]

we ended up with more volunteers teaching in those camps…. The schools were disbursed and disorganized…. Learning materials, instructional materials, infrastructure, all gone. (Personal Communication, October 25, 2007)

One respondent asked rhetorically how a teacher could administer an exam when the school was surrounded by soldiers and gunshots could be heard in the background. Would the PLEs of IDP students be treated differently because of the duress under which the students took the exams? Could the PLEs be airlifted to Kampala because the roads were not safe? These things have made it difficult to ensure that a child's basic right to education is respected.

UNHCR, via its long established refugee school system in Uganda, also supports education for refugee children. UNHCR works with the Ugandan government and implementing partners (mainly NGOs) to provide and support formal and non-formal educational opportunities for refugee and Uganda youth. At the end of 2005, the refugee school system served 65,300 children attending 91 primary schools, 43 percent of whom were girls. Their enrollment dropped sharply in the upper primary and secondary grades. (Bethke and Braunschweig, 2004) Few refugee children attended secondary school. UNHCR has provided limited assistance to self-help secondary schools. Supported students attend vocational training, pre-schools, and adult literacy programs. Over three-fourths of the teachers in the refugee education system are refugees themselves.

In 2007, the Government rehabilitated school facilities and infrastructure and provided bursaries (under the UPPET program) for 166,000 students enrolled in post-primary institutions in the districts affected by the LRA insurgency. Slightly more than a third of these students were female. It also conducted a "Go to school, back to school,

stay in school" campaign with UNICEF as well as peace education programs for both students and teachers.

NGOs have played a significant role in the education of both displaced and refugee children, helping them to reintegrate into the formal system. The Northern Region Education Forum (NOREF) works in 27 districts and five municipalities, 32 local government units in all. It also works with teacher training colleges to provide both in- and pre-service training for teachers in the conflict-affected provinces. In addition to the traditional academic subjects, training focuses on new pedagogies as well as psychosocial issues, HIV/AIDS and various vocational activities, sports and recreation and music and dancing. NGOs, local government authorities, and school management committees have also been engaged in school construction in the north because so many schools were destroyed during the conflict. NGOs and UNICEF have provided educational materials to schools and children. Finally, international NGOs and local agencies provide a broad range of non-formal education activities ranging from "vocational training programs, peace clubs and remedial education for out-of-school adults and children" to education activities at "formerly abducted children's centers" (Bethke and Braunschweig, 2004, p. 84ff).

Hard-to-Reach Populations

Hard-to-reach populations in Uganda include many groups living in rural areas and on Lake Victoria. Two groups in particular—pastoralists and fishermen—are briefly described here to demonstrate the breadth of the challenges Uganda faces in bringing universal primary and secondary education to its population.

Pastoralists. By one estimate there are more than one million pastoralists with close to seven million cows in Uganda from the north through the central region to the northeast. They represent many different tribes with different languages, though the culture is similar. They are nomadic, transhumant or agro-pastoralists. While some of the pastoralists have settled, most move with their large herds of cattle from one end of Uganda to another and in and out of neighboring countries as well in search of pasture and water for their animals. "The Karamojong cluster of inter-related clans and communities living in the northeast of Uganda form the largest section of pastoralists" (ACHPR website, 2006). They live in an area that is frequently beset by drought and hunger and where the general infrastructure for communications, transport, education, etc. is much poorer than other parts of Uganda. Because of the competition for scarce resources, a culture of raiding and warfare developed in the region. However, in a general sense, many pastoralists are not poor as they have substantial assets represented by their large herds of cattle.

Some would call pastoralists "a forgotten community" stereotyped by many in the country. Jotham Taremwa, the Director of the Alliance for Pastoralists Development and Livestock Improvement, noted:

> …If you ask someone in this country, 'who are pastoralists?' they will define a pastoralist in terms of perception. These are people who move with their animals; these are very ignorant people who don't want modernization. These are people who are rude [who] have no regard for human life…[and] people have been killing them.

Pastoralists lack political power. They have no representation in Parliament and no representation at the local level so their issues are represented to Government by NGOs and others who are concerned not only for their general well-being but also for the

education of pastoralist children. Even when the Government set up a special World Bank-supported Karamoja Development Program, most of the initiatives under this program "failed as the Karamojong were not consulted about these programs and…limited budgetary support has constrained the effectiveness of some of the institutions established" (ACHPR Report, 2006).

Implementing the right to education among pastoralists, especially in Karamoja, has presented the Government with particular challenges. First, while some pastoralist groups are more open than others are to educating their children, in general, pastoralists' attitudes about education are conservative and will need to change if their children are to be encouraged and supported to obtain a formal education. Many parents do not place a value on formal education and question its purpose relative to their own needs. "Like the pastoral community that I belong to most of them do not know the use of education. [A man] will tell you, "I have never studied; my Dad never studied. I have 100 or 300 animals. I'm going to die a man" (Jotham Taremwa, Director of the Alliance for Pastoralists Development and Livestock Improvement). Many are very defensive of their culture. They are "culture keepers." They realize that education is transformative and they do not want anything to change it.

> These children are their source of labor to maintain their projects. If you take away their children then their projects are likely to be brought down. And even the culture, like a man, cannot keep animals. For him, he can stay at home if the children take the animals. So when you tell him to do that work [caring for the animals] you are reducing his status in the community. (Personal Communication, October 31, 2007)

Or, in the words of a NGO education activist:

> If I am a pastoralist, first and foremost, I look at my son or my daughter as… labor within our community…I look at my cattle as my work. So I take my child to school, how is it going to benefit me? Unless if I take my child to school it will

> help me be a better farmer, pastoral farmer, or help me—that's a problem. Right now our curriculum is detaching children from the actual cultures and you find most parents in the rural areas especially in those communities…that have very strong cultural rituals, way of life, they tend to withdraw from the system. (Personal Communication, October 23, 2007)

Government authorities estimated in September 2007 that "only 28 percent of children in the (Karamoja) region currently attend any school at all....Only 12 percent actually complete primary education" (Reuters, 2007).

Second, establishing schools or places of learning to serve a mobile pastoralist population is not an easy task. UPE funds were used for classroom construction and training teachers and many donors supported efforts to promote and support education in the region. The Alternative Basic Education for Karamoja (ABEK) project was introduced in 1997 in selected districts in the region in an effort to "bridge the gap" between formal schooling and the "semi-nomadic pastoral lifestyle where household economies rest substantially on roles fulfilled by children" (ACHPR, 2006). It targeted children 6 to 18 years of age who were not in the formal school system and developed a flexible class schedule that made it possible for children to complete their household chores. ABEK made considerable progress in increasing enrollment, especially of girls, at more than 150 learning centers in the districts included in the program. Some students even moved on to formal schools.

Despite these efforts, however, the region still has one of the lowest literacy rates in the country. Reports from the field visits presented at the Annual Education and Sports Sector Review in October 2007 reaffirmed a raft of problems that continue to plague the education system in that region. At the primary level, low enrollment and retention levels, lack of/inadequate teachers, and insufficient and/or poor structures and

sanitation facilities are key issues. At the secondary level, there is also a lack of/inadequate teachers. The USE policy of having a secondary school in every sub county and the involvement of private schools in USE is not complied with, leading to low enrollment and completion rates at this level. There is no public BTVET or tertiary institution in the region. Teachers often leave their posts, migrating in some cases to private institutions elsewhere in Uganda. There are many other legitimate factors that contribute to these circumstances not the least of which is that these communities are "hard-to-reach," cultural practices and negative attitudes mitigate an enthusiasm for formal schooling, insufficient education resources are available for the tasks, and physical conditions such as inadequate sources of water supply make the education process difficult.

A third problem linked to the others noted above is that the national, formal curriculum is largely irrelevant to pastoralist children. It neither mentions pastoralism nor addresses some of the issues that would be particularly relevant to the pastoralist community. To address this problem, the ABEK program developed a revised primary school curriculum that included indigenous knowledge and relevant life skills. However, the lack of information about pastoralists and pastoralism in the standard curriculum means that the majority of students in the country, the non-pastoralist students, have no opportunity to learn accurate information about pastoralist groups, their culture and their contribution (e.g. as the major suppliers of milk for Uganda) to Uganda's history and socio-economic life. As a result, stereotypes about pastoralists, which breed discrimination, persist.

In sum, efforts continue to be undertaken to provide education for pastoralist children. These include collaborative programs supported by a broad group of foreign donors and NGOs. In September 2007, the Government announced that it would introduce compulsory education in the Karamoja region to "try to give children there an alternative to a life of violence and cattle rustling" (Reuters, 2007). There is a critical need for more resources to expand the availability of schooling to pastoralists in other districts. Additionally, "corrective measures" were identified during field visits to the region in October 2007. Monitoring of their implementation is crucial to improving education for this hard-to-reach population.

Fishermen. Educating the children of fishermen who live on islands in Lake Victoria is also a daunting challenge. First, there are the issues of location and transport. The district of Kalangala includes 82 islands in Lake Victoria, 64 of which have settlements. The district has 22 government-aided primary schools. Twelve of them are on one island, the main island of the group. That leaves students on the 63 other islands to share the remaining 10 schools. Hence, children have to travel by boat every day just to get to school. This is both a risky and expensive proposition. Oftentimes they just go fishing instead.

Second, the dispersed and varied school population of school-age children means that students of many ages and grades will be in the same classroom. Hence, teachers must be prepared to teach in a multi-grade setting and many are not. Third, the "culture" of the fishing community does not necessarily value formal education.

> "Children…are also fisher-children. If they are not fishing they are doing some fishing-related work, like sorting the nets. They could be three years old but they can do that…so these children see no reason to be in a formal school. Only non formal education can work." (Personal Communication, October 25, 2007)

A proposal to establish a boarding school is being developed to address the needs of

children of fishermen.

SECTION THREE: RESEARCH FINDINGS

Chapter VI: Education Stakeholders' Perspectives on Globalization

Introduction

Uganda is not immune from the forces of globalization. Globalization has already had an impact on the country's economy. Further integration of Uganda into the world economy will require more and better trained personnel who have the technical and managerial skills needed to embrace trade and investment opportunities that will grow the Ugandan economy. Equally important, Uganda's ability to sustain democratic institutions and civic engagement, especially with its decentralized system of governance, requires a better-educated citizenry with literacy and other skills that will enable parents to participate fully in their children's education. As outside influences in the socio-cultural realm inexorably invade the fabric of Uganda's traditions and mores through communication and information technology, a quality, universal education may serve as the buffer for some of the negative aspects of globalization. Globalization presents Uganda with both opportunities and challenges. Uganda's ability to take advantage of the first and overcome the second is related to, and will be inextricably linked to, the education provided to its citizens.

How key education stakeholders understand "globalization," how they perceive its implications for the country and its impacts on education reform, will affect the priority they accord to particular policies that address the opportunities and challenges brought by globalization. It is difficult to exercise prescience in decision-making if the stakeholders, particularly government officials who are charged with this responsibility, are not fully informed about globalization or if globalization is not part of the policy dialogue on a routine basis. The assumption in undertaking this inquiry was that

stakeholders' perspectives on globalization might reflect their perceptions of educational priorities and thus promote certain programs over others. To find out more about stakeholders' perspectives, several questions about education and globalization were asked in most of the interviews and in casual conversations. The intent of the question was to explore stakeholders' understanding and/or concern about globalization and its relevance to Uganda's policy dialogue and decision-making process in the education sector.

Education stakeholders in Uganda are many and represent diverse constituencies. At least five Ministries (e.g. Education and Sports; Finance, Planning and Economic Development; Gender, Labor and Social Development; Public Service; and Local Government) and several statutory bodies (e.g. National Council for Higher Education, Uganda National Examination Board, National Curriculum Development Center) are involved with education programs. While the MOES is the primary stakeholder, the other Ministries play significant roles in the funding and/or oversight of one or more aspects of the education system. Collectively, they deploy hundreds of thousands of staff around the country (e.g. teachers, head teachers, DEOs, DIS, etc.) to support the educational process. These professionals also have a stake in promoting quality education. The School Management Committees (primary level) and Boards of Governors (secondary level) act as surrogates for the Ministry at the school level and play a potentially important role in the implementation of education programs. Additionally, Members of Parliament and political leaders at all levels are key stakeholders in Uganda's education system.

Non-governmental organizations (NGOs) are also deeply engaged in education programs in Uganda. The Forum for Education NGOs in Uganda (FENU) has registered 72 local and international NGOs with education programs in the country. More than a dozen bilateral and multilateral development partners (donors) support education programs and projects in Uganda. Additionally, a variety of private sector entities including foundation bodies, business associations, corporations, and private educational and training institutions have an interest and, to varying degrees, direct involvement in formal and informal education and training programs.

Stakeholders not only include formally organized entities, public or private, domestic or international. They also include the students, parents and other community members who attend, support, and manage the schools at the local levels. In 2007, over 7.4 million children were enrolled in primary school, nearly 843,000 in public and private secondary schools, over 40,000 in public BTVET institutions, and more than 137,000 in tertiary level institutions.[31] They have perhaps the most important stake in education because what these students learn in the schools will, to a large degree, determine their future employment options and their civic engagement and participation in building and maintaining democratic institutions.

For this study, over 50 individuals representing the various stakeholder "categories" at the *national* level provided a response to one or more of the following questions related to their perspectives on globalization:[32]

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[31] These statistics are taken from the 2007 Education and Sports Sector Annual Performance Report. These are the latest figures available from the EMIS. However, many *private* schools do not report their enrollments on a regular basis, particularly those in the BTVET sector. Therefore, the number of students in post- primary institutions of all types is understated.

[32] Stakeholders at the local level (students, parents, and community members) were not systematically interviewed for this study.

- What does the term "globalization" mean to you?
- Has globalization had an impact on Uganda as a nation?
- Has globalization had an impact on education reform in Uganda?[33]

The perspectives they expressed were personal. They were illustrative of the continuum of understanding about globalization and its impact both on Uganda and on education. Respondents came from a limited and selective sample. Their responses were not necessarily representative of all education stakeholders in any given category nor were they necessarily representative of the institution where they worked. The responses were, however, thoughtful and reflective. A few respondents frankly admitted that they had not given much, if any, thought to globalization or to the potential impacts of globalization on education.

The following paragraphs include numerous quotes and excerpts from the interviews with stakeholders in Uganda in an effort to let the stakeholders speak for themselves.[34] As the paragraphs reveal, most stakeholders at the national level were familiar with the term "globalization" and knowledgeable (and opinionated) to varying degrees about its impacts on the economy and society. Many identified specific ways that "the global" was influencing "the local." Unfortunately, it did not appear, at least from the responses provided in this limited sample, that there was a sense of urgency among many stakeholders in terms of assessing globalization's impact on education and taking steps to address those impacts; awareness, yes, but not urgency.

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[33] See Appendix A, "Interview Protocol."

[34] The source of a particular quote or excerpt is identified by name only when written permission was given for a specific quote or excerpt. Otherwise, the quotes or excerpts are identified only by a generic title such as "educator" or "respondent" and the reference is "Personal Communication" and the date.

Defining Globalization

Education stakeholders' views on globalization revealed some common threads. The consensus was that globalization brings people together in a world without borders. One respondent noted, "I see that phenomena as one that is about the whole world coming into one sort of space. The most outstanding thing about it is the sharing of information" (Personal Communication, October 22, 2007). An NGO representative described it this way: "The way I look at globalization is 'no boundaries'. We are one people. We work, we trade, we communicate with each other" (Personal Communication, October 23, 2007). An educator reported, "When I look at the world today there are no boundaries…. Many a time I need to give talks, to prepare lessons…and all I really have to do is go on the Internet and just Google search, put in a word and I've got all this information… I can tap into the brain of whoever did that; there are no boundaries any more" (Personal Communication, October 26, 2007). Text Box 3 reflects another respondent's perspective.

Text Box 3:
What is Globalization?

It is not about making a Ugandan Japanese. It is actually making a Ugandan who can integrate Japanese technology and ideas while still in his home. That's the kind of thing we call a global Ugandan. He has a Japanese mind as well as the American mind and yet he is a Ugandan. He doesn't have to move. That to me is globalization. And education that will do that is what I call an education which is global education, that's relevant. That will be bringing the world to the person and the person to the world without physically moving…. that is what globalization means to me.
> Henry Nickson Ogwal
> National Coordinator, Commonwealth Education Fund

Critical perspectives of globalization were expressed as well. One respondent noted the connection between globalization and neoliberalism:

So often when people are talking about globalization they are thinking in London, Washington, or New York terms. Then it is not globalization. Globalization would mean that we have brought all the international thinking together. But that is not it. There is certain thinking which is not taken as globalization….neo-liberal based policy. That is what I think it is. The neoliberal environment, which is being promoted by the World Bank, the IFIs, etc. Actually that is carving out what people are referring to more as globalization. (Personal Communication, October 25, 2007)

Globalization and Uganda

Stakeholders' views of the impact that globalization has had on Uganda as a nation revealed diversity and ambivalence. One respondent said, "I think it is 'waking us up'" (Personal Communication, November 1, 2007). Another added, "For Uganda as a country, it [globalization] has turned us upside down" (Personal Communication, October 26, 2007). On a similar note, an educator, asked whether globalization had had much of an impact on the country, responded with a concrete example:

Yes, very much. This information age has opened [Uganda] up. People are more aware of what is happening in the world. Like here, we used to have one radio station. But within 10 years we have very many. Each district has a radio station so people are informed. And their family…these radios are no longer owned by the husband, by the male workers. And even the children can grow maize and buy their own radio. So information has really opened up people. (Personal Communication, October 31, 2007)

There was general agreement that globalization has opened Uganda's economy to the rest of the world. However, respondents did not agree on whether this has been beneficial or harmful. One respondent linked globalization and Uganda's liberalization policy: "If you look at the liberalization of the market…people can export things freely and import things freely without having to go through all the protocols that [were formerly there]" (Personal Communication, October 24, 2007). Dr. Maggie Kigozi, the Executive Director of the Uganda Investment Authority, noted:

Globalization is here and it is not going to turn off. So our attitude is 'let us compete.' Therefore we have liberalized the economy and invited private sector investment in all areas. There is no area where we protect investments and certainly not for foreigners for the sectors in which they wish to invest. So for us…it has been worth it so far. The economy is growing. We are attracting investors both foreign and domestic. By liberalizing the sector, we now have over 20 private universities and thousands of private schools.

A businessperson reflected on how globalization has brought the world to Uganda's doorstep and created business opportunities for many Ugandans because of greater access to information via radios, mobile phones and the Internet.

…with many radios, televisions, published materials, newspapers, people are learning that elsewhere countries develop not only relying on government, but on their own generated small-scale businesses…It's an issue with globalization because they have heard about how China has developed, how Japan has developed [as] information has now increased with access [via the Internet]. Originally that [information] was a privilege of people in town. Now it goes to the villages with these radios. They discuss these educational programs; they discuss international issues. Some of them are more informed than people in the center. (Personal Communication, November 8, 2007)

Other respondents identified some negative impacts of globalization on Uganda's economy focusing particularly on trade and foreign investment. On trade, one respondent noted that "globalization, or the forces that are referred to as such, are restricting the capacities of countries like Uganda. How? It is in trade. When you look at the elements of trade which are linked to international capital, it restricts what we produce here" (Personal Communication, October 25, 2007). Tom Buringuriza, former CEO of the Uganda Chamber of Commerce and currently Deputy Director of the UIA, noted:

I see globalization being used to drive the [economic] policy but not necessarily driving it to the advantage of our business community…at the same time our supply chains are suffering from geographic borders. Our supply chains and our logistics are suffering from non-tariff and tariff barriers. Our supply chains must face global procedures yet they are not as developed as [those in] other countries. Globalization assumes a kind of average but that's not what we see. Uganda is at a disadvantage.

On that same note, Mr. Nuwagaba, Honorary Secretary, UGAADEN, noted that the

economic policies (e.g., terms of trade) dictated by globalization are often unfair,

particularly as they trickle down to the "ordinary" Ugandan. He said:

> Although they say there should be an 'open door' policy in terms of trade with this globalization, this is a village…How do I compete with someone from the United States? For them, they have the stock market. Here…we have [one, but] it is just developing. People there are of a culture that means the bank generates all those resources from the population and they are able to invest that money. Here, many people keep their money in their pocket…These days a lot of capital is generated and we are in this village competing with people of that grade. And we are competing very badly. So education becomes very expensive.

Two stakeholders expressed skepticism about the benefits of foreign direct investment.

> A critical review reveals that the foreign capital inflow is not going into education as a national priority or else it is giving wrong education investment signals altogether. The foreign capital is not helping much to build an education that will take Uganda to the next generation, it is not building the capacity of the education sector which would plough back into the economy…This is because such funding is not sensitive to the form of education that the context of Uganda requires to fit in the competitive global information economy. As a matter of fact, the international capital inflow is only addressing its own interest – profits. When the education sector is producing graduates and the policy environment is not supportive to their trade (e.g., Biotechnologists), they will either leave the economy or their redundancy will work to discourage further training in the same profession. This is how globalization is therefore giving wrong education investment indicators. (Henry Nickson Ogwal, National Coordinator, CEF)

> One of the negative aspects is the influx of investors who come for the wrong purpose. It's to make money…The Investment Authority can give them incentives, tax relief, etc., and they just walk out after they have profited to the maximum. When the day comes that they should involve Ugandans in what they are doing…they just seem to vanish, some of them having taken [their money] with them. (Personal Communication, November 12, 2007)

> What Ugandans experience or hear about through improved communication with

the global community is also influencing consumption patterns. For example, people

change their mobile phones or their laptops whether they need a new one or not.

Teenagers are hooked into music and movies from other countries. And, on a more practical note, changes have been experienced in the culinary realm as well.

> In the 1980s, we started getting some chicken. But we had to import chicken. And in the early 1990s, we started getting some of the first Chinese restaurants here and they had on the menu, they had chicken wings. Then the firms started cutting chicken. So now you can go to super market and buy drumsticks, wings, which for you is so obvious. But for us I can see where it came from and the changes in the patterns. My son says, 'Did you buy chicken? What part did you buy?' So I say, 'I bought breasts.' He says, 'No I wanted drumsticks.' So the whole thing is changing. Therefore to know how to cut chicken in the last 10 years has become a critical skill. (Personal Communication, October 25, 2007)

Several stakeholders highlighted the "brain drain" that has occurred as Ugandans have had more opportunity to study and work in other countries in this era of globalization. There are conflicting opinions on the degree to which this is a problem. "You go to school, you perform well, maybe have a bursary from government, you've done brilliantly. And your contribution back to the country—minimum. You get this great global job and you're gone" (Personal Communication, October 23, 2007). Another person noted, "We are beginning to produce people but they are not for the Ugandan market….Our economy is not ready to absorb them…. Even the good people who have been trained here don't have a place to work. So that in itself is a negative global force" (Personal Communication, October 25, 2007). One respondent estimated that perhaps 30 percent of Uganda's intellectuals (the "university trained people") across the board had left the country for better opportunities. The Minister of Education, Hon. Namirembe Bitamazire, had a broader view:

> For us in Uganda we are spending a lot of money on our human resources….We have not yet put boundaries as to where we should work or live. We train people, they go to other countries, and we are not worried. Some people say, 'why don't you bond them because you put a lot of money into their education?' We said 'no.' What we want is to see every individual…looking for each opportunity locally or abroad. So that liberal policy I think is highly appreciated by society.

One might say we are encouraging "brain drain." But "brain drain" is another globalization issue. As the economy, as the professions, as the work becomes global, people should be able to have the skills that allow them to move where they can be useful. [*Noting that people are returning, she continued…*] They have now come back with new ideas, broader thinking, connections abroad. This is very good. So we are beginning to see what the President calls a 'middle class society.' We are banking on the people who have been educated locally and those who are returning from other engagements abroad. They are creating a middle class society that might have the positive impact of increasing demands for services, introducing new skills in the country. So we are looking at that as the benefit to us.

Some comments reflected a concern about Uganda's readiness for globalization.

John Musoke, Program Officer for the Forum for Education NGOs in Uganda (FENU),

recalled a Ugandan adage: "Before you run, you've got to crawl," in explaining why

globalization poses serious problems for Uganda. He continued:

> We have these poverty issues and I believe before we really can start picking up globalization we need to sort most of these things out, otherwise you get eaten up. That is the major challenge and the major fear that most of us have – the issue of globalization. If you are not ready for it, that is, the world being one big global village, and if you can't take care of your own, then the rest of the world will eat you up….The fear of losing identity… most of us are afraid of that, opening up everything, removing all boundaries. And who are you in the end? …You wonder and say with globalization comes capitalism. Actually, capitalism is a major drive for globalization. So again, fears of capitalism, social protection. Will they be taken care of if all boundaries are being removed?...For Uganda it is very scary.

> Where are we in this big global village?...There are times when you want to say we wish we could just close ourselves off for the next five or so years so we could just grow and develop ourselves at a certain level before we get swamped and swallowed up. At times that is where the resistance comes from. Most people don't want to change for fear of actually losing what they already have.

One respondent viewed globalization as moving Uganda too quickly to the next level of

development:

> Globalization, it takes you to the same level as the US, so it jumps [Uganda] over some of the steps of development….Whatever level you're landing on you are not very comfortable there….Because if it [development] is gradual you get

experience as you go. But if it is very fast there are bound to be mistakes. (Personal Communication, October 26, 2007)

Respondents were quick to comment on the impacts of globalization on Ugandan society. On the positive side, one government official expressed the belief that globalization had expanded relationships. "You find that the younger generation will relate more freely across tribes and across countries than we used to do. I see that as a very good thing" (Personal Communication, November 1, 2007). A senior government official, noting that most international conferences on education were conducted in English, said:

> So with globalization there are things which you cannot stop. It's like a wave. If you stand in the way you are swept away. So we are perfecting now our English. Although we have been an English speaking country for a long time…. But we are now energized that we must put a lot of emphasis on English because when you speak good English you are marketable. And that's why we feel globalization is good. (Personal Communication, November 8, 2007)

A number of respondents identified socio-cultural downsides to globalization. Homosexuality and pornography were mentioned in at least five interviews as big problems resulting from globalization. One person noted that homosexuality historically was swept under the carpet "because it was not part of our culture…. Yet as you move around the world, people are trying to open up and say, 'that is their life, let them continue'.… But here you can see that globalization is being resisted" (Personal Communication, November 8, 2007). Another respondent said that because of globalization more is known now about homosexuality. The question is, is it because of better communication or is it coming from abroad? It feels like homosexuality is "invading Uganda" (Personal Communication, November 9, 2007).[35]

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[35] In August 2007, just two months before these interviews took place, activists organized a demonstration in support of Lesbian, Gay, Bi-Sexual, Transgender (LGBT) rights in Kampala. Shortly thereafter, a

In the same vein, respondents made comments about the easy accessibility of online pornography and the challenges this poses for parents and for educators. One respondent said:

> There are many disadvantages of globalization because our children are not yet to a level of international standard to appreciate some of the issues at an early age the way they are presented to them. But now because of globalization they are being exposed to all sorts of information which they cannot manage and which you cannot manage. They have no structures to manage this information. And because of that, it's creating new challenges which we have to have strategies to manage.

> The children are being exposed to pornography at a very early age. Because originally we didn't have computers. And the way a kid could be exposed to pornography they could read the secret magazines, which are secretly circulated, or go to clubs where people do these things. Today they do not do that. All they need to do is open a computer and type "porno" and everything comes up. So we now need to see, how do we manage that? It's a big problem. So it has come with its own challenges. We don't know how to manage. (Personal Communication, November 8, 2007)

Several respondents also noted the influx of drugs into Uganda that they believed to be the result of globalization. One respondent who has children noted that with increasing incomes more people are sending their children to private schools where they interact with people who are doing drugs and "so they are likely to be introduced to this. So the challenges that are coming with globalization will require a lot of managing" (Personal Communication, November 8, 2007).

Respondents cited a variety of cultural changes resulting from globalization, some positive, others more controversial, depending on one's perspective.

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minister and a deputy attorney general called for criminalization of homosexuality. A radio presenter who interviewed a LGBT activist was suspended. It is difficult to know if these events prompted more responses on this aspect of globalization or not. In February 2008, a coalition of 120 religious leaders called on the Government of Uganda to protect the human rights of lesbians, gays, bisexuals, and transgender (LGBT) citizens in the East African nation. In a letter to the President, the faith leaders call for an end to government-sanctioned verbal assaults and legal attacks that abridge the human rights of LGBT people. (Human Rights Watch, 2008)

Globalization has come in many forms. We are now adopting other cultures, the kind of dressing, the movies we watch, the evenings we have …before you would find someone in office, nowadays you meet over lunch, meet over a cup of tea to discuss business. It wasn't normally the case here. [Also] the human rights movement is very strong. If I was the head of the family, historically, I beat my wife the way I wanted to, I beat my kid, if I were a teacher I beat [students]…. All those have been stopped. And that is part of the globalization campaign. (Personal Communication, October 31, 2007)[36]

A number of respondents cited the impact of satellite television on the "tastes" and

attitudes of young people: "The issues of violence which are a result of globalization, the

feeding of violence, it's rubbing off, seeing it on TV, they live on it" (Personal

Communication, October 26, 2007). Another respondent noted that the "evils" of

countries in Europe, the Far East, and the U.S. that are portrayed on TV have created a

"cultural shock" in Uganda: "…take some 'soaps' like 'Dallas', the people see those

mega-rich individuals [and think] everybody is like that in America. So why can't we?

Why can't we be dishonest?...So if they can do it in America why can't we do it here"

(Personal Communication, November 12, 2007)?

One education activist, when asked about whether globalization was good or bad

for Uganda, responded:

Well, in everything there are positives and negatives. It is up to Uganda to pick out, defend what is good from globalization and what is good within the globalization. Like this "Big Brother" [TV] show. The other day…the girl [on the show] who went from here arrived [home]…It [the show] is terrible yet there are multitudes at the airport to meet her. So it [globalization] comes with good and bad. Normally globalization is bringing in something we won't like in many areas. And it's ok. But we need also to know the treasurable areas of our heritage and keep and maintain them. (Personal Communication, October 31, 2007)

Another educator commented on how

 Globalization is taking us some steps away from our normal development. How is that happening? Because now when you look at the TV all the time even

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[36] The respondent was providing an example of how globalization has changed views on abuse and was not referring to personal behavior.

children looking at the TV, see the Coca Cola. Coca Cola gets embedded into their brain. Instead of taking something like oranges, fresh, they would rather take Coca Cola because it's on TV – and that's the globalization thing. (Personal Communication, October 26, 2007)

Additionally, changing dress codes and the discarding of traditional values has brought

angst to some elders.

I see that when you look at our young people in particular I see that their ways of life have changed terribly. They are not like us when we were growing up. Just for them they can access Internet… they are very much up-to-date on what is happening in the US. I see them coming up with fashions, they know which fashions are where, they know what is going on where, and they are the very first to copy those things. Then there are…certain things that for us maybe as Africans is not very much in our culture…. An example is like the way of dressing. You find that young ladies will wear quite short dresses and...for them they move in them freely. But it is very offensive to some of our elderly people, especially the ones that are not educated. It is really, really very offensive. But those are some of the effects of globalization. (Personal Communication, November 1, 2007)

Globalization and Education Reform

Stakeholders identified a number of changes or reforms in education that have

come about as Uganda is increasingly connected with the rest of the world. Respondents

generally viewed globalization as having a positive impact on education reform in terms

of learning from other countries. However, they also noted the challenges it presents.

The Minister of Education, the Honorable Namirembe Bitamazire, offered some

thoughtful reflections on globalization and education. Excerpts from this interview are in

Text Box 4.

Other stakeholders weighed in on how the international community had set the

agenda. One NGO representative said: "If you go with UPE, it was global. Uganda

declared, Uganda was one of the countries that actually implemented (UPE)" (Personal

Communication, October 24, 2007). Henry Nickson Ogwal, National Coordinator for the

Commonwealth Education Fund, explained why there had been such an increase in the involvement of NGOs in education since the EFA Conference in Dakar in 2000:

> The EFA by the year 2000 had failed…In most countries, the education indicators had worsened by the review target. One of the key things that went wrong was that there was hardly any national government that had committed itself [to education] at Jomtien in 1990 that meaningfully involved the civil society in the planning, implementation and review of local and national….So one key factor that was picked out in Dakar was that every government would go back and seriously engage civil society in the planning, review, and implementation [of education]….

> The public accountability framework therefore became (1) hold the national government accountable to their declaration, the sign-up at Dakar on EFA and later MDGs [in Durban]…(2) ensure that the local and national government education frameworks are credible because...(3) the international community promises were made in both Dakar and Durban that no country with a credible plan and [that] has actually allocated its available national resources affordable to education would be left to fail to meet the agreed targets due to lack of resources. Thence, if the civil society organizations supported those processes that produce credible plans,[37] then this would be a first…to put the international community to honor their promise.

Many Ministry officials have traveled quite widely and thus have been exposed to educational policies and practices in other countries. However, one educator noted, "when they get back here…they don't seem to be able to translate those experiences into something for us that could begin to work better or different" (Personal Communication, October 22, 2007).

Uganda's desire to be part of the global village was noted by a donor representative: "education system…needs to gear up" to that end in part by looking at the experiences of other countries. "Uganda is looking at the Asian countries – Malaysia, Singapore, the "tigers," those are the countries that Uganda is looking at" (Personal Communication, November 9, 2007). As one academic concluded: "We are not only

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[37] The credible education plans are those that respond to all the educational rights and needs of the educationally disadvantaged learners, both the children and the adults.

Excerpts from a Conversation on Globalization and Education
with the
Honorable Minister Geraldine Namirembe Bitamazire
Ministry of Education and Sports
October 31, 2008

Well, with respect to globalization and how it impacts education, what I think is happening has not happened. You have many people in key policy circles who still need some sensitization, information. They need information about globalization as a process. Secondly, they need sensitization about its impacts on society generally and the economy. We can't wait because we see. Why I say generally, I've been in government for some time. But I don't recall discussions, in-depth discussions, about globalization, the process, and its implications in national development terms. So I take it that only some individuals in their official or unofficial capacity have been following up on this subject.

It [globalization] is not a subject that I remember being discussed in government staff meetings, Cabinet and Parliament and so forth. But for sure, we've got a lot of intellectuals who I believe have been following it either as an African subject or as an administrator if they would like to learn more about it. I consider myself one of those people who don't normally want to miss out on information but I don't remember big meetings or discussions on this. And then, too, in the Ministry…if there is no cabinet paper, no Parliamentary debates are launched on globalization, then it means at sector level that it should not stand out as one area where we should all focus and see how it affects our policies and programs at the sector level.

As a macro policy in the country, we are targeting modernization of our economy. And through modernization we are saying that we want to industrialize the country. Because in the globalization process industries seem to play a key role in the economy of the country. We are exchanging notes with Malaysia, with India, with China, Nepal and so on. Japan. Singapore. And it seems those countries have been able to move fast because of their focus on industry. So we are also studying industry as a key priority in the development framework. But that again comes directly from the process of globalization. We know that countries which are industrialized are going to benefit from the globalization….So if we want to keep ahead as a country in the process of globalization we have to pick on what we identify as the key areas in the process. Fortunately, we have discovered oil and we see oil as a key link of the country and the people to the process of industrialization and globalization.

So, the point I am trying to make [is that] we may not have sat down at the table and addressed globalization and analyzed it. But we are taking all these policy steps to make sure that Uganda and Ugandans become competitive in the process so that when it catches up on us it will find our people prepared to make either a negative or a positive input….But it is a big question that can be pushed a little bit farther. Because even Education for All where we are very active at the primary level is an element of globalization. Because illiteracy cannot exist side-by-side with globalization. So we want to wipe out illiteracy from the country. Let people get literate.

training for Uganda but we are training for the global world" (Personal Communication,

November 12, 2007). In response to an inquiry about how globalization is affecting

education in Uganda, one educator said:

> We are trying to match with the global world and as you can see at times   you are matching, you are trying to run when actually you have not yet got stronger legs. Sometimes we want to do what others are doing, to keep a   pace with others, with the whole world. But unfortunately, at times we don't have the necessary equipment. But that does not mean that we are not really doing it, we are. And we are trying to bring in…other people's curriculum. We borrow, we go out and study. When we borrow people's curriculum, we do not take wholesale those curricula. We look because in education, we believe that you compare what you have with what others have and then you come out with something better. So that's what we are doing. I think we are not doing badly because we believe we move out to other countries and see what they are doing and learn from them and we are able to develop our curriculum. (Personal Communication, November 6, 2007)

Another noted how Uganda had borrowed ideas from neighboring African countries such

as Kenya and South Africa to improve its curriculum. One government official, however,

expressed a concern about globalization:

> Globalization poses a challenge to Uganda, especially regarding curriculum…. We realized…that we needed to review the [secondary] curriculum to match the globalization challenge. We need to prepare students for the global market, not just the national market. There are new areas such as technology to include…[so] we introduced compulsory science for the O level students…We were moved by pressures in the world. (Personal Communication, November 9, 2007)

A donor representative also noted how "global trends like decentralization" had changed

the structure and administration of education especially at the primary level. (Personal

Communication, November 9, 2007)

A number of respondents focused on ICT and the Internet as having the most

significant influence on education though perspectives varied on the capacity of

technology to support educational programs outside the capital city.

We use the Internet. We look at our curriculum and then we say…'What is UK saying? What is the U.S. saying?' There was a time when…they [the U.S.] were using outcomes-based education and for us we are using objective-based education. So now that outcomes-based education [has] influenced our curriculum…and we are trying to make this one outcomes-based, putting the child in our mind to make sure whatever we develop we have the child in mind. (Personal Communication, November 6, 2007)

Because of globalization and the Internet, some schools and universities in Uganda are now linked with their counterparts in other countries and learning much from such educational exchanges. "I think the impact it has made is that we have had a number of [Ugandan] schools linked up with a number of schools worldwide….People are able to access different ideologies. You may get different ideas" (Personal Communication, October 24, 2007). There is an additional bonus for higher education: "ICT…is reducing the expenditure on books" (Personal Communication, November 8, 2007). Technology has improved access to information globally. Students can listen to or read lectures given by professors at some of the best universities in the world.

On the other hand, an educator pointed out that Uganda does not yet have adequate technology in place to ensure that all students (both children and adults) can benefit, for example, from distance learning.

When you compare that [technology for development] with the technologies in these Western countries, there is a very huge gap…, which makes some of the provision [of education], which is viable in the West very unviable here. For example, distance learning is one of the strategies that would be very good if we had the infrastructure…but with the infrastructure that we have it's not a very likely alternative. (Personal Communication, November 2, 2007)

At the same time, several educators noted how the advent of the Internet, a key facet of globalization, is beginning to change teaching and the relationship between students and teachers.

You are offering something that you have put together probably 10 years ago to kids, to teachers, to people who are traveling frequently, have friends in other parts of the world who send them this and that, have access by all sorts of means. You go to the Internet and you have lots of information some of which should not have been accessible. But the kids have it. Kids will challenge teachers in school; teachers will challenge administrators. (Personal Communication, October 22, 2007)

I look at the kids [in the schools]. They are miles ahead of us….What has made the world smaller?...Telecommunications has made the world smaller. Its gadgets are here, videos, DVDs, the whole world is there. Our education wasn't like that. This means that the kids are more alert, more aware, than we are. It has also changed the job market greatly. This means that when I am teaching the kids I need to be mindful of that…that I'm teaching a kid who is not going to be in Uganda…but actually be in Tanzania, in the UK,…or the U.S., all at the same time. This is a kid who is going to be able to work in Uganda but work for a firm in the U.S. or somewhere else. So when I teach them I need to be mindful of that and the teachers are not very well prepared for that. (Rose Izizinga, Head Teacher, Makarere College School; Chair, Head Teachers Association)

One NGO activist noted the link between debt relief (a consequence of global advocacy and concerted action on the part of a number of industrial countries) and education in pointing out what the Poverty Action Fund (PAF), the recipient of debt relief funds, had done to improve education: "It has been going to construction of classrooms. This to me has been positive. And this made available infrastructure and learning materials" (Personal Communication, October 25, 2007). Nevertheless, the respondent noted that debt relief was not enough because not all the debt was removed and the level of debt remaining is still unsustainable.

Regarding globalization's impact on reforms, opinions were divided. One NGO representative stated:

I shouldn't say it has really pushed reforms…The country's focus is still on basic education. The focus hasn't really gone out yet to say, 'ok fine, we have acquired basic education; let's now go global and produce people to actually go out there and compete.' We haven't really reached that level yet. (Personal Communication, October 23, 2007)

In contrast, Robinson Nsumba-Lyazi, Assistant Commissioner, Comprehensive

Secondary Education, noted that Uganda, like other African countries, has been caught in

the "global wave."

> Uganda cannot be spared. Many of our reforms and ideas come from globalization, even the science policy. They are saying the 21st century is going to be characterized mainly by the greater application of science and technology. These are global issues. Even the things we are talking about [with] the Education for All, these are global issues that are normally in global conferences. You find that you cannot be left behind. This Education for All is something that is critical on the global agenda. The education of girls is on the global agenda. You find that the country is also trying as much as possible to catch up with the global events….We cannot simply talk about globalization. We have to put in policies that will integrate our educational system.

Text Box 5 provides a composite list of specific education reforms that

stakeholders identified in interviews as having been influenced by globalization.

Text Box 5: Globalization and Education Reform

UPE/Basic Education/ EFA	Testing and Assessment
Adopting MDGs	Gender Equity Focus
Psycho-Social Counseling	Peace Education
Mother Tongue Instruction	Mandated Science Policy
ICT	HIV/AIDS and Life Skills Education
Privatization	Higher Education
Curricula	New Pedagogies
Decentralization	

Finally, an education administrator addressed the dilemma a country like Uganda

faces when confronting globalization, which changes the reform challenges. The

respondent noted that globalization has brought some changes in policy but also

expressed the belief that developing countries are being dictated to by developed

countries. In terms of technology change, developing countries like Uganda are

"jumping" a step because they want to be at the same level as other countries. But, the

respondent said Ugandans accept that they cannot match the speed of the developed

countries.

> The problem is we are now training in computer repair but the students can't do the math calculations. We need to train for both the local and the international marketplace. We need to move step-by-step rather than jumping steps. Globalization has meant more efficiency in urban areas but perhaps we are forgetting the rural people. (Personal Communication, November 12, 2007)

One comment summed up these contradictory views of globalization's impact on

Uganda's education system:

> How is Uganda going to get the most out of globalization for the growth of the country and the growth of its people? That we don't know. That depends a lot on political leadership but also on investors…. It depends also a lot on the perspective of people directly involved in education. (Personal Communication, November 12, 2007)

Observations

The interview excerpts above reflect the range of perspectives and opinions held

by different education stakeholders regarding globalization. They are divergent and no

one particular perspective characterizes any particular "group" of stakeholders. Like the

five blind men each touching the elephant in a different place, the stakeholders have

different perspectives on globalization depending on where they "sit." The stakeholders

did agree, however, that globalization is here to stay and that it has had a variety of

impacts, positive and negative, on Uganda and its education system.

In reflecting on these responses, it is important to remember that nearly all of the

stakeholders interviewed for this study were well-educated and, in many cases, well-

traveled. Nearly all lived in the capital city, Kampala, and had access to computers and

the Internet. (Even a few stakeholders who lived in rural areas that were not on the

electrical grid had e-mail addresses that they used when they came to the city.) Hence,

for the most part, these stakeholders were well connected to the global community and accustomed to dialogue on education with colleagues around the world. In this regard, they were hardly representative of the nation's citizenry. As one senior government official noted, "We think that it [globalization] is so far away from us in Africa, or in Uganda. Because in the rural community, a 30-minute drive into the country, you talk about globalization and nobody knows. It is really very, very far" (Personal Communication, October 30, 2007). On the other hand, many respondents were key decision makers engaged in the policy dialogue about the direction of education in Uganda. Hence, it was reasonable to seek a better understanding of *their* perspectives on globalization and its impacts on education in Uganda.

Most, but not all, stakeholders had given some thought to globalization, what it "is," and what it has meant for Uganda as a country. In several interviews, respondents stated that they had not really thought much about globalization in the broader sense and were pleased to be asked in the interview to gather their thoughts on the subject. The consensus was that globalization is opening up the country. However, there was some ambivalence about Uganda's "readiness" for globalization, and there were contrasting opinions on whether globalization will help or harm Uganda's economy, at least in the short term. While some respondents noted positive social effects of globalization, there appeared to be general agreement in this limited sample that globalization's impact on Uganda's social life and cultural traditions has had some serious negative consequences and threatened certain cultural values. No one mentioned ways that education could mitigate these negative impacts.

As for globalization's impact on education, stakeholders identified some concrete examples (e.g. curriculum, pedagogies, assessment strategies, etc.) of how ideas from other countries had infiltrated Uganda's education system. The Internet has played an important role in this regard, but so have regional conferences, international meetings, study abroad programs as well as INGOs and donors that have promulgated certain education policies and "best practices." Many of the policy reforms identified in Text Box 5 have been adopted in other developing countries. This policy convergence reflects not only the influence of specific global transmitters/actors but also the power of globalization as a process to promote policy "borrowing" and "lending" of different reforms. It also raises a question of agency on the part of countries adopting (or adapting) what increasingly appear to be "universal" reforms.

The EFA goals and the MDGs were frequently mentioned as touch points certified by the global community to which Uganda was committed. Respondents noted how students, especially in Kampala but also elsewhere in the country, were more savvy and sophisticated as a result of cell phones, TV and the Internet. These circumstances have challenged teachers and required them to think anew about "what" and "how" they teach.

The interviews were also interesting for the issues that were not raised about globalization and education. With a few exceptions, stakeholders did not *link* globalization with the bigger, sector level trends in education, i.e., decentralization and privatization, which have had major impacts on education in Uganda and elsewhere around the world. There was virtually no comment about how *education* could be used to mitigate the "negatives" globalization allegedly has brought to Uganda, for example, the

importation of foreign cultural mores which some felt undermined Uganda's traditions. Similarly, no mention was made of how education could address fears of losing national identity because of globalization.

Resistance to globalization in the broad sense was mentioned by a number of respondents in different contexts. Several respondents expressed concern that Uganda would be "swallowed up" or swept away "like a wave" by globalization. There was unease that globalization was requiring Uganda to skip some "steps of development" implying that the country was not yet ready to respond to the changes brought by globalization. Representatives of some NGOs noted the inequities that result from globalization and the imposition of particular economic policies. A number of respondents expressed clear resistance to "Western" hegemony in terms of cultural globalization. Fashion styles, issues related to gender orientation, and "attitudes" from other countries were not always welcome. Several respondents also noted the negative aspects of neoliberal orthodoxy on Uganda's economic system, particularly related to trade and privatization. One respondent cited the assessment and accountability mechanisms in education that have flowed into Uganda, which may not be appropriate for the country's circumstances.

In terms of how education could help Uganda take advantage of the opportunities that globalization has to offer, responses were generally limited to a critique of the outdated curricula, insufficient skill training opportunities and a style of teaching which does not encourage problem solving, creative thinking, entrepreneurialism, etc. The latter skills, in particular, were cited by many as being essential skills for competing in the global economy. There were no comments about internationalizing the curricula or

the importance of integrating a "global perspective" in the curricula which would better

position all graduates (not just the "elite" who study abroad) to understand the dynamics

of globalization. Such changes could also help to situate Uganda on a range of global

issues such as energy, the environment, human rights, trade and economy, geopolitics,

etc. Perhaps this response is an (over) reaction to the legacy of colonial curricula that

several respondents noted was too full of information about other countries and not

enough information about Uganda. Similarly, no mention was made of the importance of

education in promoting democratic values, systems of governance and practice that

would strengthen Uganda's leadership position in a region often rife with conflict and

enhance its role in the global community.[38] In this regard, and with a few exceptions,

(including, notably, the Minister of Education), stakeholders held narrow views of what

globalization means, views linked to a specific experience, exchange or exercise. No

Ministry-wide dialogue has occurred about globalization's impact on education and what

it means for upcoming decisions on curricula, teacher training, BTVET, etc.

　　　The "bottom line" is that the imperative to address globalization, both its

opportunities and its challenges, through education is on the periphery of education

policy discussions. One educator commented, "We cannot simply talk about

globalization. We have to put in policies which will integrate our educational system"

(Personal Communication, November 13, 2007). This is true. However, that would

mean placing a greater priority, i.e., investing more resources, more strategically, on post-

primary education to better prepare the current and future generations to respond to

globalization, both its opportunities and its challenges or threats. There is a clear

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[38] Notably, the Catholic Church in Uganda launched a Peace Education Program in its primary and secondary schools in March 2008. The MoES will also introduce a course in peace and conflict resolution in schools. (All Africa.com, 2008)

recognition that Uganda needs to equip its citizens with the technical, managerial, and problem-solving skills that will stand the country in good stead in the global economy. Doing this will require changes in curriculum, teacher training and budget allocations. While some policies are in place to address these very issues, Uganda, like many other countries has not yet brought globalization to the forefront of the education policy dialogue.

Chapter VII: Globalization and Education Reform: Timelines and Transmitters

Timelines

A broad range of education reforms have occurred in Uganda since 1987. Some reforms occurred at the sector level and had differential impacts on one or more of the education sub-sectors. Other reforms targeted specific sub-sectors. In addition, reform in one sub-sector triggered reform in another, i.e., UPE inevitably led to USE/UPPET. Within the primary and post-primary sub-sectors, other reforms, e.g. curricula, were initiated.

Stakeholders in Ugandan education have different views on the reforms that have occurred in the education sector. As described in the previous chapter, some view globalization as having a significant effect on education. Others candidly confess that they have not given the issue much thought. Many indicate a serious concern about the impact of globalization on Uganda but those concerns are not necessarily linked, at least in the interviews for this study, to how reforms in education have occurred.

This chapter focuses on the "how" of education reform in Uganda. It identifies briefly the "what" of some of the reforms that have been implemented, both sector-wide and within specific sub-sectors, and suggests "how" these reforms may have been influenced by other events in the national or global environment. Table 5 provides a snapshot of the domestic and international policy environment in which education sector reforms took place in Uganda during the past 20 years. This timeline lists *selective* policies, programs, and events undertaken by (a) the Government of Uganda, (b) international donors, and, (c) the global community during the period under study. Table

5 is illustrative and intended to show the broader context in which education reforms in Uganda have taken place since 1987.

Table 6, organized by sub-sector, provides a timeline of the education reforms and other activities undertaken by the Government of Uganda over the past 20 years. With the exception of the primary education sub-sector, which implemented Universal Primary Education in 1997, few *major* reforms were undertaken between 1987 and 2007. Those that were implemented mainly occurred after the year 2000.

The impact of globalization on education reform in Uganda has been both direct and subtle. In some cases, events in the global community (e.g. Education for All) appear to have had a major impact on Uganda's "locally" adopted global goals and its accepted benchmarks for achievement, particularly in relation to gender equity. Uganda's public policy documents and policy makers frequently mention these global goals as reference points for Uganda's internal education goals.

In other areas, globalization has had a more subtle influence. Reforms in curricula, assessment, and teacher training reflected those in the international arena. However, they are less "tied' to a specific event or international agreement such as the EFA or MDG goals. Decentralization falls into this category of "more subtle" impacts of globalization. The World Bank and other donors supported decentralization as a part of restructuring the economy in the late 1980s and early 1990s but, in Uganda, it was also a natural extension of the decentralized modality in which Uganda was governed when various kingdoms ruled the country. Later, when the National Resistance Movement fought to gain control of the country it organized into local Resistance Councils. The 1993 Decentralization Act formalized these Resistance Councils and renamed them

Table 5: Domestic and International Environment for Education Sector Reform 1987-2007
(Selected Policies, Programs, and Events)

Year		Policies/Events in Uganda	Donor Initiatives	Events in the Global Arena
1987		-LRA insurgency begins in North -Education Policy Review Commission established -School Fees imposed -Economy Recovery Program launched	Economic Recovery Loans	
1988			4th Education Project—Instructional Materials Primary (WB)	
1989	Structural Adjustment Program	Education Policy Review Commission Report issued		UNESCO Convention on TVET
1990		-Affirmative Action for women entering Makerere (1.5 bonus pts) -Foreign Exchange System liberalized		-World Summit on Children: Convention on Rights of the Child* -World Conference on Education for All-Jomtien; EFA Declaration *
1991		-Public Enterprise Reform and Divestiture Policy -Uganda Investment Authority established		
1992		-Government White Paper on Education -Investment Act adopted	Support to Ugandan Primary Education Reform (USAID)	
1993		-Decentralization Act -New National Textbook Policy -Public Enterprise Reform and Divestiture Statute -Restoration of monarchies	-Primary Education & Teacher Development Project (WB, USAID)	World Conference on Human Rights*

Year		Policies/Events in Uganda	Donor Initiatives	Events in the Global Arena
1994		Financial system liberalized Instructional materials market liberalized		International Conference on Population & Development
1995		New Constitution adopted		International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights* -4th World Conference on Women -World Summit Social Development
1996		-Children's Statute -Value Added Tax Statute		-Mid Decade EFA Conference -WWW goes commercial (1996-98)
1997		-Local Government Act -Income Tax Statute -Poverty Eradication Action Plan -Poverty Action Fund instituted -Economic Liberalization Act	-Nakawa Vocational Training Institute Project (JICA) 1997-2002 -Donor support for UPE -Basic Education for Urban Poverty Areas (GTZ)	
1998		- HIPC Debt Relief -Education Strategic Investment Plan 1998-2003 -Civil Service Reform -National Strategy for Girls' Education	-Improvement of Agricultural Extension/Training Institutes (JICA) -Education Sector (Primary) Adjustment Program (WB) -Alternative Basic Education for Karamoja Project (Danida)	
1999		-Education Sector Review process initiated -School Facility Grants launched -Education Sector Wide Approach launched	-Local Government Program (WB) -Promotion of Employment Oriented Vocational and Technical Training-PEVOT (GTZ- 15 yr project) -Promotion of Private Training Providers Project (KfW)	

Year		Policies/Events in Uganda	Donor Initiatives	Events in the Global Arena
2000		-Enhanced HIPC Debt Initiative -New Instructional Materials Evaluation and Approvals Policy	-African Education Initiative(USAID) -Primary Education Reform & Education Sector Plan Support (Irish Aid) -African Growth & Opportunity Act -Education Funding Agencies Group established -Basic Education and Policy Support (USAID)	-World Education Forum Dakar -Millennium Summit (Millennium Development Goals*) -Beijing Conference on Women -Internet comes of age
2001		-Education Standards Agency established -University & Tertiary Institutions Act -Girls' Education Movement Program initiated		-Uganda hosts regional workshop on TVET -Convention to Abolish Child Labor*(#182)
2002		-Education Services Act	-Makerere University Training Project-Decentralized Service Delivery(WB) -Uganda Program for Human & Holistic Development (USAID)	
2003		-Draft Education Bill	-Capacity Building for Civic Engagement/Decentralization (WB) -Strengthening Civil Society to Support Education Programs (CEF) -Basic Education and Policy Support Project (USAID)	-1st Regional SEIA Conference-Uganda -UN Literacy Decade begins -World Summit on the Information Society (part 1) - Convention to Abolish Child Labor* (#138)

Year		Policies/Events in Uganda	Donor Initiatives	Events in the Global Arena
2004		-PEAP 2004-2007 -Education Sector Strategic Plan 2004-2015	-Private Sector Competitiveness Project (WB) -Education Sector Adjustment Credit -President's Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief (USG)	2nd Regional SEIA Conference-Senegal (financial sustainability, quality & relevance)
2005		EFA Policy Framework for conflict and post-conflict areas in Uganda		-Meeting of Ministers of Education of African Union -World Summit on the Information Society (part 2)
2006		-Ministry of ICT established -Orphans and Vulnerable Children Policy	-Millennium Science Initiative-Tertiary (WB) -UNITY Project[39] (USAID)	1st International Conference on ICT for Development, Education and Learning
2007		Uganda hosts CHOGM	-Secondary Curriculum Reform Project (WB)	-3rd Regional SEIA Conference-Ghana (Secondary Education & Training) -Connect Africa Summit (Rwanda)
2008				East African Submarine System (EASSy)installed

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[39] The UNITY project is multifaceted and works in the following areas: Professional development for teachers; REPLICA (Revitalization of Education Participation and Learning in Conflict Areas); Psychosocial counseling and guidance; Promotion of Girls' education and gender issues; Community mobilization; HIV/AIDS education/mitigation in post primary; and policy. (* denotes that Uganda ratified the treaty/convention)

Table 6: Education Events and Reforms in Uganda 1987-2007
(by sub-sector)

Year	Primary	Secondary	BTVET	Tertiary
1988			Curriculum Revisions	
1989	ERC Commission Report recommends UPE			
1990	New Primary Curriculum introduced (10 subjects)			Affirmative Action policy for women entering Makerere
1991				
1992				Makerere restructuring begins (alternative financing system, demand-driven courses, etc.)
1993	-Primary Education Reform Program launched -Instructional Materials Unit established			
1994	Teacher Development and Management System			
1995	-National Assessment of Progress in Education begun			
1996	-President endorses UPE policy -Triennial testing initiated at P3/P6 by UNEB	Vocationalization of education implemented	President announces massive community polytechnic program	

Year	Primary	Secondary	BTVET	Tertiary
1997	UPE implemented			
1998	Schools Facilities Grant introduced		Line Ministry programs transferred to MoES; BTVET Department established	
1999	-Curriculum Review -Local language policy established			
2000	New Curriculum Introduced (Part 1)			
2001				-Universities and Other Tertiary Institutions Act
2002	New Curriculum Introduced (Part 2)	Compulsory Science Policy initiated	TVET Policy Task Force formed	-National Council for Higher Education established
2003				
2004	Curriculum Review	Pro-Poor Bursary scheme for 1000 sub-counties initiated		
2005		President announces UPPET - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -	will be introduced - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -	
2006		-Universal Secondary Education (USE) announced -First sitting Science Exam -UPPET Task Force - - - - - - -	- - - - - - - - - - - - - - -	
2007	-Thematic Curriculum in P1 -Comprehensive Program for Quality Education	-UPPET/USE implemented	Uganda Vocational Qualification Framework established	

District Councils. Responsibility devolved to them for, among other things, education, and health.

<div align="center">*Transmitters*</div>

"Transmitters" of education reform have delivered ideas and actions to Uganda's doorstep, directly or indirectly. Like reforms, "transmitters" operate at different levels. Some transmitters play a more *direct* role in disseminating reform ideas. They are "global actors" who represent specific interests, biases, perspectives, etc., in dialogue with others in the global community. The organizational manifestations of these global actors (development partners/donors, INGOs, MNCs, etc.) lend reform ideas and/or "best practices" via interactions with stakeholders in Uganda. They are identified through the ideas or actions they promote, although specific ideas are not always directly traceable to a particular transmitter.

Transmitters that affect reform more *indirectly* help shape the "reform environment" in which reforms are incubated, borrowed, lent, adapted, etc. as well as the content of specific reforms. These transmitters include, but are not limited to, international conferences and meetings, the Internet, and a broad range of educational experiences (e.g. study tours, training abroad, seminars, etc.) in which Ugandan stakeholders (government officials, NGO leaders, academics, etc.) participate.

First, the global actors. For the purposes of this study, global actors are primarily the representatives or interlocutors of the various transmitters (named above, discussed below) that communicate ideas, policies, actions, and practices on behalf of, or in accord with, their respective organizations.

Donors are particular actors that propose and support policy options, programs, and projects with money, prestige, and studies. The role they have played, and continue to play, in Uganda cannot be underestimated. This influence comes at two levels: The first level arrived in the form of broad multi-sectoral, macro-economic reforms such as the structural adjustment programs of the 1980s supported by donors that promulgated policy options in all sectors, including education. The second level has been conveyed via donor general budget support for the education sector, as well as support for specific projects in the sub-sectors (e.g. teacher education, scholarships for girls, BTVET, etc.). The list of donor-supported projects in Table 5 is not exhaustive. However, it does show trends in the types of projects and sub-sectors different donors financed during the 20-year period under review. As donors provided support for such activities (sometimes more in tune with the donor's home country politics than those of Uganda), they nudged along reform efforts in Uganda's education policies and practices. In addition to the specific projects noted in Table 5, various UN agencies (UNICEF, UNHCR, and the World Food Program) carried out a number of education programs in northern Uganda in support of children and their families caught up in the war in that region. The Table does not include the plethora of NGO programs focused on education that also made a major contribution to an environment of "change" in Uganda.

Donors also developed mechanisms for collaborating with one another and with the MoES on education issues. One example was the formation of the Education Funding Agencies Group (EFAG), which has served not only as a forum for donors to coordinate funding but also as a budget monitoring mechanism. EFAG's close working relationship with the MoES has spurred reforms in accountability, transparency, and

efficiency in education. The establishment of the SWAp as a coordinating mechanism for education activities provided a venue for stakeholders to exchange ideas and discuss policies.

National and international non-governmental organizations and other on-the-ground implementers of reforms are also more easily identified as direct transmitters of ideas and actions important to the reform process. The INGOs, in particular, often introduce "best practices" from their experience in other countries related, for example, to teacher training, refugee or girls' education, etc., thus reinforcing a convergence of common practices. Also, as they are outside the government they can and do frequently serve as "critics" of policy and advocates for the poor and marginalized who may not be able to exercise their own voice. In shining a light on the particular needs of such groups and offering alternative visions and policies for education that raise issues of equity and justice, INGOs add a critical dimension to the education reform process.

In some circumstances, Ugandan stakeholders may also be "global actors" involved with one or more of the international institutional "transmitters." These stakeholders may include Ugandan government officials and representatives of development partners (donors) and/or NGO organizations, both national and international, who are engaged in the policy making process in one way or another. For example, the General Secretary of UNATU, Uganda's teacher union, is also a member of the board of directors of Education International, the world's largest global union federation and the only one representing teachers and education workers. She is both a "global actor" and a "Ugandan stakeholder."

Government officials weigh reform options that balance an array of political and other objectives. They are the primary decision-makers regarding education reform and, because of their engagement with their peers in international fora, they bring new approaches and reform ideas to the table. Similarly, local and international NGO representatives have also developed new approaches to bring to the education reform discussion. Many serve as advocates for different reforms, especially for disadvantaged constituencies, and interact regularly with government officials on policy matters.

The annual Education and Sports Sector Review is one of the venues where government officials, development partners (donors), and representatives of civil society (e.g. the INGO and national NGO community) discuss and debate education issues. Very frank exchanges between the donors and the MoES on a broad range of issues characterized the October 2007 sector review. One observer opined, "Does it really mean if the international community has…a vision, that they must push the vision at the village level in a developing country" (Personal Communication, October 25, 2007)? The "undertakings" agreed to by the MoES officials and the donors in the October 2007 Review meeting for the following year reflected not only collaboration between these two groups (and other stakeholders), but also specific concerns of the donors on reform initiatives ranging from access and quality to efficiency and accountability in education. The final Aide Memoire from the October 2007 meeting reflected a hard-won consensus that required concession and compromise. However, while there were disagreements regarding certain aspects of the Ministry's programs or priorities, overall it appeared that the donors and the Ministry were generally in agreement about what needed to be done

and by whom even though the resources were not available to achieve the objectives as expeditiously as desired.

Consensus on paper does not always reveal, however, dissension among stakeholders or even resentment that may be below the surface. Donors are "agents" of globalization too and, as several informants said in different ways, foreign funding can have a strong effect on national policy. One NGO representative, Henry Nickson Ogwal of the Commonwealth Education Fund, reflected on the impact donors have had on education policy.

> Globalization has facilitated certain things…I would say. For example, aid facilitated financing of schools' facilities grants where there was a lack of funding for additional infrastructure. Around the years 1992/93/94, the World Bank and other official donors were telling Uganda that it could not provide free education and free medical services. The donor position was that the users of education and medical services were to meet user fees. User fee was the language of donors signaling the desired "policy coherence" which was part of the liberalization agenda, structural adjustment policies. The donors were therefore only ready to fund the Government education programs if it [the Government] was ready to impose or maintain user fees, irrespective of the access, equity, and quality context.

Other global actors influence change in education in more indirect, less comprehensive, ways. These actors come from academia, business, unions, and other global associations with a stake in education. They interact with their counterparts, the Ugandan stakeholders, in both formal and informal ways. Their connections may include, for example, collaborative research projects, teacher exchanges, student linkages via the Internet, study abroad, and global business connections such as Rotary International, the Chamber of Commerce, or education associations such as Education International. The Ugandan stakeholders bring fresh ideas for education reform from their encounters with the global community and integrate these new approaches and

practices where appropriate. These actors may also have influenced change in individual

schools or university classrooms. Businessmen/women may have adopted new

pedagogies and employee training practices gleaned from international connections that,

in turn, stimulated reform at other levels in the education system. They may also have

become advocates for certain reforms in education. However, with some exceptions, this

latter group of actors was not the primary focus of this study, which focused on the

perspectives of the sector-level actors.

The "global" education of Ugandans is not one-way. Many "unofficial" people

from other countries come to Uganda and share their expertise and experience. Uganda

educates a large number of foreign students. At the tertiary level, for example, nearly

13,000 international students were enrolled in Uganda tertiary institutions in 2006.

Additionally, international migration both in and out of Uganda influences the flow of

information, cultural, and economic exchange. Peace Corps has had a program in

Uganda since 1964.[40] Over 800 volunteers have lived in villages and urban areas

throughout Uganda and shared their knowledge, expertise, and culture with Ugandans.

At the same time, they learned much about Uganda. Tourism, both in and out of Uganda,

has created encounters with the global community. In the 2007 Globalization Index,

Uganda ranked 70th in international tourism arrivals (468,000) for the year 2005. The

number of Ugandans traveling to other countries has also increased in recent years.

The more *indirect* transmitters influence the contours of the "reform

environment" as well as the content of specific reforms. The reform environment

encircles the actors and creates the space, supportive or not, in which the global actors

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[40] The program was suspended for nearly 20 years during Uganda's years of dictatorship but reinstated in 1991.

and the Uganda stakeholders interact and make decisions. This reform environment includes three principal transmitters: (1) International conferences, meetings and agreements that which have engaged Uganda and over 100 other countries in dialogue on a range of global issues, including education; (2) The Internet, which in the last decade, has made available information on every conceivable education topic free and just a "click" away; and, (3) International study programs (short course and degree programs), regional meetings, and/or global associations which engaged Ugandan education officials in dialogue on education issues with their peers in other countries. Collectively and interactively, these facets of the reform environment serve as "transmitters" of education reforms linking Uganda to the global education community. They help to create a climate for change. They also contain substantive ideas and content including examples, pros and cons, of many education reforms. Each of these facets of the reform environment is briefly addressed below.

Global conferences have fostered change in education policies and programs. The effect of these conferences could be called the "bandwagon" phenomenon. Most of these events ended with some declaration of principles, a list of goals to achieve, conventions to be ratified, etc. Countries participating in these conferences jumped on board the "bandwagon" of global goals to ensure that they were, or at least were perceived to be, in step with their neighbor nations on critical global issues. This was, in part, a result of the convening of a number of global conferences by multiple United Nations agencies and the commitment to certain global goals that emanated from these conferences. As the UN website notes:

> The historic United Nations conferences and summits held in the 1990s and 2000s generated an unprecedented global consensus on a shared vision of development.

That broad-based framework in turn laid the groundwork for the Millennium Summit, at which a series of challenging time-bound goals and targets were adopted. They were later collated as Millennium Development Goals, which have succeeded in galvanizing an exceptional momentum to meet the needs of the world's poorest. (UN website, 2007)

Of the 49 global conferences, world summits, major international meetings, and U.N. General Assembly Special Sessions held since 1990, three focused specifically on education: the 1990 World Conference on Education for All in Jomtien, the 1996 Mid-Decade Meeting on Education for All in Amman, and the 2000 World Education Forum in Dakar. At Jomtien the delegates from 155 countries agreed to universalize primary education and reduce illiteracy before the end of the decade. In Amman, delegates from over 70 countries met to assess achievements since 1990 and focused attention on the education of girls, building partnerships for education for all, education in emergency situations and the role and status of teachers. At Dakar, delegates adopted a Framework for Action, including a regional Framework for sub-Saharan Africa, and committed to achieving the six EFA goals and targets by 2015. Representatives from Uganda participated in all of these meetings.

Other UN meetings also focused on education from different angles. One of the six goals set at the World Summit on Children held in 1990 highlighted basic education and adult literacy. Uganda was a participant and signed the Declaration. Two Human Rights conferences focused on education and the rights of girls and women, as did the six global conferences on women. Additionally, Africa hosted a number of regional conferences on education during this period, including three on secondary education and most recently one on ICT (Connect Africa Summit). Finally, the Millennium Summit in 2000 set forth eight Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). Two of these—universal

primary education and gender equality—related directly to education. Representatives

from Uganda have participated in most of these international meetings. Table 5 lists

some of the international conferences that occurred during the 20-year period under

study.

Did these conferences have an "impact" on education in Uganda? Yes. As one

respondent said in regards to the MDG and EFA goals, they have been

> …a guiding factor. A goal is a goal. If you don't use it for assessment then what
> else do you have available? It's a good way to do it. You have committed
> yourself together with quite a number of nations. And it's good to refer to them
> while doing your own qualitative and quantitative assessment….I think it is also
> good to make reference to progress made by other countries. (Personal
> Communication, October 22, 2007

The Minister of Education, the Hon. Namirembe Bitamazire, put it this way:

> The covenants we have signed for Education for All, the Millennium
> Development Goals, human rights, and the others--these are all covenants, which
> are globally binding. And we are finding that in signing them…we are
> participating already in those peer programs and policies, which are recognized
> globally. Those areas have implications for our education system.

Another concrete example of events in the global "environment" influencing events in

Uganda is the GOU's intense efforts to expand ICT in the country. The MoES ICT

policy statement noted that President Museveni's participation in a major ICT conference

in 1997 greatly influenced his ideas and actions regarding the substance and importance

of ICT policies and programs in Uganda, including a request for donor assistance.

> This came about after H.E the President of the Republic of Uganda attended the
> Global Knowledge Conference in Toronto, Canada in June 1997 and requested for
> massive investment in ICT in Uganda. Makerere University was identified by the
> Swedish and Norwegian organizations to support the use of ICT in infrastructure
> and for human development. In August 1999, UNESCO and UNCST agreed to
> initiate processes that will lead to the development of sectoral policies. (MoES,
> ICT Policy, p. 9)

The Internet is a second increasingly important "transmitter" of global information about education policies and practices in the reform environment. It has brought breathtaking and omnipresent change in the ability of everyone with access to this electronic conveyor belt of knowledge to acquire new ideas and approaches to education. In nearly all my interviews in Uganda, the Internet was mentioned as key to bringing new ideas and approaches to education. One educator said:

> Any minute now you can be able to talk to someone in California. And someone in California can talk to me. If I have the equipment I can see what that person is doing. And they can see what I am doing. I can tap into resources in California, for instance. California is just a phone call away, a button away…. I can communicate with a school in the UK. They can communicate with me…. And I am able to really use the information and share it with my staff, share it with my students. (Personal Communication, October 26, 2007)

Another educator noted several examples of curriculum from other countries (e.g. Singapore, the U.S., and Kenya) that have provided ideas for revising the curriculum in Uganda. She noted, "when we go outside [the country] we borrow ideas and use them to improve our curriculum. We use the Internet. We look at our curriculum and then ask 'what is the UK saying? What is the U.S. saying?'" and find it on the Internet (Personal Communication, November 6, 2007). A third respondent repeated these sentiments in discussing the availability of documents:

> You know when you were students in the 60s it was very important to rush into the library and pick a periodical because there would be only one, two copies and some even attempted to hide it where it is not supposed to be so they could come back and read it again. But now with globalization, you can just access [it]. Instead of hiding your periodicals, if you want to get in touch with the White House library, you just connect and you get the best information quickly. (Personal Communication, November 8, 2007)

In sum, for educators and policymakers in Uganda, particularly and perhaps mainly, in Kampala, access to the Internet has provided a window on educational practices in

countries around the world that have directly influenced policy and practice in the country.

A third transmitter in the "reform environment" is the plethora of international study programs (short courses and degree programs), regional meetings, and global education associations that have engaged Ugandan education officials and civil society representatives in dialogue with their peers in other countries. A number of the respondents, especially those working in the MoES or its related agencies, have had international experiences either as students in short courses or in degree programs abroad. The current Minister of Education, for example, received her BA from a U.S. university. Officials and other stakeholders have routinely participated in regional and worldwide meetings on education related to their particular sub-sector or area of interest. Additionally, several of the Ugandan stakeholders interviewed have served or are currently serving on the boards of international education organizations or associations where they exchange ideas with their peers. These respondents acknowledged that their knowledge and perspectives on education had been informed by their participation in these activities. For example, Sylvia Acana, a Principal Examinations Officer with UNEB, reported:

> There is an association for all educational assessment bodies, globally. And there is another one for the Africa region. And UNEB belongs to both. The global one, actually I represent UNEB on the global one, and I am a member of the Executive Committee. The last time, a couple months back, we had a conference. At the conference, we shared a lot of experiences from different countries...[and I learned about] on-line registration of candidates.… Nigeria is one country in Africa that is already doing it…on line for A levels and O levels. It seems to be working. It is something we could borrow a leaf from them and try out.… And Israel; the representative from Israel's testing service shared with us how they are using computers to mark [exams].

Linking Transmitters with Education Reforms

The road from globalization to education reform is a two-way street. It passes through a series of transmitters of reform as described above and identified in Figure 1. Some of the transmitters are organizations involved in both globalization and education reform. In part, they are the "bridge" between the ideas and actions in the global domain and the Uganda stakeholders and the education reforms they undertake. The transmitters of all types enable, filter, and/or facilitate the two-way movement of ideas, information, values, policies, and practices across national borders. Transmitters' "outside" ideas contribute to the reorganization and perfection of institutional arrangements (in Uganda) to allow or foster the transnational two-way movement of goods and services, capital and people, processes and technology, and ideas and culture. For Ugandan education, these reforms represent the reorganization of incentives within the system, different rules of the game for education and new arrangements to apply them.

The impacts of the reforms are uncertain. Initiated with a particular purpose in mind, the reforms may not be efficacious, may be carried out incompetently, or may be poorly designed. They can have unintended consequences, both good and bad. In the end, the question is whether these reforms have better positioned Uganda to respond to the opportunities and challenges of globalization. Have they expanded the breadth and depth of education outreach—to more students and to poorer students? Have the reforms empowered people? Have they increased capacity and improved societal performance— governance, economic, social, political and security outcomes? Is education "better" because of the reforms?

Figure 1 is a simple conceptual schema using Uganda as an example linking globalization ideas and actions to education reforms, via a range of transmitters, and to the impacts of those reforms. The reforms are intended to improve the education situation for the principal beneficiaries, i.e. the students and others in the system, and thereby to position the country better to address global opportunities and challenges. The "actors" in each of the three middle boxes are those engaged with the processes of transmitting reforms, reforming, and/or benefitting from the intended impact of the reforms, respectively.

Globalizing influences are not a one-way street, however, as indicated by the two-way arrows between each of the boxes in Figure 1. As globalization influences press on existing incentives and structures in the education system, some Ugandan organizations and actors resist. In fact, the transmitters of globalizing influences contain an array of views about what works, and what is desirable. As reforms are undertaken, all the actors involved also react, accept or resist, and otherwise feed back into the reform process, addressing impacts, the reforms themselves, the transmitters of globalization, and even the ideas and actions in the global arena. These responses, especially by Ugandan stakeholders who have the most agency in the reform process, dampen or enhance specific globalization influences on education or other sectors. Indigenous reforms also enter the process.

The two-way arrows along the bottom of Figure 1 also illustrate the responses along the spectrum of globalization influences on education reform. Ugandan stakeholders (education beneficiaries, policymakers, etc.) who are dissatisfied with globalization influences "push" back on globalization, transmitters, educational reforms,

Figure 1: Conceptual Schema Linking Globalization to the Impacts of Education Reform

Globalization
(Ideas & Actions)
- Economic
  -Trade
  -FDI
  -Privatization
  -Neoliberalism
- Political
  -Decentralization
  -Democracy &
  Voice
  -Human Rights
- Cultural
  -Language
  -Style, music, etc.
  -New mores
- Social
  -Universal
  Education/Health

Transmitters

- Conferences and meetings
- Training and study tours
- Development partners (donors)
- INGOs
- Academia
- Government agencies
- MNCs
- The Internet

Global Actors

Education Reforms

Sector-Wide Reforms

- Decentralization
- Privatization

Sub-Sector Reforms

- Universal Primary Education
- Universal Post Primary Education
- BTVET Frameworks
- Tertiary Privatization

Ugandan Stakeholders

Intended Education Impacts of Reforms

- Access

- Equity

- Relevance

- Quality

Beneficiaries

(Outcomes)
Uganda better positioned to address global opportunities and challenges

- Enhanced human resource base
- Economic growth
- Reduced poverty
- Improved governance & democratic institutions

reform impacts, or on Uganda's positioning regarding global opportunities or challenges. Thus, just as globalization and global "actors" press Uganda from the outside, Ugandan voices and actions reject, channel, reinterpret, and/or adapt globalization influences on educational reform to fit Uganda.

The following two chapters address education sector and sub-sector reforms, respectively. Chapter VIII examines two sector-wide reforms—decentralization and privatization—that have had major affects education in Uganda at the *sector* level and reflect global trends in the administration and financing of education. Chapter IX focuses on reforms in two sub-sectors—primary and post-primary (secondary and BTVET) education. As discussed earlier, Uganda gave priority to reforms at the primary level, to basic education, during the period under study. Only in recent years has the Government focused on implementing reforms in other sub-sectors, principally in post-primary education. This strategy of "bottom up" education reform, beginning with primary education reform, may have been, and may continue to be for many other countries in the near term, the only approach to expanding educational opportunities when resources are severely constrained as they are in Uganda. However, the question remains whether this is the best approach given the need to prepare more people with global understanding, problem-solving abilities, technical and managerial skills required in a country that wants to expand its participation in global society. Both chapters describe some of the issues and debate in the implementation of these reforms, including efforts to "piggy back" other reforms (e.g. curriculum revision) onto the sub-sector reforms.

Chapter VIII: Globalization and Education Reforms: Sector Level

Introduction

Globalization as defined and discussed in earlier chapters has had direct and indirect impacts on education reform in many countries around the world. The "transmitters" of reform are multiple as discussed in Chapter VII. With some exceptions, it is not possible to draw a straight line between a particular "transmitter" in the global arena and the precise parameters of a reform in any given country. It is fair to say, however, that the milieu in which national policy reform decisions are made is influenced or shaped, to some degree, by the ideas and events, policies and programs undertaken in other countries in the global community. Reforms may draw upon the experiences of other countries mirroring their efforts and/or extracting their essence and adapting reforms to the local context.

Education reforms in Uganda have taken place at the sector and sub-sector levels. Decentralization and privatization, which were implemented across all sectors in Uganda, had specific, sector-wide impacts on education. In many ways, these reforms reflect similar sector-wide reforms elsewhere. These reforms were introduced in the 1990s, and they are addressed in this study. Universal primary education (UPE), universal secondary education (USE), and universal post-primary education and training (UPPET) which includes business, vocational and technical education and training (BTVET), are exemplars of sub-sector reforms. These sub-sector reforms are addressed in Chapter IX.

The tertiary sub-sector has not undertaken the same type of sweeping reform as the others noted above during the period under study such as "universalizing" tertiary

education. However, the sub-sector has been transformed as a result of the sector-wide privatization reforms both with post-secondary BTVET institutions and with the establishment of 21 private universities since 1987, mostly in the past 15 years. The changes in this sub-sector associated with privatization are addressed in this chapter.

This chapter examines the decentralization and privatization of education. While these reforms were initiated in the 1990s, implementation issues and debates continue regarding these sector-wide reforms. Other sector-wide reforms in assessment and efficiency are also being considered and gradually implemented. They are not the focus of this study although they are addressed briefly in other places in this paper. For each reform, there is a description of the reform (what happened, when, etc.), a discussion of the implementation issues and debates related to the reform, and an assessment of the reform in terms of its relationship to globalization and its impact on the provision of education.

Decentralization

Description of Reform

Decentralization of education systems is a trend that has swept through many countries around the world. As noted in Chapter II, decentralization is an example of the impact of institutional globalization that has promoted common institutional and regulatory frameworks in education systems. The stated intent of these frameworks is to make a decentralized sector more efficient and cost-effective. This happens, in part, by shifting some financing responsibilities to lower levels of Government and by creating opportunities for the private sector to flourish unencumbered by a Central Government bureaucracy. Decentralized institutional frameworks are also intended to increase local

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participation in governance and thereby increase the responsiveness and accountability of Government officials to local communities and improve service delivery.

Decentralization in Uganda proceeded apace throughout the Government when President Museveni assumed leadership in 1986 and began devolving power to local governments. The concept of decentralized governance in Uganda was somewhat "home grown." It resembled patterns of governance in place when Uganda was a collection of kingdoms and decisions were made locally by chiefs. It also built on the structures put in place by the NRM during the civil war in the early 1980s. Additionally, a 2007 Report on "Promoting Local Democracy in Uganda" identified three "major domestic crises" that the President had to address in 1986 which prompted "the devolution of power to popularly elected Local governments as the bedrock of Uganda's decentralization strategy." These included:

(1)   An institutional crisis that had long paralyzed the functioning of the Central Government;
(2)   A legitimacy crisis that had created a large chasm between the populace and Government; and,
(3)   The inconsistency between the people-centered administrative system the NRM had set up in liberated areas during the 1981-85 civil war and the highly centralized structures it inherited on taking power. (MoLG, "Promoting Local Democracy in Uganda," 2007, p.4)

Decentralization was formalized with the Decentralization Act of 1993 and reaffirmed in the 1995 Constitution. The Decentralization Act of 1993 defined the role and responsibilities of the district-level authorities (District Councils) for the delivery of basic services, including education. Some of these responsibilities were devolved by the districts to lower level councils. Decentralization was intended to redistribute power and promote good governance by strengthening political and administrative competence at local level, improve service delivery via the development of organizational structures that

were closer to the local communities, reduce the workload of Central Government officials and improve accountability. (MoLG, 2007)

The 1997 Local Governments Act further defined the parameters of decentralization and the responsibilities accorded to each level of government from the Central Government in Kampala to the smallest village in Western Uganda. (See Chapter IV) While certain elements of Uganda's decentralized education system may have been promoted or fine-tuned by donors or by policy-makers' exposure to transmitters of global institutional change, the process has also been part of an organic evolution from earlier periods in Uganda's history. Financial decentralization was also implemented including the devolution of budgeting responsibilities to local governments. The local governments received unconditional, conditional, and equalization grants.

The intent of decentralization in the *education sector* was to improve accountability by engaging both local officials and communities in the management and monitoring of schools and their teachers, head teachers, finances, and curricula. Decentralization was integral to the introduction of Universal Primary Education in 1997, and it has remained central to the successful implementation of this policy. As noted in a Final Report on USAID's support for primary education reform, "the ongoing process of decentralizing primary education is important…because this process is having a profound effect on the quality of education" (Moulton, 2000, p. 6).

Primary education is more or less a fully decentralized system. It includes 14,385 primary schools (78.5 percent of which are located in rural areas) with over 150,000 teachers. Managing this system involves officials in 81 districts. At the district level, the District Education Officers (DEOs) have the primary, on-the-ground responsibility for

primary education. They are responsible "for monitoring and supporting all primary schools within their districts. They also work with the district's Chief Administrative Officer (CAO) to develop plans and budgets that integrate social services" (Moulton, 2000, p. 6). The District Service Commission recruits, appoints, deploys, and supervises primary teachers. The Districts receive funds from the Central Government. They are responsible for disbursing and managing the UPE capitation grant, the School Facilities Grants (SFG), the Instructional Materials Procurement, and teachers' salaries in line with the ESIP under the Decentralized Medium Term Budget Framework (DMTBF). (MoLG, 2006)

School Management Committees (SMC) at the primary school level have played an important role in this decentralized system. The Education Act of 1997 defined the responsibilities of the SMCs, which included mobilizing financial resources, paying the headmaster, overseeing the schools, investigating problems and school construction and improvements. The SMC was appointed by the relevant district education authority and responsible to the District Education Committee and, in effect, represented Government at the school level. SMCs were composed of parents, teachers, former students, and community representatives. In 2000, Azfar noted that the SMC which was "distinct from, but often associated (or overlapping) with, the PTA, now appears to be most important governance mechanism dealing with education locally" (Azfar et. al., 2000, p. 13).

After UPE, the PTA role began to change. They had mobilized resources for the schools. But then "politicians hijacked the discussion and said to the parents 'Don't [raise funds], the President is offering all these (things at primary level) free and fully.'

And you know, they confused the parents" (Personal Communication, October 22, 2007).

Eventually, the Government decided to abolish PTAs at the primary level because it did

not want to be perceived as asking or expecting that parents pay anything additional for

the "free" education it was providing. However, a recent study on education efficiency in

Uganda noted that PTAs existed in 70.8 percent of all primary schools and in most

secondary schools as well. (Winkler and Sondergaard, 2007)

Decentralization has played less of a role in the provision of post-primary

education and training (PPET). The Central Government has retained control of the

management of secondary education. "As far as secondary schools are concerned,

secondary schools are still centralized. It has not been decentralized" (Personal

Communication, October 26, 2007). However, the roles and responsibilities assigned to

various USE stakeholders reflect the Government's strong commitment to

decentralization.

The DEOs are responsible for monitoring the implementation of USE in each

district. The Education Standards Agency sends inspectors to monitor secondary schools.

Both types of inspectors work closely with the Boards of Governors (BOG) who provide

oversight, monitoring, and supervision for individual secondary schools. The Ministry's

USE policy statement of January 2007 identified the specific roles and responsibilities of

the various USE stakeholders including the Central Government, the District Local

Government, parents and guardians, foundation bodies/proprietors, head teachers, and

Boards of Governors. It outlined how funds were to be disbursed at different levels with

accountability mechanisms in place. The Central Government is responsible for paying

tuition, providing infrastructure, hiring/firing, deploying teaching, and core non-teaching

staff, providing quality assurance, and setting policy guidance. The District Government

is responsible for promoting USE, inspecting schools and monitoring USE, and ensuring

enrollment of eligible students in post-primary institutions. The BOG is responsible for

an array of school management issues. If the BOG cannot resolve an issue, it is referred

to the Ministry, not the district.

BTVET, like secondary education, is also centrally managed. The BTVET

Department in the MoES has oversight responsibility for the Government's post-primary

and post-secondary BTVET institutions.[41]

Implementation Issues and Debates

Respondents interviewed for this study generally had positive things to say about

the decentralization of education in terms of bringing services closer to the people.

> …the ministry is too far….If you look at the disparity in terms of the cultures, the
> environment, the local situation, the districts are in a better position to deal with
> that. Because it is very difficult to really deal with all these different cultures and
> environments, different languages….there are so many differences…economic
> activity, levels of poverty, very many things that influence education….These are
> better dealt with at the local level rather than at the central level. (Personal
> Communication, November 9, 2007)

A Government official supported this view in response to a question about the efficacy of

decentralization of Uganda's education system: "In some districts it is good, very good.

It has worked in some districts which have good leadership. It depends on the district

leadership" (Personal Communication, October 31, 2007).

However, while the decentralization of education was well intended, generally

well received and successful in some ways, implementation in the education sector has

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[41] The law is ambiguous regarding the oversight of the BTVET institutions and there is some tension
between the BTVET Department in the MoES and the NCHE. NCHE has made a proposal to revise the
law which would move the post-secondary BTVET institutions to the Higher Education department.

faced challenges. These, in turn, have stirred debate about the effectiveness of the process. Several implementation issues are addressed below.

Issue: Administration. Several ministries share responsibility and authority for the operation of the national education system. The MoES has the primary national-level responsibility for policy and for implementing all education programs. At the local level, however, the Ministry of Local Government (MoLG) and its surrogates have the responsibility for hiring/firing primary teachers, disbursing funds, and overall monitoring of primary education. The Ministry of Finance releases the funds to the district level and sets the ceilings for hiring teachers. Because the Ministries have different missions (and different political agendas and constituencies to please), they do not always work as harmoniously as would be desired in terms of making a complicated decentralized system effective. As one NGO representative noted:

> It [decentralization] was more or less like pushing responsibilities to lower levels without actually giving them [local communities] the capacity to be able to handle [it]. So at the beginning it was quite messy. You go to the district …to handle certain issues at that level but then they have to look at higher levels. You have to go back to the Central Government to handle a number of things. So they tried to decentralize but really, a number of things were not well streamlined. And definitely, it has not worked 100 percent. (Personal Communication, October 24, 2007)

Administration at the local level is problematic for other reasons. First, many parents are illiterate and unfamiliar with the rules and regulations of the school system. Hence, in some areas the ability of the local communities to manage their schools is not very strong. One NGO representative observed:

> How resources are used is dependent on the knowledge of parents [and] guardians from the school…that you draw the school governance units [SMCs] from. If they are illiterate then they cannot hold the head teacher accountable, they cannot hold the district education officers accountable, and they cannot hold the country accountable. (Personal Communication, October 25, 2007)

A Government official made a similar observation:

> The idea [of decentralization] is good. And it has been received well in most of
> our communities. But different communities respond differently to
> decentralization because of the different capacities of people. Some areas are so
> developed and most people are educated and they are able to apply the policies.
> Others are still remote and they don't have capable people to run the structures
> that have been put in place. So you find that they can't run the structures [and]
> the management becomes poor. They cannot mobilize others because they don't
> have the capacity. So you find that such a district lags behind while other districts
> go ahead. (Personal Communication, October 31, 2007)

In response to a question about whether decentralization had engaged more parents in the

process of education that was, after all, one of the objectives, a respondent noted:

> Perhaps it offers the opportunity where if you have an active, vigilant aware
> school management committee, board of governors, yes. [But] you see some
> don't even know the Act. They don't know what they are supposed to do. The
> [school] administration keeps them ignorant….The administration wields a
> lot of power because they interact with the Ministry, they interact with the district.
> But anyway, if you don't have an agency that is on track your parents will get left
> behind. They are as ignorant as you are [as a parent]…they are the blind leading
> the blind. (Personal Communication, October 22, 2007)

Second, the potential for abuse of power when considerable authority is vested in

a few local officials far from the center has been a continuing concern. Asked if

decentralization had been a good thing or a bad thing for education in Uganda, a

respondent said:

> It's supposed to be good; it's supposed to be in operation; it's supposed to bring
> services closer to the beneficiaries. But [if I were giving decentralization a grade]
> let's say a "C"….It at least brings you close to the officers, you know who is
> responsible for what…[but] it tends to place a lot of power, authority into the
> hands of some people who may disuse [*sic*] it. (Personal Communication,
> October 22, 2007)

Another respondent referring to an earlier period in Uganda's history before

decentralization was formalized:

Decentralization here got started in the early 90s. But even before, we had some kind of decentralization. We had the local chiefs, we had the regional government…. We had fewer [districts] but…services were even better because you had the local chiefs. They were really powerful people and they enforced some of these things. With the changing circumstances, some of these things changed and the role of these chiefs has been watered down. But if they were there and operational, things would be much better now. (Personal Communication, November 9, 2007)

Third, the recruitment, deployment/transfer, and management of primary and secondary school teachers in a decentralized framework present several challenges. This was a major topic of discussion at the 2007 Annual Education Sector Review. Intra-district and inter-district transfers are done to rationalize the allocation of teachers but accurate information about the supply and demand for teachers is not always available. If teachers have served more than seven years in one place, they are subject to transfer. However, there is a large backlog of teachers who have not been "classified" so there is a danger in mass re-classification and reassignment as the MoES does not always have a person to replace the teacher who moved. Additionally, when there are two teachers in one family it is often difficult to find two places in another school. Also, families don't want to leave their communities.

Transfers are also complicated by the local language policy for the early grades. It is important that teachers are knowledgeable and competent in the local language in which they will be teaching. Yet, as was raised several times at the Annual Education Sector Review, it is sometimes very difficult to find teachers for certain regions that are fluent in the local languages. Therefore, teachers have been transferred to areas where they don't know the local language that affects the effectiveness of the teacher and the performance of the students.

Fourth, oversight and management of teachers and head teachers provides a concrete example of the challenge of managing in a decentralized environment. Many head teachers are not experienced "managers." This has led to problems of inadequate supervision and teaching at the school level. This problem is compounded by the fact that quite a number of head teachers and teachers are frequently absent from their schools which "has compromised the performance of the pupils" (MOLG, 2006, p. 29). One respondent made the following observation about the challenges of decentralization when it comes to the delivery of education services:

> The problem with primary is that it is so decentralized. They don't report to the Ministry of Education. The teachers and the head teachers report to the DEO and the DIS at the district level. So the Ministry [of Education] can't come in over their heads…It's more like the District authorities than the Ministry [are in charge] because that's the mechanism for getting at this problem. But the Ministry [of Education] can't walk into a school…I mean the Ministry can walk into a school and then report that teacher to the DEO for the district. But then it might come back to the Ministry if it is not resolved at the district level. The DEOs report to the Ministry. But with the head teachers, the DEOs are responsible for the head teachers… The Ministry cannot be managing every head teacher in the country. The problem is that the local authorities are weak. That's the problem.

> You see in secondary, one of the problems in secondary is that it's not decentralized. So there will be even less support and supervision. Because the Ministry at the central level cannot support and supervise all the schools in the country. On the other hand, we often do that in some districts. You go and meet with the DIS and he is complaining he's got no bike, no money for petrol, no money for supervising the schools. Then there might be a school actually 500 yards down the road that you can walk to and you walk to it and look at the visitors' book and he hasn't visited it in the last year. Why? So, there is to a certain extent a lack of money. But there is also a lack of performance. (Personal Communication, November 6, 2007)

This issue of absentee teachers and head teachers and what to do about it was also the subject of debate at the October 2007 Annual Sector Review meeting and at a separate follow-on Workshop to validate a Report on Efficiency of Public Education in

Uganda. Part of the problem is that the absentee teachers may be working another job or have family responsibilities that take them away from school. The problem may also be attributed to the SMCs, which, in some cases, have had difficulty managing schools because of the low level of education of the SMC members. Therefore, the role of reprimanding absentee teachers or head teachers goes to the District Inspector of Schools (DIS). But the DIS may lack either competence or concern about the situation as noted above and fail to take the required action at which point the matter is referred to the Ministry. Whatever the cause of the problem, as one meeting participant observed: "The center needs to work with the local government to see that something is done." (Notes from Annual Sector Review meeting)

Fifth, decentralization permitted local governments to draw up and manage their own budgets. This led to some conflicting priorities for spending at the sub-county level. Should funds be spent for more teachers, classroom construction, or curriculum materials? While the intent of UPE was to ensure sufficient curriculum materials for all students, local communities placed a priority on school construction. Since decisions about school funding were left to sub-counties and officials at that level wanted to be responsive to their constituencies, more schools were built and fewer textbooks were bought. (Azfar et. al., 2000)

In this decentralized system, where different ministries have different responsibilities for the implementation of schooling, resolving this mismatch of authority and responsibility offers few alternatives. In 2006, the MoES submitted a proposal for improving the performance of local governments in delivering educational services. Key elements of the proposal were to strengthen the inspectorate of the local District

Governments and encourage the "offices of Inspector General of Government, Auditor General, and Resident District Commissioner [to] be more vigilant in exposing [LG] officials who flout the established procedures of implementing the decentralized programs" (MoLG, 2006, p 29).

Issue: Monitoring. Monitoring the implementation of UPE and USE programs and overseeing the general quality and performance of all schools, public or private, and their teachers and head teachers is an enormous task. There are nearly 16,700 primary and secondary schools located in 81 districts around the country, some of them in "hard to reach" areas. The MoES EMIS statistics recorded nearly 193,000 teachers in primary and secondary schools in 2006. Strictly on average that would mean each district was responsible for monitoring (along with the SMCs, the ESA, and the BOGs) nearly 2400 teachers. Some districts, of course, have less than this number; but other districts have more.

The local District officers are expected to monitor all the schools and "inspect" all the teachers in their respective districts. In some districts, they have county inspectors who assist the DIS with this task and to whom the head teachers are accountable, along with the SMC or BOG. This would be a daunting responsibility for any government entity given the numbers involved. In Uganda, however, where transport and other resources are scarce it is a very difficult task. In theory, each school is to be visited three times a year but there are not enough resources (time, personnel, vehicles, fuel etc.) to accomplish this. Depending on the district, an individual DIS may be responsible for visiting 200 to 300 schools, primary and secondary, private, and government-aided, annually.

Regarding the private schools, the DIS is also expected to ensure that the schools are licensed and meet the minimum standards; otherwise, the DIS can recommend that the school be closed. When the district leadership is not strong, the job of the DIS is even more difficult. If, for example, the district service commission is not functioning for some reason or the district leadership is not strong, then the DIS has no immediate recourse in terms of sanctioning teachers who are not doing their jobs.

> It's a challenge…making them [the teachers] work…. They have some small, small domestic problems, which really make them not work. And you find that private schools are performing better because for them their management is motivating them and when they don't work well they are not paid…But [in the government-aided schools] whether you have worked or not your salary is there….So there is a need for a big force to mobilize them to supervise them [the teachers]. (Personal Communication, October 31, 2007)

This imbalance between the DIS' responsibility and their resources virtually guarantees that ghost schools, ghost teachers, and ghost students are not quickly identified.

The inability to monitor adequately the myriad elements of the education system was reaffirmed in the 2007 Efficiency Study. The Education Standards Agency (ESA) like the DEOs lacks the resources (personnel, transport, etc.) to do its job. When the ESA was created, it was

> …agreed that an inspector: school ratio of 25:1 would be necessary to allow inspectors the time to observe teachers in their classes, to review budgets and expenditures, and to advise Boards of Governors [BOG]. With almost 2,000 secondary schools, this would require a staff of about 80 inspectors. At present, the ESA has a total staff of about 50 to cover all secondary schools, tertiary institutions, and teacher training colleges. (Winkler, 2007, p. 65)

As noted above, the BOG and the PTAs could and do also serve as "monitors" of teacher, headmaster, and school performance and can report their findings to the district officers or the ESA. Unfortunately, as noted above, oftentimes the members of these local

community groups do not have the information, managerial experience, or sense of authority to hold school officials accountable.

Issue: Financial Management. Decentralization was intended to promote accountability and reduce corruption in Government because the "money managers" (district officers, head teachers, etc.) would be closer to the people. However, the decentralized system of financial management lacked adequate monitoring and fostered abuses, especially in the 1990s (even before UPE), which included diversion of resources and misreporting at the school and district levels. While accountability mechanisms were put in place and local communities provided with much more information about what funds they were supposed to receive, the system still struggles with what is euphemistically called "leakage" in the education system.

Prior to UPE and USE, PTAs raised many of the funds to support local school activities. The balance was provided by the MoES and the MoLG. The community's involvement in schools provided local accountability. Nevertheless, a 1996 World Bank study "revealed that most of the capitation money that was paid out by the central Government disappeared before it reached schools" (Hubbard, 2007, p. 4). To address this problem the Government of Uganda (GOU) took two actions. First, it replaced the block grants with conditional grants that required more accountability by district officials. Second, as mandated by the Local Governments Act of 1997, the MOF started publishing the amount of monthly grants to schools in local papers so the local community would know the amount of money their schools were to receive. Subsequent studies indicated that these actions had the intended effects of decreasing leakage and increasing the amount of the grant reaching the schools. (Hubbard, 2007)

Whatever "discipline" existed before UPE disappeared as PTA contributions were phased out under UPE and more funds were provided by the Central Government via the district councils. (Tomasevski, 2003; Azfar *et al*, 2000; Naidoo, 2002) Under UPE, large sums of money flowed from the center to the districts in the form of both capitation grants and school facilities grants (SFG). A significant percentage of these funds failed to reach the schools in the early years of UPE. A 2003 study reported that in the early years UPE funds passed through eight institutions before getting to the ninth institution, the school, and noted that it took "from 15 days to 233 days for UPE funds to flow through (those) institutions…depending on which District and which school." (Mushemeza, 2003, p. 23) Aside from these delays, which impinged on school operations, funds were diverted at the district level, record keeping was poor, financial and enrollment reporting was unreliable and inconsistent, and monitoring at the school level was ineffective. These problems were compounded by both over-reporting (to obtain more funds from the center) and under-reporting (to reduce the amount of tuition fees sent to the district or the district's disbursement of capitation grants to schools) of school enrollments to meet conflicting financial objectives of the sub-counties and the districts, respectively. Further complicating matters was the fact that in some cases teachers who might otherwise have been inclined to report abuses were fearful of retributive actions that district officials might take against them. To address these problems the Government instituted regular audits, conducted a public education campaign to increase awareness of UPE and the community's role in promoting transparency and accountability and providing training.

Financial management has improved over time as better accountability systems have been put in place and funds are sent directly from the Bank of Uganda directly to school accounts. Public notices of funding as well as of rules and regulations combined with the gradual strengthening of SMCs as parents and other community members have become more aware of their roles and responsibilities for maintaining oversight of the schools have also improved financial management.

Corruption is not just a concern of the Ministries or the donors; it is also a concern of students and the community. The Uganda Debt Network, The Apac Anti Corruption Coalition (TAACC) and the Bundibugyo NGO network have also been working on budget tracking. They use these efforts to hold head teachers and the DEOs accountable, taking cases of fraud and corruption to court when appropriate. As one NGO representative noted, many women have become engaged in these activities because they understand that they are the "biggest losers" in corruption cases. "When UPE funding is diverted their children don't go to school, [and] they are expected to pay for what they shouldn't be paying for. [So] you find that women have taken the lead" (Personal Communication, October 25, 2007). These groups employ the media (e.g. local radio talk shows) and other creative approaches such as giving awards for the best and worst school contractors in a district voted on by the citizens in the district.

Additionally, at the district level, three agencies are training children in primary schools to track their school budgets, monitor the work of the SMCs, and engage in policy advocacy. A December 2007 online article described the efforts of students to petition Parliament to expedite the passing of two anti-corruption laws (The Whistle Blowers Bill and the Prevention of Corruption Bill) to strengthen the fight against

corruption, arguing that "corruption had affected the quality of education and health

service delivery" (Odyek, 2007). The students identified the causes of corruption as

> …failure to pay living wages to public servants, lack of social security and safety
> nets and inequality between the rich and the poor. [The students also noted that]
> limited public awareness on the nature, dangers, and consequences of corruption
> had limited people's capacity to contribute to the fight against the vice. (Odyek,
> 2007)

Issue: Participation and Ownership. Decentralization also poses a question of

ownership. Higgins and Rwanyange reported in their 1997-2004 study of education

reform in Uganda that "the concept of ownership at all levels of the system is contested

[and] related to ownership are issues of participation and voice, communication, trust and

accountability" (Higgins and Rwanyange, 2005, p. 15). While responsibility has been

devolved, many district officials feel they have little autonomy in the use of funds given

the "strict guidelines" of the Central Government and believe that education review

processes are more likely to serve the needs of the GOU and donors than those of the

local communities. Similarly, parents and communities reported being less engaged (or

even excluded) from the schooling process. "In practice, these less powerful stakeholders

are considered more as recipients of the products of reform rather than as agents in the

process" (Higgins and Rwanyange, 2005 p 16). Teachers also reported lacking voice and

feeling marginalized in the shaping of the reform process. One respondent reported that

poor families have actually been disempowered by the decentralization process that

makes it difficult for them to demand the equitable provision of services that they

deserve.

> The problem is that poor families can still not make any demands on the
> education system simply because…the head teachers feel since they are not
> paying anything they don't have the moral authority to question, to get into issues.
> Like education is free and this is what it is. I mean I can come in and ask how

you are spending our Government money but the parents won't be able to speak that way and the head teachers don't give them the leeway to do anything regarding questioning. Before they could come and question because it was *their* money. 'Why are teachers missing school?' But now that they have been disempowered in one way or another they don't. Not many schools are being monitored effectively by the parents, which is very bad. Because I don't think free education means "free for all." The head teachers to do what they want… (Personal Communication, November 7, 2007)

An objective of decentralization was to promote local ownership and get schools to reflect the local context. To some degree, this has happened as parents and communities have become more involved in their local schools, for example, via SMCs and BOGs. But there is also a sense that accountability flows to donors who are funding the system and to "the international community which demands evidence of progress towards the EFA goals" (Higgins and Rwanyange, 2005, p. 20). This can weaken local ownership and diminish possibilities for partnership between national, district and community stakeholders.

Privatization

Description of Reform

Private education provision in Uganda is not a new phenomenon. Community schools, religious-affiliated day and boarding schools, and private secular schools have been a feature of the educational landscape for a long time. In fact, prior to Independence, nearly all the primary and secondary schools in Uganda were private, established largely by missionaries, first Christian (roughly half Protestant, half Catholic) and later Muslim. The missionaries built schools all around the country. After Independence the Government took over responsibility for education and provided grants to some of the private schools. However, the right to establish a private school is enshrined in Uganda's 1995 Constitution:

> Individuals, religious bodies, and other non-governmental organizations shall
> be free to found and operate educational institutions if they comply with the
> general educational policy of the country and maintain national standards.
> (1995 Constitution, Chapter XVII)

What has changed during the period under study is the dramatic increase in the number of private education institutions in all sub-sectors in response to increased demand for education and the public sector's inability to provide sufficient physical and institutional infrastructure to meet these demands.

Private schools are variously defined and categorized and also difficult to count. Text Box 6, "What is a Private School?" provides the working definitions used by the MoES EMIS to categorize schools by ownership, founding body, or funding source. For the purposes of this study, unless otherwise noted, the term "private institution" refers to the funding source of the institution. The privatization of education and the growth in the number of private schools was facilitated by the passage of reform policies that liberalized Uganda's economy during the 1990s. Broadly described, the reforms included liberalization, deregulation, and decentralization all of which paved the way for the establishment of new private education institutions. These reforms are described in more detail in Chapter IV and listed in Table 5 in Chapter VII. Uganda has actively promoted private investment in education since the 1990s.

The Uganda Investment Authority's "Education Sector Profile" enumerates the specific incentives relevant to the education sector. They include "generous capital recovery terms, particularly for investors whose projects entail significant investment in plant and machinery and whose investments are likely to yield profits over the long terms" (UIA, 2007, p. 11). In addition, under the Value Added Tax Statute, education

Text Box 6
What is a Private School?

Uganda's history has created a mélange of meanings for the term "private school." Schools are categorized by the entity that owns or manages the school, founded the school, or funds the school. These categories are not necessarily coincident so when discussing "private schools" especially in the primary and secondary sub-sectors, it is important to know to which category one is referring. The entity responsible for school management, for example, could be different from the Founding Body and the Funding Source. For the BTVET and tertiary sub-sectors the distinctions are more clear-cut since most of the *private* entities have been established in the last 15 years and their founders, funders and managers are more synchronized. The definitions below apply principally to primary and secondary schools.

School Ownership/Management

Government/Government Grant-Aided schools are those owned by the
     Government or those that have received a grant from the Government.
Private (for profit) schools are owned by a for-profit group of people, an
     individual or institution
Community (non-profit & religious) schools are owned by a community group of
     people, an individual, or institution, including religious groups, without
     any profit-making objectives.

Founding Body
[Original founder of the school regardless of its present ownership status]

Government schools: founded by the Government.
Religious schools: founded by Islamic, Church of Uganda (COU), Catholic or
     Seventh Day Adventist (SDA) Church organizations.
Parents: founded by parents or the local community.
Entrepreneurs: founded as a commercial venture.
Others: founded by non-religious NGOs or other religious bodies.

Funding Source
[Degree of funding given by Government to the schools]

Government-aided: School depends entirely on Government funding to cover its operational costs including teachers' salaries, instructional materials and the construction/maintenance of school buildings, etc.

Partly Government-aided: School does not depend entirely on Government funds for its operations but receives some public funding or supplies. Government funding may not be the main source of funding.

Non Government-aided: School does not receive any Government funding or supplies to cover its operational costs.

Source: MoES EMIS Definitions for Annual School Census 2006

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services as well as education materials such as textbooks and laboratory equipment are exempt from the VAT. This exemption applies to all levels of institutions providing education services. Additionally, "to encourage interest in ICT and in computers, Government has removed all forms of taxes on computers to make them affordable" (UIA, 2007, p. 12).

There has been no comprehensive study of the process of privatization of education or of private schools in Uganda though many respondents indicated that it is time for such a study to be conducted. Private schools are found in all education sub-sectors. Verifying the actual increase in the number of private schools, however, is difficult with the data available. For the primary and secondary sub-sectors few details are known about private schools, especially those that are unregistered, because the response rate for the EMIS annual census is so low (under 40 percent) for these schools. Suffice to say, interviews repeatedly confirmed that many private schools have been established since UPE was implemented but the numbers cannot be verified.[42]

Statistics on private BTVET institutions are captured three ways. The MoES EMIS captures statistics in two separate databases on BTVET institutions. Its post-primary database captures information primarily on those institutions in which students may enroll after they have successfully completed P7 and the PLE. Data on post-secondary BTVET institutions is captured under "Other Tertiary Institutions" in the

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[42] A review of the statistics for private schools for the period 2001 through 2006 showed that there is no consistent pattern of growth, i.e., the number of private schools fluctuates up and down during this period. EMIS data showed that there were more private schools at the primary and secondary level in 2006 than there were in 2001 but it is not possible to know exactly what percentage of that increase can be attributed to new schools and what percentage is due to better recording and reporting of information on private schools than existed prior to 2001.

tertiary institutions database. UGAPRIVI, an association of private technical and vocational institutions, also captures limited statistics on its membership. In the tertiary sector, the private schools are mainly concentrated in business and commercial colleges and universities. The EMIS and UGAPRIVI numbers have been combined to provide an estimate for the BTVET sub-sector.

Table 7 reflects the proportion of *private* schools in each of four sub-sectors, by funding source. As the Table shows, privately funded schools dominate three of the four sub-sectors. Enrollment in private and public institutions, however, does not follow the same patterns as identified in Table 7. As shown in Table 8, enrollment in Government

Table 7: Private & Public Education Institutions 2006
(by sub-sector and funding source)[43]

	Primary	Secondary	BTVET[44]	Tertiary[45]
Private	17.6%	**64.3%**	**77.6%**	**69%**
Government	76.0%	24.4%	18.4%	29.5%
Partly Government.	3.6%	11.3%	2.5%	
Unlicensed				1.5%
Not reported	2.8%		1.5%	
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%

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[43] Source: MoES, ESSAPR, 2007 and UGAPRIVI.
[44] The figures for BTVET have been adjusted from those that are included in the 2007 ESSAPR for the BTVET subsector. The percentage for post-primary BTVET institutions presented here includes both the 116 post-primary entities in the EMIS database as well the 433 private, post-primary BTVET institutions that are members of UGAPRIVI that were not included in the EMIS database. This changes the distribution by funding source dramatically. The Government figures understate the number and percentage of private vocational training institutions. With those institutions omitted, the Government figures would indicate that 73.3 percent of the schools are funded by Government when the actual percentage is much lower when the other private sector training institutions are included as noted in Table 7. When the vocational/training institutions were consolidated in the MoES in 1998 the sub-sector was renamed BTVET. The statistics for BTVET are collected by the MoES in two categories, "post-primary" education that includes secondary vocational and technical institutions and tertiary level, non-university institutions.
[45]The figure for tertiary institutions excludes post-secondary, tertiary level BTVET institutions.

institutions is higher across the board than enrollment in private institutions even though

the percentage of privately funded institutions is higher than the percentage of

Government institutions in three of the four sectors.[46] Private schools in all sub-sectors

must meet certain standards in order to be incorporated in Uganda. These requirements

are related to specific governance and financial criteria, teaching standards, curriculum,

and physical facilities. All private institutions are required to register with the

Government and to report regularly on the institution in the same way that Government

institutions report. All are required to adhere to the Government's language policy and

Table 8: Enrollment in Private and Public Institutions 2006
(by sub-sector)[47]

	Primary	Secondary	BTVET	Tertiary
Private	476,215	322,479	18,557	43,673
Government	**6,668,931**	**412,367**	**46,754**	**67,537**
Community	211,924	79,241	578	
Unlicensed				47
Total	7,357,070	814,087	65,889	111,257
(% private)	(6.4 %)	(39.6%)	(28%)	(39%)

Source: MoES, EMIS 2007

national curricula. This is the policy. However, in practice not all private institutions

register with the Government, many do not report their statistical information for the

annual census and some do not meet the criteria for teachers, curriculum etc. While

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[46] The EMIS's enrollment figure for private, post-primary BTVET institutions understates the number of students enrolled in those institutions. As discussed later in this study, UGAPRIVI estimates that there are at least 30,000 students enrolled in its member institutions. Assuming this is the case, then the number of students enrolled in post-primary private training institutions would total roughly 33,000 students or only slightly less than the number of students enrolled in Government institutions at that level. Another estimate provided for enrollment in post-primary BTVET institutions that are members of UGAPRIVI was 150 students per private sector training institution. If this is an accurate figure, then the number of students enrolled in such private training institutions would exceed 65,000 (433 x 150) which would substantially exceed the enrollment figures of Government BTVET institutions. Bottom line: There is no precise figure for the number of students enrolled in private, post-primary training and vocational educational institutions, but it very likely that the number of students enrolled in private, post-primary BTVET institutions is greater than the number enrolled in Government-aided institutions for this sub-sector.

[47] The enrollment figures for BTVET include both post-primary and post -secondary institutions. They still understate the number of students enrolled in private training institutions, as the number of students in the 433 private UGAPRIVI institutions is not included.

private schools failing to adhere to the policy can be sanctioned, including closure, the

reality is that the rapid growth in private schools has not been matched by an equal

expansion in the number of MoLG or MoES personnel to monitor the schools. This has

meant that some private schools at least have remained "under the radar" even if they are

not meeting the Government's standards.

> There are two groups of private schools in Uganda. There are the private schools, as we would understand them, good and expensive. Then there are private schools that are not even registered with the Ministry, charge small amounts of fees, but they are absolutely awful. Much worse than the Government schools. So the private as we understand it is quite big here in Uganda. But I think there was certainly a bigger role for private institutions in secondary because of the UPPET program [and] Government is grant-aiding private schools. So where there is no Government secondary school, the Government sends their students to the private schools and provides their bursary to the private school. But those private schools have to have a certain level of facilities etc. So there is a much bigger partnership.

> At primary there would be a Government school and a private school in the same village; you don't really find that in secondary most of the time. Well, you do sometimes in the big towns. But there were a lot of sub-counties where there was no Government secondary school, only a private school. The Government is not undertaking to build [schools] where there is a private school at the satisfactory level. They will sponsor their students to go there. So there is a much bigger role for the private sector to play. (Personal Communication, November 6, 2007)

In the primary sub-sector, 73 percent of the 14,385 primary schools were *founded*

by religious (mostly Christian) groups, 11.6 percent by parents, and 6 percent by

entrepreneurs according to EMIS data. However, as of 2006, only 13 percent were

privately owned; a slightly higher percentage (17.6 percent) was privately funded. The

Government funds 80 percent of the primary schools. Private primary schools developed

in response to increased demand for places in schools, for higher quality education (e.g.

smaller classes, better pedagogy etc.) and/or more diverse educational offerings than

Government schools were able to offer. While the Government responded as quickly as

possible after announcing UPE by building and equipping more schools and deploying more teachers to accommodate the enormous increase in the student population, the situation of overcrowded classrooms, insufficient teachers, higher pupil-teacher ratios, etc., after 1997 prompted parents, private investors and others to establish private primary schools. Some of these schools were established in people's homes or "garages," were unregistered and unregulated, and remain so today.

> …UPE has (had) a positive impact on the private sector in terms of creating more private schools. What has happened [is that] people who had never thought of taking their children to private schools before, they had to hurriedly think about that and now start calculating how best they can get set up for their own. And because there are an increasing number of private schools, private investors also pick that up and everybody is going to the bank and getting money…In the US and the UK not all people use their own money to build this [education] infrastructure. But [here] they come up with business opportunities, evaluate them, get funding and then put services there. This is what is happening in Uganda today. (Personal Communication, November 8, 2007)

At the secondary level, most of the schools were also established as private institutions. According to EMIS, the Government *founded* only 4.46 percent (102 schools) of the 2,286 secondary schools in Uganda. Of the remainder, 42 percent were founded by religious bodies, 15.75 percent by parents, and 28.61 percent by entrepreneurs.[48] As of 2006, 64 percent of secondary schools were owned and funded by private or community entities. (MoES EMIS, 2007) Only 35 percent were owned by Government and wholly or partly funded by Government. To implement USE in January 2007, the Government entered into public-private partnerships with 363 private secondary schools in order to have sufficient coverage/places for the increased number of students taking advantage of USE. The partners receive bursaries to cover the tuition costs of USE students.

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[48] The remaining nine percent were founded by "others" or their founders were "not reported."

Private <u>BTVET</u> institutions have flourished in the past decade in response to the demand for technical and vocational education and training that has not been, and cannot be, adequately provided by the public sector. Private sector institutions now dominate post-primary vocational and technical training. However, the data on the ownership, funding and founding of business, technical and vocational education, and training (BTVET) institutions is more difficult to assemble for two reasons. First, the Government has captured statistical data on less than 10 percent of the estimated 600+ private BTVET institutions in Uganda. Second, the data that is collected on BTVET institutions is captured in two sub-sectors: (a) post-primary BTVET institutions that include those accessed by students after completing Primary 7 or Senior 4; and (b) post-secondary, non-university (tertiary level) BTVET institutions that students access after completing Senior 6. The data presented here is a "best efforts" attempt to analyze the data available with appropriate caveats and represent trends in the sector.

In the BTVET sub-sector, the EMIS database includes 116 post-primary and post O-level technical and vocational institutions (agriculture and farm schools, community polytechnics, technical institutes, medical training, etc.), roughly half of which (48 percent) were *founded* by Government. Those founded by private entities or individuals include 41 percent founded by religious institutions, three percent founded by parents, and only two percent founded by entrepreneurs. (Six percent were unreported or founded by "others.") Of these 116 post-primary BTVET institutions, the Government has identified only 4.3 percent as privately owned and privately funded.

On the other hand, UGAPRIVI (the Ugandan Association of Private Vocational Institutions established in 1998), estimates that there are over 600 private training

institutions in Uganda. UGAPRIVI itself has 433 private sector members distributed in

the eight regions of Uganda. Its membership also includes 144 public sector institutions.

It estimates that roughly 450 of the 600 private training institutions are registered with the

Government. Though no definitive study has been done on private training institutions,

UGAPRIVI estimates that these private training institutions may enroll, on average,

approximately 150 students per year in short and long courses. However, since accurate

statistical data is not available on enrollment in this vast array of private institutions, the

information is provided for information only since a detailed analysis cannot be done.

Reviews on the quality of private institutions are mixed. One respondent said that the

registered institutions are outperforming the Government institutions. Another

respondent was more skeptical. "They (the private institutions) have been established

just as commercial ventures….when you go there, are these (private institutions doing

proper training? No. They are commercial ventures only" (Personal Communication,

November 12, 2007).

BTVET institutions also exist at the post-secondary level. Data on these non-

university institutions are included in the EMIS tertiary database and referred to as

"Other Tertiary Institutions." There are 81 institutions in this category, 61 percent of

which were privately owned in 2006. The majority of the private, post-secondary

BTVET institutions are colleges of commerce and business.

The general consensus is that the private BTVET institutions are doing a better

job of training in most cases not only because they have better facilities and equipment

but also because they are more flexible and thus more responsive to marketplace

demands for certain types of training both in terms of the length of courses and the kind

of skills that are offered. Additionally, one respondent noted that the private institutions have good teachers though many are poorly paid. Unlike the public sector teacher absenteeism is reportedly very low in the private sector schools.

At the <u>tertiary</u> level, the establishment of private universities represents the most visible increase in private sector institutions. At the beginning of 2008, private universities and affiliated colleges (21) outnumbered public universities and affiliated colleges (5), four to one. The first private university was established in 1988, all the rest were established after 1992 as deregulation and liberalization reforms began to take hold in Uganda. Two-thirds (14) of the private universities have a religious affiliation. More private universities are in the interim or provisional license stage. Text Box 7 provides a list of the private universities in Uganda. While private universities and university colleges

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│                    Text Box 7:                          │
│            Private Universities in Uganda               │
│                (by year established)                    │
│                                                         │
│   1988   Islamic University in Uganda                   │
│   1992   Ndejje University                              │
│   1993   Uganda Martyrs University                      │
│   1994   Nkumba University                              │
│   1997   Bugema University                              │
│          Uganda Christian University                    │
│   1999   Busoga University                              │
│   2000   Kampala University                             │
│   2001   Kampala International University               │
│          Aga Khan University                            │
│          Fairland University                            │
│          Kabale University                              │
│   2004   Kumi University                                │
│   2005   Mountains of the Moon University               │
│          African Bible University                       │
│          Uganda Pentecostal University                  │
│   2006   Bishop Stuart University                       │
│   2007   Lugazi University                              │
│          Mutesa I Royal University                      │
│          St. Lawrence University                        │
│   2008   International Health Science University        │
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are four times as numerous as public universities their enrollment accounts for only 39.5 percent of total enrollment in universities and university colleges. The rationale for the establishment of so many private universities is the "terrible thirst for education" as Prof. Kayanja, then NCHE Chairman and Vice Chancellor of Mbarara University, said in 2005.

The National Council for Higher Education (NCHE) is the statutory body responsible for overseeing tertiary institutions and granting licenses and charters to all universities, public and private, and to other tertiary institutions. The Council sets the general quality assurance, management and infrastructure standards and monitors all tertiary institutions to ensure that they meet NCHE's standards. In 2007, a Quality Assurance Framework was developed. Additionally, minimum standards for courses of study for several undergraduate programs were prepared. One of the big challenges facing the NCHE is terms of private institutions is their accreditation.

Implementation Issues and Debates

The general consensus among stakeholders is that privatization of education in Uganda has been beneficial and that it should be encouraged so as to continue to meet the demand for education. Most stakeholders see privatization as a necessity in light of the resource constraints that characterize the sector's budget and point to how private schools have contributed to increasing access. In interviews, respondents highlighted the strengths of the private schools and universities noting the contributions these institutions have made to the education sector in Uganda. Most positive comments, however, usually added a caveat. For example: "On the whole they are providing a very useful service. But then I think in some cases it's too commercially driven so that you find that the

service that is being provided there, really the children are not gaining very much"

(Personal Communication, November 1, 2007). Each of the four sub-sectors noted above

have had different experiences with the privatization process. While many respondents

viewed the contributions of private schools positively, quality and accountability in

private education institutions continue to pose challenging problems across the board.

Quality. Quality is in the eye of the beholder. It depends on what criteria are

being applied and who is applying them. In response to a question about the potential for

a dual system to develop (i.e., public schools for the poor and private ones for the

wealthy), one respondent reported that parents with primary school age children may go

to great lengths to get their children into private schools because they believe they are

better. Several respondents noted that most Ministry of Education officials send their

children to private schools.

> If you don't have money or you are not going to manage to send your child to the
> private school this will be in the class kind of thing. However, you also need to
> know that even the poor parents, those who can save may come from a banana
> culture, [and they can] save a bunch of bananas [and eventually] there is some
> money to enable one to send one's child to a private school. They are doing that.
> Just because they know that if you take a [public] school education, it has lost its
> quality. You know that if you keep a child there in the end you may not get the
> child through to secondary or university. So if the parents who are able to make
> some little money for one child's education [then they will pay for private
> school]…The parents want their children in a good school. Even the Ministry
> officials will put their children in the private school. Their children are not in the
> [public] school. (Personal Communication, November 2, 2007)

Others expressed concern about the demise of quality when profit-making is the central

mission of the institution.

> We were so used to a culture in which private meant 'better quality'…not any
> more. Private [schools] are sometimes offering no quality because much as there
> is the liberalization, that environment …there is no supervision….The authorities
> are there but I think the mechanism is lacking. (Personal Communication,
> October 22, 2007)

The CEF National Coordinator, Henry Nickson Ogwal, reflected on how the growing

number of private schools is creating a "dual" school system, one for the rich, and

another for the poor.

> Through neo-liberal policy reforms, privatization crept slowly into the education
> sector and now we have a big increase in private as opposed to public schools.
> One very bad outcome of privatization of basic education is the creation of
> dualism in the education system…If you look at this from the economic concept,
> you will understand well the education dualism that exists with an education for
> the rich alongside the education for the poor. In Uganda, the rich are the
> minority. The rich who are in the private schools are mainly from the
> neighboring countries. They are enrolled in private primary to the university
> levels attending schools in and around Kampala. Most of the private schools have
> attracted Kenyans, Tanzanians, and Rwandese students. We are saying it is full of
> people who can afford it. When you look at the life style of the students in the
> private schools, it tells you they are from the top economic level. And education
> being a fundamental and basic right, a social service - should not be measured,
> should not be supported, should not be supplied, should actually not be provided
> based on the affordability. Nevertheless, that is what globalization is currently
> doing to education in the countries that have not made a deliberate move to rid out
> market excesses that deny the poor access to quality education.

The question of the quality of private schools at the primary and secondary

levels—are they better or worse than public schools?—revealed contradictory responses.

At the primary level, most respondents reported that public schools, especially in rural

areas, were of higher quality than the private ones because private primary schools in the

rural areas were relatively new. Respondents noted that private schools were of poor

quality and often do not have trained teachers in contrast to the Government-aided

schools in rural areas which have trained teachers. However, in the urban areas, private

primary school standards may be higher in some cases. "Individuals begin their own

projects and they are good. And in the urban areas the Government has no capacity to

put up so many Government schools. So we find … they have left that to the private

sector and they [the Government] are establishing more schools in villages in rural areas"

(Personal Communication, October 31, 2007). An educator noted that a problem with private primary schools was the pressure to ensure that tests scores were as high as possible on the PLEs so that parents considering private schooling would see this "performance" factor and enroll their children in private schools. "So the better your performance is then the more attractive your school is….we almost have no control over them" (Personal Communication, November 6, 2007).

At the secondary level, most respondents said the pattern is reversed. Private schools are considered to be of higher quality than the public schools. USE is understood as a program for poor children, the "bright but needy" children, a program which provides access for those who would otherwise not be able to attend secondary school because of the school fees. According to one respondent, parents "label [the Government schools] for 'commoners'…They know that these universal secondary schools…are for the poor so they take with little regard. If you go to universal secondary you are poor parents" (Personal Communication, October 31, 2007) A corollary of this is that many believe the education offered in USE schools is lower quality. Why? Because, it is presumed, that the students from the rural areas who are entering into USE schools were not as well prepared as those students from urban, largely private schools. Moreover, the assumption is that many of the teachers who are willing to teach in those areas are not necessarily the best qualified, i.e., are also of lower quality. This, some respondents said, is actually creating "two types of classes" –education for the poor and education for those who are not so poor who can afford to pay for private schools.

Not all respondents shared the view that private schools at the secondary level were better than the public schools. Several respondents thought public secondary schools were better:

> I think on the whole they are doing a good job. They are contributing…At post-primary level, the public schools do better. Because the post-primary schools, they [the private schools] are not able to equip themselves properly and then they cannot afford to hire out trained teachers. They can't afford it. They normally take untrained teachers. If they take the trained teachers, then most of them are the young, inexperience teachers. In fact, when you look at the head teachers of most private schools they are very young. (Personal Communication, November 1, 2007)

> Secondary education in public schools is better than secondary education in private schools. But primary education in private schools is better than primary education in public schools. [Why?] It is traditional that a secondary school that is Government-aided was started by missionaries that set standards, morals, behavior, discipline, academic standards which many of those schools have managed to retain up til now. Unlike these private schools that are springing up, somebody just has an idea to put up a structure, call it a school. Once that building is there, you will get applications for teachers then you will recruit…whether they are qualified or not. They will accept whatever salary you can give them. And also, the quality in private schools, they are more interested in money. (Personal Communication, November 8, 2007)

Criticism of private schools also extended to the way they treat their teachers.

> If you are driven by profit, the first levels of expenditure to cut are related to labor. So what they [the private schools] do, they pay them from the top, even though they pay them 'okay', sometimes they don't pay them for the month of the holiday and they [the teachers] cannot speak out about it….At the end of the year…teachers earnings are in arrears. (Personal Communication, November 2, 2007)

The issue of quality is further complicated by the fact that the Government has entered into public-private partnerships with many private secondary schools under UPPET to provide coverage in mostly rural areas where there are no public secondary schools. The private schools receive higher UPPET grants per student per term (USch. 47,000) than do the public USE schools (USch. 29,000) which is controversial (Personal Communication,

November 8, 2008). While these schools are under all the same regulations as

Government-owned and aided schools, providing consistent monitoring for all of them is

a challenge.

Private BTVET institutions are considered by most people to be of much higher

quality than the Government-aided institutions. They are newer and often better

equipped and have teachers, it was reported, who take their jobs more seriously and are

not absent from their job. Rather than seeing private training institutions as competitors,

many see them as alternatives.

> [Private institutions] might actually lead to increased equity even if you have to
> pay a little money. It might mean there are more flexible courses and you can
> work and go to school. Or you have the opportunity to enter modular programs so
> you can just go into one module and go back and earn some money and come
> back. So this allows different accesses to education that Government education
> has not offered. (Personal Communication, November 6, 2007)

At the tertiary level, the influx of private universities changed the academic

marketplace and had differential impacts on quality, both negative and positive. Private

institutions have made little investment in science and technology, for example, and often

"cherry pick cheap-to-offer programs." (NCHE, 2006, p. 12) The Hon. Gabriel Opio,

Minister of State for Education and Sports (Higher Education) noted:

> The Government appreciates the role of private universities. There is,
> however, concern about the quality of education being offered by the private
> universities. This is because university education requires heavy investment that
> many investors are either not ready to make or are unable to provide thus leading
> to low quality education and poor quality degrees.

> Second, there is the issue of the relevance of the degrees offered by private
> universities. Currently we have 26 universities, 21 private and 5 public. The five
> public universities account for 75 percent of total university enrollment. The
> enrollment by private universities is almost exclusively in the arts and social
> sciences. The Government would like to have more enrollment in science and
> technology courses that are relevant to the Government policy of industrialization
> and modernization of agriculture. The Government, however, welcomes more

private investment in higher education, especially the investment that brings the most current technology.

Privatization has also exacted a toll on the quality of *public* universities. Makerere University provides a good case in point. Resources diminished for tertiary education in favor of "basic" education in the 1980s and 1990s. At the same time demand for higher education was increasing. Makerere was forced to take measures that changed its character and diminished its ability to deliver the quality education for which it was known.[49] Throughout its history, it had been dependent on Government subsidies and donor contributions. When these all but disappeared Makerere was forced in the early 1990s to seek "diversified sources of revenue" via a Private Entry Scheme (PES) which enabled the university to charge tuition and fees, a strategy that was made possible by macro-economic reforms that liberalized the economy and encouraged privatization.

> In the space of seven years (1992-1999), Makerere moved from a situation where none of its students paid fees, to one where 80 percent pay fees, accounting for more than half of the university's total revenue. In 1992, the Institute of Adult and Continuing Education inaugurated an external degree program exclusively for fee-paying students….In 1994, the University Council decided that the faculties with places remaining after accepting Government-sponsored students could fill them with private students. In 1995, the Council allowed all faculties to operate revenue-generating evening courses. Within three years, tuition-paying students grew to outnumber Government-sponsored students. (Musisi and Muwanga, 2003, p. 23)

The university created some "profit centers" by turning formerly university-run enterprises (e.g. university press, guesthouse) and revised its curriculum to become more demand-driven in terms of business, ICT courses, etc. While this change of course to privatization had positive benefits particularly in terms of generating revenue, it also had corresponding negative consequences. The sudden increases in enrollment strained the

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[49] According to one analysis, these changes were a direct consequence of World Bank policy suggestions that Makerere develop ways to generate income that would supplement the Government's grants. (Samoff, 2003)

capacity of the existing physical and institutional infrastructure and thus compromised the quality of learning.[50] Class sizes increased, living conditions for students deteriorated, and some feared a decline in teaching standards.

The privatization policy also created "two categories of students, one group that pays full tuition and fees, and another group, chosen on merit, who receive full Government scholarships. This policy has serious implications for equity goals in the long term." (Samoff, 2003, p. 24) There was a sense that many of the fee-paying students did not have the credentials to get into the university on merit. The drive to increase revenue by increasing admissions meant students were accepted to universities because of their willingness to pay, not necessarily on their academic record. Respondents noted that this approach to admissions has lowered entry standards and affected overall quality. Furthermore, the fee plan engendered strife among faculties which generated differential levels of revenue due to their ability (or lack thereof) to attract paying students which, in turn, resulted in labeling such faculties as "underachieving in generating income." (Musisi and Muwanga, 2003, p. 45)

Makerere has been criticized for over-commercialization "linking the rapid and unplanned expansion of the university with a decline in standards, quality, and equity" (Musisi and Muwanga, 2003, p. 41). How does Makerere compare in 2007 to private universities? One respondent put it this way:

> Renowned, no. It is not….Two private universities are better – Uganda Martyrs University and Uganda Christian University…They are better because the quality of the teaching is much better. And how do you establish that? You look at the markets of the graduates. Where are they, what are they doing? They have a different approach to higher education…Both have very strong community-oriented programs….They are very strict on the number of students, they control the number of students to suit the facilities, the physical facilities….Lecture halls

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[50] Enrollment jumped from just 867 students in 1960-61 to more than 31,000 in 2007.

of 600 just don't exist. If you have 120 [students] it is a very, very big class. Makarere goes over a 1000 students – what do you expect? People are hanging outside the window. There is no loudspeaker system so they don't hear anything. (Personal Communication, November 12, 2007)

Makerere's experience reflects the politically charged atmosphere in Uganda regarding tuition fees at the university. Interestingly, most of the criticism has focused on public universities, not the private ones, as the tradition of Government-supported higher education is ingrained in the mindset of the people.

> Parliament and Government officials seem to believe that public institutions do not have freedom to set fees independently of Government authority. Since the realistic cost of teaching a student is far higher than the actual fees, institutions that can freely sell their higher education products at market value are the ones likely to sustain the delivery of quality higher education. At most Ugandan universities, students pay about 30 percent of the annual cost of the programs for which they are registered. Government institutions—with decreasing Government budget allocations coupled with deteriorating infrastructure, declining ability to purchase inputs, and increasing student numbers—are unlikely to provide high-quality higher education for a sustainable period of time. (Kasozi, 2005)

A NCHE survey of higher education institutions in 2004 found that "all higher education institutions do not have adequate financial resources to improve and expand the physical infrastructure, provide modern academic facilities, attract and retain qualified academic staff needed to deliver quality higher education." This, in turn, has a negative affect on quality. Moreover, there is a certain lack of "academic differentiation" in Ugandan universities, i.e., most focus on the social sciences and arts, which may be due to the fact that science and technology programs require more investment in facilities and equipment than the private sector is prepared to make to date. (Musisi, 2003)

Accountability. Private schools in the primary and secondary sub-sectors tend to have a longer "leash" than do the public schools even though both are, in theory, monitored by the DEOs and the DISs. The Education Standards Agency (ESA), a semi-

autonomous body of the MoES, is responsible for "setting and defining standards and quality of education (and sports) and for monitoring the achievement of such standards and quality to ensure continually improved education and sports in Uganda." (MoES website) The Agency reviews standards in educational practice and provision, assesses the achievement of standards, evaluates the effectiveness of educational programmes and develops systematic approaches to inspection and evaluation and self-evaluation systems using appropriate quality indicators within the educational service. It also provides and disseminates regular reports on the quality of education at all levels.

The ESA's mandate includes monitoring the quality of private schools, ensuring that they are licensed, and holding them accountable for utilizing the Government curriculum and administering the same exams. They are supposed to regularly inspect the schools and write reports about their performance and status. Limited budgets, however, have meant that the ESA's resources are insufficient for the job at hand. Their work is also complicated by the delicate relationship between the Ministry and the district where one entity has the responsibility and the other has the authority for monitoring schools. In terms of restoring quality in the schools, Henry Nickson Ogwal noted:

> This can only happen when the quality assurance agency, the Education Standards Authority, is well resourced. For the last three to four years ESA has been 'a paper tiger'…There has been a disconnect between those at the center and those who do supervision or inspection at the district level. ESA has not been well linked to the districts. Therefore, districts have not been adequately reporting to the center. So decentralization, wrongly implemented, brought about this problem [poor quality] where education at the primary level is the responsibility of the district. So the MoES has very little control [which] is responsible for the quality going down. So this decentralization…which took the responsibility to the district without a matching capacity of the district being built first to take the roles and responsibilities therein…So quality is an issue…Critical also is the little control on what the private sector is doing in education. While the education sector adjusts to the private sector, the responsible institutions do not adequately supervise them, the private schools. The private sector is both the consumer and

the producer of our education. But as producers, those units operate in quietness with a pretence as though they are not part of the private sector.

The question of "control" over the private schools came up several times in interviews. The private schools are notoriously bad about reporting to the district and the center so good data on their performance, attendance, etc. is often not readily available. Also, because the private schools need to attract as many students as possible each year to sustain their operations, they may overstate the performance features of their schools. Additionally, while the private schools are supposed to use the same curricula, monitoring reports revealed that some private primary schools, for example, did not use the new Thematic Curriculum that emphasizes the use of mother tongue as the medium of instruction. They say this is because "their parents want their children to learn to speak English right from Day 1…and so they are not going to choose (the national) curriculum" (Personal Communication, November 6, 2007)

Holding private BTVET and tertiary institutions accountable encounters some of the same problems. As noted earlier, no comprehensive study has been done of the estimated 600+ private vocational training institutions. They have different standards, curricula and administrative systems. As with primary and secondary schools, the resources are not available to monitor thoroughly the numerous BTVET institutions. Monitoring these institutions is made more difficult by the ambiguity in the legal status of the post-secondary BTVET institutions. Some are registered with the NCHE, others with the BTVET department. The NCHE believes that all the tertiary institutions should be centralized in one place under the Higher Education department. The BTVET Department in the MoES wants to keep all the BTVET institutions, both post-primary

and post-secondary, under their roof. This means that the monitoring responsibilities are also obfuscated.

The NCHE has the responsibility for monitoring the tertiary institutions. It has specific accreditation and licensing standards for all universities related to the credentials of staff, finance, infrastructure, physical space, ICT, etc. NCHE has initiated a self-evaluation program and also sends out inspection teams to visit universities to assess whether they have met NCHE' standards. In one case, a team found that the school's limited number of computers and desks were moved from one room to another during the inspection visit to "make a good impression" on the team. Prior to its establishment in 2002, the quality and oversight of the private institutions varied. "Lax oversight and slow accreditation have allowed unaccredited colleges, which are technically illegal, to flourish in East Africa in recent years". (Kigotho, 2006) NCHE, however, has established standards and indicators to ensure that private universities have the capacity to provide the quality education they promise. Its high standards have provoked some controversy. For example, in 2005, some of the newer private universities challenged the NCHE over the Government's licensing requirements. They argued that "the requirements are too stiff and are constraining many people and groups who want to put up new universities." But the NCHE insisted that the "requirements are necessary and must be met to ensure that operating universities offer quality education." (Munaabi, 2005)

Illegal institutions, those without licenses, still operate in Uganda, including some on-line institutions. Others lack appropriate facilities and still others take in tuition but fail to pay their staff. In 2006, the NCHE licensed six new institutions of higher learning

within different categories of licenses and consolidated or closed institutions that did not meet the Council's standards. Additional capacity (funding, staff) is needed for the NCHE to meet the requirements of enforcing institutional compliance with the law for the expanding universe of private institutions. Managing and monitoring the private institutions and integrating them into the overall higher education framework are crucial. As commoditization of education becomes normative and the states' role in the provision of services increasingly diminishes, its regulatory role becomes more vital as the guarantor of quality, access, standards and accountability.

The quality and accountability issues that characterize privatization at all levels are joined by several additional challenges that are peculiar to higher education. It is important to mind the balance between meeting demand and maintaining quality. Though private universities can charge tuition and fees, to the degree they admit more students than the institutional or physical infrastructure can accommodate their quality will wane because they generally cannot raise sufficient funds to cover all their costs. Moreover, most do not make the investment in the more costly fields of science and technology that the country needs. Training and retaining qualified academic staff is also a challenge due primarily to a lack of resources. More PhD-level professors are needed for all universities, public and private. Already some of the private universities have drained academics from the public institutions on either a part-time or full-time basis. (Kasozi, 2002) Finally, the boom in private universities has provided many more opportunities for education and training but it has also increased the number of graduates looking for jobs that the labor market cannot absorb.

Reflections

Two key sector-wide reforms, decentralization and privatization, both motivated, at least in part, by global trends in the provision and management of education have had major impacts on the education system in Uganda. The first has engaged communities more directly with their local government (public sector) representatives while the second has fostered relationships with private sector providers of education. The two went hand-in-hand as the process of decentralization made space for privatization to take root away from the constraints of the public bureaucracy. The question is, what has been the impact of these two sector-wide reforms on education?

Decentralization created a challenging paradox for Governments in that it has required the state to retain simultaneous control of educational policy and standards of quality that give it legitimacy while relinquishing control of the implementation of its policies to lower levels of government where it has less control. In effect, it must relinquish control but retain quality. In a context of scarce resources, this is difficult to do.

Uganda's decision to decentralize primary schooling devolved certain power to the districts and delegated other responsibilities to committees at the school level. By all accounts, the process has had some of the desired effects in terms of bringing Government and its delivery of educational services closer to the people. Much of the decision- making has shifted to the districts and in theory, and to some degree in practice, this has made local officials more accountable and responsive to their constituents. Respondents indicated that, in a number of communities, decentralization has increased local participation in schooling because of parental and community involvement with

local school committees, SMCs and BOGs. The many public education campaigns

conducted by the MoES and others have made parents and communities more aware of

their responsibilities for schools and school financing and for monitoring the performance

of head teachers and teachers.

Much of the population, however, is still not equipped to assume the

responsibilities associated with managing and monitoring schools and sufficient

decentralized funds are not available. While perhaps ready "politically" for

decentralization, Uganda's population, like that in many other developing countries, was

not ready institutionally or managerially to fully embrace the benefits or the potential of

the decentralization of schooling. The Azfar study noted that

> The argument that decentralization improves resource allocation and accountability
> relies heavily on two assumptions: (1) that sub-national governments have better
> information than the Central Government about the needs and preferences of the
> local population; and, (2) that the population is more aware of the activities of sub-
> national governments than those of the Central Government. (Azfar, 2000, p. 44)

It is not clear that either of these two circumstances exists yet in the majority of

communities in Uganda. This is because many people remain illiterate and information

about educational policy, budgets, procedures, regulations is not universally known or

understood despite the training provided to SMCs and BOGs.[51] Additionally, the rural

population was ill prepared to participate in a decentralized system that required both

managerial skills and a genuine sense of empowerment that would allow them to hold

local leaders and school personnel accountable. Hence, district councils and even local

school committees have been vulnerable to "elite capture" by those who may not have the

schools interests at heart. In addition, politicians have interfered with the education

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[51] The training of SMCs and BOGs was discussed at the October Sector Review meeting. Several
participants expressed concern that not enough had been done to prepare all the school governing bodies.

process by threatening head teachers in their district: "If you don't get good results (on national exams), you will be out of this place," one respondent reported during the Annual Sector meeting.

Decentralization may also have nurtured corrupt practices that have injured schools because all the resources allocated for a particular district or school did not reach the school. Unless opportunities for the voices of the community to be heard in the decision-making process at the district level are created, then decentralization in terms of giving voice to the people will not have succeeded, at least in the short term. The fact that some parents send their children to private schools may be one expression of their lack of satisfaction with the "control" (or lack thereof) which they experienced with the decentralization of schooling. Historically, the NRM exercised considerable control at the local level and thus mitigated the potential of participation through decentralization. This may be changing in the future with the legitimizing of a multi-party system that could invigorate participation in Uganda's decentralized system of schooling at the primary level. Additional studies on this issue need to be undertaken in Uganda.

The impact of decentralization on education quality is a more tangled question that requires study and analysis far beyond this paper. The devolution of power to the districts did create the potential for communities to hold local officials accountable for improving quality, even if this process has not yet fully ripened. However, improving quality requires more than holding officials accountable. It also requires an ability to impact the levers of quality such as the curriculum, the budget, teacher training and salaries, standard setting and enforcement, etc. These elements of quality have been

retained by the Central Government (and perhaps rightly so under the circumstances) over which parents and local communities have virtually no power.

Decentralization can improve quality at the primary level as parents become more engaged with the process of education. This is underscored by education research that has identified a number of characteristics which highly effective, i.e., quality, schools have in common. Some of these characteristics are influenced by decentralization policies. These include empowering parents and helping them to set high expectations for performance, promoting the educational leadership of head teachers and administrators, developing a collective vision for a school among parents, teachers and the head teacher, increasing parental involvement and increasing effective learning time by decreasing teacher absenteeism resulting from parental oversight. (Winkler and Yeo, 2007) How will this make a difference? One respondent made the following observation regarding the issue of quality:

> First, you are looking at simple issues of administration. Can they get it right? Can teachers' salaries get there [to the school] on time? Can teachers be in class? Who is monitoring the teachers? Those small issues are the ones that lead to quality. We can't start looking at anything else until we start addressing the basics…If the head teacher isn't in school, who is going to know? Who is going to do anything about it? If the school performs terribly for two or three years, What is going to be done about it? (Personal Communication, October 23, 2007)

These are the issues that parents, local communities, and officials can address in a decentralized system. However, there is an inherent inequality in decentralization because its success depends on not only on local capacity but also on the wealth of the community and its willingness and ability to participate in the schooling process. Very poor communities where illiteracy is high and people are preoccupied with eking out a simple living may not be able to benefit as fully from a decentralized system.

For decentralization to be successful in terms of schooling requires an educated citizenry and a competent and transparent local bureaucracy that exercises good judgment selflessly on behalf of the community. Decentralization will only have an impact on quality when parents can and will accept their responsibility to become more engaged with their schools and actualize the empowerment, the voice, that a decentralized system offers. "External support facilitates change, but change will only occur when agents within the school champion it." (Winkler and Yeo, 2007, p. 6)

Uganda has embraced the privatization of education with enthusiasm even if it was born of necessity. It has been, in large measure, a response to the demands created by globalization for more education. As a result, private schools at all levels have increased access to education in the sense that more places have been made available for students. Private schooling is also part of Uganda's heritage. Many of the primary and secondary schools founded by missionaries long ago retain connections to their religious base and are of high quality. This is to say that many of these schools are less about "profit" and more about "education" than may be the case where "for profit" schools dominate the landscape. At the primary level, the percentage of students enrolled in private schools in Uganda in 2005 (9 percent) was substantially below that of other developing regions. In Latin America and the Caribbean, the percentage of students enrolled in private primary schools in 2005 was 17 percent; in East Asia and the Pacific, it was 14 percent. In 2007, about six percent of Uganda's students were enrolled in private primary schools.

At the secondary level, the picture is a little different. Only 42 percent of the schools were *founded* by religious groups. Not all of these are owned or funded by

Government, though many have entered into public-private partnerships with the Government under USE. Private schools founded by entrepreneurs constitute nearly 29 percent, which is significant. Enrollment in private schools (40 percent) at the secondary level in Uganda is much higher than the average for Africa (12 percent), Latin America and the Caribbean (22 percent) or East Asia and the Pacific (19 percent). (UNESCO, EFA, 2008)

For BTVET, while definitive numbers are not available, it appears that substantially more are enrolled in private institutions than public given the number of private training institutions. At the tertiary level, while public universities outnumber private ones, enrollment in public institutions substantially exceeds that of private universities. In sum, privatization at the post-primary and post-secondary levels has improved access to education by creating more options. In neither case, however, is it clear that the courses being offered by the private institutions at these levels address Uganda's needs for technically and scientifically trained personnel. However, a thorough analysis of course offerings was not done for this study. According to respondents, many of the private universities focus on the arts and humanities and have not made the investment in science because of its cost.

While "history" and liberalization of the economy facilitated the growth in private schools, social demand for increased access and improved quality drove the expansion particularly at the post primary levels. Private schooling, however, does not mean that all schools are "for profit" nor have solely pecuniary interests. As noted above, many schools at the primary and secondary levels are run by religious organizations; others are run by NGOs or communities. A number of BTVET training facilities are also supported

by religious-affiliated organizations as are a majority of the private universities. It is not known how many of the private schools were started by non-Ugandans for the purpose of investment. Additionally, this study does not cover the on-line schools that are now available via the Internet.

Stakeholders generally see private schools as making a positive contribution to education though they acknowledge that there are problems monitoring quality and ensuring that all private institutions meet licensing and regulatory requirements. At the primary and secondary level, curriculum, assessment tools, and other standards are the same for public and private schools though, as mentioned above, private schools do not always follow the curriculum. This, combined with the fact that the private schools fail to report regularly to the Ministry, has raised questions about quality control.

There is a concern that the plethora of private schools is creating a dual system of education in Uganda, one for the rich and one for the poor. Examples of this were provided by several respondents. Some elite, private schools, particularly in Kampala, offer more rigorous curricula, such as the International Baccalaureate program, and may offer more electives such as foreign languages. They may also have smaller class sizes. Private schools in urban areas on the electricity grid also offer more training in ICT, which advantages their students over those in rural (or urban) public schools that have no such access. UNEB collects data on test scores for all schools, which might provide an objective measure of whether private schools are preparing students better for exams and have a higher pass rate. However, the data is not aggregated by type of school, rather it is aggregated by rural/urban locales, regions etc. The question of quality at the primary and secondary level is not fully answered. Clearly, access has been increased, especially for

those students who could not gain admission to a public school, particularly at the post-primary level. However if access was achieved without quality it is a partial achievement. More research is required to assess whether private schools are making the contribution expected of them.

Officials at the Annual Sector meeting expressed concern about this conundrum. Officials stated that they wanted to provide a quality education for all children, not encourage a dual system that benefits some more than others. Ironically, the Government's cap on hiring teachers has contributed to the problem. It is

> …giving them [the Government] a basis for privatization of education. Yet private education is a like a commodity, not everybody can afford it. Consequently, the Government is running out from its responsibility to provide public education to its citizens. It is now leaving it to only those who can afford it. (Personal Communication, November 2, 2007)

In the short term, the Government does not have much choice as its resources are limited. For the longer term, the issue of equity in a two-track system will need to be addressed. Equity is also a concern at the post-secondary levels. Because education is "private" and an effective student loan system is not in place, the cost of attending a private institution of higher learning precludes many students who lack financial resources from continuing their education thus preserving higher education for the elite. As Kozoki noted, leaving the funding of higher education to market forces is not a "magic bullet" and may lead to a "second rate" education system at the tertiary level. This is because education requires major investments for the long term which private universities, watching the bottom line, may be unwilling to make. (Kozoki, 2002)

Chapter IX: Globalization and Education Reforms: Sub-Sector Level

Overview

Globalization has had an impact on reforms at the sub-sector level. The two major reforms were universal primary education (UPE) and universal post-primary education and training (UPPET) implemented 10 years apart in 1997 and 2007, respectively. UPPET incorporates universal secondary education (USE) and post-primary vocational and technical training (BTVET). The most important aspect to date of these two reforms was the significant increase in *access* to education, which these reforms afforded and will afford in the future for millions of Ugandan children who hitherto were unable to attend school because of its cost. In addition to the fundamental change to "fee free" education for all children at the primary level and for a select cohort of children at the post-primary level, other smaller "reforms" have occurred within these sub-sectors. These are discussed under implementation issues below.

Post-secondary BTVET and the tertiary sub-sectors have not experienced the same level of sub-sector-wide, Government-initiated reforms though both have been affected by the sector-wide reforms, particularly the privatization of education. This was addressed in Chapter VIII. No major reforms have occurred in the other sub-sectors. These sub-sectors were not included in this study. Table 6 in Chapter VII provides an overview of the reforms in four sub-sectors. The success of the reforms in the sub-sectors is as important as it is for sector-wide reforms. The reforms undertaken by the Uganda Government have the potential to better position Uganda to address the opportunities, and the challenges, of globalization.

Description of Reform

Uganda implemented universal primary education in 1997. Its decision to move forward on UPE was influenced, in part, by globalization, specifically the country's commitment to the goals of "Education for All" that emanated from the Jomtien Conference in 1990. "Reform is following really all the conferences and the international fora on the provision of basic education….the literature shows Uganda's participation in these conferences and Uganda's commitment to the goals" (Personal Communication, October 22, 2007).

Universalizing primary education was not a new idea. It had been under consideration for many years but Uganda's political and economic straits after Independence nullified any option to proceed. While several respondents expressed the belief that UPE was strictly a political decision in an election year (the President's campaign pledge in 1996), UPE was recommended by the Education Policy Review Commission in 1989 and included in the 1992 White Paper. The Commission's justification for the recommendation was as follows:

> Only when every child is enrolled at the right age and does not leave school without completing the full cycle of primary education would it be possible to ensure that all the citizens have the basic education needed for living a full life. Also, it will help in achieving a transformation of the society leading to greater unity among the people, higher moral standards, and an accelerated growth of the economy. (MoES, 1999)

The initial timeframe for completing UPE was to be no later than 2003. The White Paper was submitted to Parliament, passed and became the Government's new education policy. Preparations for UPE began shortly thereafter (1993) when the Primary Education Reform Program was launched. The Program was based on three pillars: (1)

Increased access to quality learning opportunities; (2) Improved school management and instructional quality; and (3) Strengthened capacity in the Ministry to plan, manage, and implement the program. (Eilor et al, 2003) The World Bank, USAID, and the Government jointly supported the first project under the new policy, the Primary Education and Teacher Development Project. This project began the restructuring of the education system in preparation for UPE and initiated a number of reforms within the sub-sector related to teacher training, curriculum, assessment, etc., and strengthening the MoES' capacity. Numerous studies in the 1990s addressed feasibility, costs, and other issues related to implementing UPE. About a dozen donors "provided crucial technical and financial assistance to enable the UPE program to achieve some success" (MoES, 1999, p. 20). In 1998/99, the donors collectively provided US$ 47 million for UPE.

Under pillar 1, expanding access, two main reforms were carried out. The first was the Teacher Development Management System (TDMS) design "to improve quality and equity in primary education in Uganda by increasing access to quality learning opportunities and improving school management and instructional quality" (Eilor et al, 2003, p.26). It provided pre- and in-service training for teachers, head teachers and others involved in delivering educational services. It also focused on teacher education curriculum, instructional materials and improving the infrastructure and equipment in primary teacher colleges. TDMS introduced several innovations new training modalities, outreach tutor training, voluntary community mobilization and clustering schools to provide professional support. (Eilor, et. al, 2003)

The purpose of UPE was to make basic, i.e., primary, education available to all children from Primary 1 through Primary 7. It was to be "universal," but not

"compulsory." However, universal was something of a misnomer initially because while the Government eliminated school fees, at the onset the GOU permitted only four children (including two girls) per family to attend primary school tuition free. It was soon realized that this was politically unpalatable and the doors were opened to all children in the appropriate age cohort. UPE was a cooperative financial venture between parents and the Government. The latter paid tuition fees in Government-aided primary schools, provided infrastructure, instructional materials, teachers, and curriculum; parents were responsible for school supplies, uniforms, and meals. Special programs were developed to target "socially marginalized" children. These included programs for pastoralist and "hard to reach" children, non-formal basic education programs for out-of-school youth, children with special needs, children in conflict areas, and girls. Incentives were put in place to attract teachers to remote areas. Some double shifting and multi-grade classrooms were also introduced. (Personal Communications; Annual Sector Review Meeting; Eilor, 2003; MoES documents)

In the first year of UPE enrollment increased from 2.5 million in 1996 to 5.3 million in 1997. The NER jumped from 57 percent to 85 percent in one year; the number of students entering P1 tripled. Today, more than seven million children (25 percent of Uganda's total population) are enrolled in primary school in Uganda. While UPE was the most dramatic policy stroke of the primary education reform program, reforms under the other two pillars were important components of its implementation. A new instructional materials unit was established and a new policy put in place for the evaluation and approval of such materials. Finally, under pillar 3, MoES planning and management capacities were strengthened through training, developing the EMIS,

improving assessment, and addressing curriculum issues. (See Table 6) Finally, two reforms the MoES viewed as "key reforms" undertaken within UPE were the introduction of the Thematic Curriculum and teaching in "mother tongue" in the early primary grades. These, along with other implementation issues, are addressed below.

Implementation Issues and Debates[52]

The problems initially encountered in implementing UPE have been well documented and will not be recounted in detail here. The extraordinary increase in enrollment led to a decline in quality from which the sub-sector has yet to recover. There were not enough facilities or desks, not enough teachers, not enough books or materials, period. Test scores plummeted in the first few years following the implementation of UPE.

Access. Getting all children into school was the key issue that UPE initially addressed. It was not easy. Parents needed to be educated and encouraged to enroll their children, registration and recording systems to handle millions more children entering school had to be developed, fund transfer mechanisms from the center to the districts had to be resolved, district officers had to be trained to monitor and manage, and "brick and mortar" issues as well provision of instructional materials needed to be addressed. In addition, the Government had to allocate substantially more of its resources to education and garnish essential support from outside funding agencies. These challenges were met with varying degrees of success in the first few years after UPE was initiated.

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[52] A 2007 report on secondary education curriculum, assessment, and examination proposed a reconsideration of secondary education structure that would impinge on primary education. The proposal was to establish a "new leaving point" after S2 to replace P7, creating nine years of basic education. The status of this proposal is not known and thus is not addressed here.

Has UPE achieved its goal of access for all primary age children? Several
respondents stated that while access has clearly improved schooling is not yet truly
universal. The view of one respondent was that UPE had not only failed to get all
children into school but that the enrollment numbers are misleading.

> Government policy is that every school has to have a data board where each class
> is listed, the pupils in each class. You could find a data board that said 230 were
> registered for P1 and when you go for head count, there are less. When you go to
> the register, you find there are two types of register, one that lists everyone who
> enrolls, and one for the Ministry. During the registration period, they
> [students/families] come with their siblings and they are all recorded. So you find
> in P1, 230 [students]. In P2, the number drops by a certain percentage. It goes
> like that. If you look at the records, they are all misleading. Even if you do a
> head count you find only seven, yet 230 [are listed]. They say its 230 because this
> money is too small. If you have more [students in school,] you get more money.
> (Personal Communication, October 26, 200)

Another respondent had a more positive view. "I know UPE has been criticized a lot but
I see it has brought many children into school. They may not be learning as much as we
had expected but the fact that they are in school, they are meeting other children, they are
learning to interact with other children is a good thing" (Personal Communication,
November 9, 2007).

Standard indicators of access have improved over time. In 2007, the primary
NER was 92.1 percent, an increase from 86.7 percent in 2003. However, both the
survival rate to Grade 5 and the completion rate were less than 50 percent. Thus, while
nearly universal access has been achieved at the lower levels of primary school, retention
has failed at the upper levels.

> What we do know is that from the P1 kids who started P1 when UPE was
> announced in 1997 they should have finished in 2003. Only 22 percent of them
> actually made it through. The thing is that we think the completion rate is low at
> 55 percent but it has improved. Not all of them have dropped out. Some of them
> are stuck in the system, repetition. And some of them drop out for various

reasons, especially in the poorer areas. And especially girls. (Personal Communication, November 6, 2007)

By the time they get to P5 the enrollment is really way down. It hasn't really changed [from before UPE]. There was a comment that even without UPE the number of students completing P7 would still be within that same range… Because we had [at P7] maybe 390,000 students [before UPE] but [are now] at 470,000 in P7. For 10 years [it] is really a small change given the investment that has gone into the sector (Personal Communication, November 8, 2007).

As one respondent noted, the education sector lost a "golden opportunity" with UPE.

The sub-sector received the largest share of the education budget for a decade but was not

sufficiently "creative" to ensure that every child that entered the system finished. In the

late 1990s, the completion rate was near 30 percent meaning that 70 percent of the

student population was lost along the way. The rate has improved but still more than 50

percent of children do not complete.

Meeting targets like completion rates was a major topic of discussion at 2007

sector review meeting. The completion rate target for 2007 was 54 percent but they only

reached about 50 percent.[53] As one participant observed, "there was little progress,

almost nothing." (Personal Communication, November 6, 2007) Half of the students

were still not completing their primary education. The reasons for this are several. First,

while the government no longer requires payment of a tuition fee, primary school is still

not completely "free." Parents are expected to provide uniforms, books, supplies, and

lunch. Additionally, the payment of other miscellaneous fees such as teacher subsidies is

often required. These additional fees are a burden for poor families. Second, despite

efforts to educate parents about the importance of education, many still believe the

opportunity cost of sending their children to school is too great given other obligations at

home. This is particularly true for girls. Hence, they either do not enroll their children or

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[53] UNESCO statistics list the survival rate to last grade rate at 25 percent for 2004.

if they do enroll them in the early grades they do not support them in completing primary school because they need them to help out at home and in the fields. Third, the quality of education in primary school has been low and, until 2007 when the new Thematic Curriculum was introduced, the relevance of the curriculum was poor. Parents do not see a "pay off" in terms of higher income, more employment opportunities, etc., at the end of primary school. As a result, parents (and students too) often do not see the value of completing the primary school cycle. Fourth, and finally, despite the decentralization of primary education and the efforts to engage parents in their children's education, for example, through School Management Committees, many parents are not involved in the schooling process.

The donors were unhappy with the Ministry's failure to meet the target. This debate became the subject of a front-page article in the local newspaper entitled "Donors threaten to pull out of UPE." While the headline was slightly overblown, the article reflected the political nature of the access issue. It reported on a study that had been undertaken for the Ministry on the causes of low primary completion levels. The report blamed low completion rates on high repetition rates, high absenteeism among teachers and students and poverty. The report's proposed remedy was to implement a "policy of automatic promotion of pupils in order to avert the low completion rates" (Mubangizi and Zziwa, 2007).

In sum, access to schools at the primary level increased dramatically. There is no disagreement about this fact. However, "access" as defined by "retention" throughout the primary cycle continues to be an enormous challenge that Uganda has yet to overcome.

Curriculum and Language of Instruction. Two curriculum revisions have occurred since UPE was introduced. (See Chapter V) A new Thematic Curriculum was introduced in Primary 1 at the beginning of the 2007 school year after being piloted in 90 schools in 2006. Its content adopted themes familiar to children (home, school, things they make, natural environment) and sought to avoid the compartmentalization of knowledge. The new curriculum introduced continuous assessment. It focused on reading, writing, and life skills. Local area languages are the medium of instruction in the first three years; English is taught as a subject and is the medium of instruction in the upper grades. The curriculum includes a variety of teaching and learning materials: syllabi, teachers' guides, resource books in local languages, and learning materials for students. The new curriculum has been well received and appears to address concerns about the lack of integration and relevant substance in primary curriculum and the need to focus on literacy and numeracy to ensure competency is developed.

Work on the new Thematic Curriculum continues. The new Primary 2 curricula was written and field tested in 2007 and introduced at the beginning of the 2008 school year. The Primary 3 curriculum will be "on trial" in 2008 in preparation for a rollout in 2009 and so on. For the next five years, a new "segment" of the thematic curriculum will be field tested and introduced each year until all grades, P1 to P7, are using the new curricula. The good news is that the thematic curricula takes up some current issues such as ICT though these may be of less relevance for those in the rural areas who won't be able to have a "hands on" experience with computers, at least in the short term.

Changing the substance of the curriculum, however, is only one part of the equation. Changing its delivery is another matter. Respondents repeatedly cited the

downsides of the traditional "chalk and talk," rote memorization approach to teaching

which does little to develop the problem solving or critical thinking skills as well as

practical applications which are needed for employment in a globalized economy. An

educator who has visited many classrooms provided a good illustration of this problem.

She noted that one sees teachers standing at the board writing while

> …children are supposed to copy volumes and volumes of notes that they don't
> probably understand. Teachers stand there...and children are supposed to do class
> activities, written exercises simply to discover "what, what, what". As long as
> they remember "what." It's memorization and the exam is about memorization…
> showing how much you know. You take a flower, pluck the hibiscus flower, and
> ask a child to name the parts of the hibiscus flower. They cannot [tell you on a
> live flower] but they can label those parts on paper. (Personal Communication,
> October 22, 2007)

Teachers received just 10 days of training on the new curriculum the month before

implementation began. The training also involved representatives from the NCDC, ESA,

UNATU, UNEB, and district officials. Participation of P1 teachers from Government-

aided schools was high though attendance by their counterparts in private schools was

low. The MoES cited improvement in the performance of teachers though they are still

hampered by high PTRs at the P1 level in terms of delivering the curriculum with high

effectiveness. Additionally, comprehensive and consistent monitoring and supervision of

teachers using the new curriculum has not been possible.

The use of local area languages as the language of instruction in the new

curriculum remains a contentious issue. The principle and policy that literacy should first

be acquired in the mother tongue was established in the 1992 White Paper. It condoned a

dual (some called it discriminatory) language policy with local Ugandan languages

(mother tongue) being the *medium of instruction* from Primary 1 to Primary 4 in rural

areas and English being the medium of instruction in urban areas. (Majola, 2006) The

White Paper also noted that Kiswahili and English should be taught as subjects throughout the primary cycle in both rural and urban areas. Language rights and requirements were further enshrined in law in the 1995 Constitution that stated, "The official language of Uganda is English. (And, subject to this provision,) any other language may be used as a medium of instruction in schools or other educational institutions…." (Chapter Two, Article 6) It also stated in Article XXIV that Uganda "encourage the development, preservation, and enrichment of all Ugandan languages." These policy pronouncements sent conflicting messages.

A 1999 policy decision affirmed that the language of instruction for the first three years of primary school would be the "local" language in rural schools. Thereafter, children would be taught in English while continuing with the mother tongue language as a separate subject. This decision was based, among other reasons, on the extensive global literature that showed that children learned best in the early grades in their local language.[54] The policy was implemented and the new thematic curriculum is being taught in local languages in the first three grades.

> The Thematic Curriculum…is planned to enhance early mastery of critical skills particularly those of Literacy [i.e., reading and writing] in the respective local languages of children. It is a competency-based approach to Literacy and Numeracy using mother tongue as a medium to facilitate first learning and entrench literacy. (ESSAPR, 2007, p. 7)

This reform-within-a-reform, i.e., teaching in local languages at the primary level, faced a bumpy road. There are more than 50 spoken languages in Uganda. Obviously, it is not impossible to provide materials and trained teachers to teach every child in his/her respective language. The Government settled on five "area" languages as the medium of

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[54] Brock-Utne, Birgit (2002) "Language, Democracy and Education in Africa," Discussion Paper 15, Nordiska Afrikainstitutet, Uppsala, Sweden.

instruction and "they pose as optional exams in the Primary Leaving Exam (PLE) at the

end of primary education"[55] (Majola, 2006, p. 1). While this was a reasonable decision

particularly given resource constraints, problems with its implementation persist. Some

parents have not bought into the "area language" concept and believe that the language of

instruction should only be the "local" language.

> This has come as a problem right now….it [the teaching in the local language in P1-P3] is causing problems in some places where there are small pockets of people. The policy is not comprehensive to address the issues because some parents have resisted. Because if I am a parent [from] a big language group, I do not see …why my child should be made to learn the small language, which is not productive, which is not going to add value. (Personal Communication, November 2, 2007)

Even if the Government were to adopt a more inclusive language policy concerning the

early years of primary school, it is not practicable.

> They have promoted…other small, small languages. You know that we have the language policy that a number of languages that should be used as the medium of instruction up to Primary 4. But now the new developments have added many more languages and …that impacts the curriculum. We are a poor country. Why do we have to go into multiplying the number of languages that are to be used? Why don't we focus on area languages? We should have area languages as policy. And they don't think of the cost of this to education. That is a big problem…It has segmented the community, small languages for political reasons. (Personal Communication, November 2, 2007)

Confounding this discussion of the use of local languages is the fact that many parents

believe that English alone is the language that will help their child succeed in life and

they do not want their children learning in another language. They equate "education"

with speaking English.

> People think that when you are educated you have to speak English very well. You have to express yourself in English. You find that this curriculum, the thematic curriculum, is emphasizing that the teacher teaches in the language that

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[55]The number of "main" local languages in Uganda varies depending on the source and how "main" is defined. The area languages in which materials should be produced are Luo, Runyakitara, Luganda, Ateso/Akarimojong, and Lugbara. (Majola, 2006)

the children understand, the local language. But now parents do not look at it as a benefit for the child. Some parents think that 'In the cities they speak English, they are teaching their children in English and at the end of the primary cycle children are going to be learning in English and doing exams in English. Now our children when you tell them to learn in their local languages, in the mother tongue, in Primary 1, Primary 2, Primary 3, those who are using English from Primary 1 are going to succeed.' So it becomes a contentious issue where parents in the rural areas are not happy with us telling them that their children should learn in the mother tongue and learn English as a subject. (Personal Communication, November 6, 2007)

As a result, the implementation of the policy has varied.

Policy was saying one thing but the practice was quite different. …There were those that were implementing it, maybe the very first year children entered school and thereafter they went to English. Others teach in a mix of English and the local language. Others would go straight into English. So although it was there in policy, it wasn't being implemented. (Personal Communication, November 1, 2007)

Teaching Kiswahili while required in various policy documents has been largely ignored because of "the lack of teachers, textbooks, and funding to support the use of the language" (Ward, et. al., 2006, p. 53).

Despite this controversy on language, evidence from the field in Uganda is that teaching in the local languages has been successful in the early years and improved the reading and comprehension abilities of students. One respondent who participated in a field visit prior to the ASR reported a teacher's observation about using local language: "Before she told a child, 'draw a cup'. And it would take quite a while to register. But now she says it in the local language, 'draw a cup', which the child knows and the child draws it" (Personal Communication, October 23, 2007). One educator stated that using the local language has also gotten parents more interested in their children's education as they see their child learning to read in the local language. (Personal Communication, November 6, 2007)

Teaching in local languages has presented other problems. For example, teachers who are available for employment or are in line to be transferred from one district to another may not be fluent in the "area" language of school to which they have been assigned. The sense at the sector review meeting was that teachers should not be transferred before they have been trained in the Thematic Curriculum. In addition, many teachers who speak English may not be qualified to teach in English "Many teachers attempt teaching in English and they…are not always competent to deliver the curriculum in English. So many children have been frustrated out of school" (Personal Communication, October 22, 2007). So finding enough English teachers to meet the demands for teaching at the upper primary levels is a problem.

The language issue arose at the Education Sector Review on several occasions. The Ministry and the donors agreed that the local language initiative must be supported and resources galvanized to make it work despite the problems noted above. More sensitization and advocacy is required with parents and the community.

Teacher Issues. The education and training, recruitment, performance and deployment of teachers have posed challenging implementation issues for UPE making it difficult to achieve the level of quality desired at the primary level. Support for, and monitoring of, primary teachers has been generally inadequate.

The education and training of primary teachers has been under par with the exception of the specific training provided as part of the introduction of the Thematic Curriculum for Primary 1 teachers (and in 2008 for Primary 2 teachers). The Primary Teacher Education Curriculum was last reviewed in 1994. It placed emphasis on "subject/discipline knowledge [i.e., content] with little focus on pedagogy [i.e., how to

teach content]…It is also out of tune with the new Thematic Curriculum at the primary

level" (ESSAPR, 2007, p. 17). As a result, many teachers are poorly prepared to teach

the existing curriculum and introduce new pedagogies in the classroom. Several donor-

assisted projects have supported teacher-training efforts with positive results. One

project, UNITY, has focused on professional development and improving teacher

education in the primary sub-sector. It works in

> …47 teacher-training colleges…23 of which have an outreach component. It is
> working…with the Government and universities to come up with a proficiency
> course…[There are] about 1300 people on this course and it has been very
> exciting, integrating into a system aspects of action research, reflective practice,
> coming up with a generic methodology, gender responsive pedagogy…(Personal
> Communication, November 7, 2007)

In addition, the MoES initiated a review of the Primary Teacher Education Certificate

curriculum to improve content and promote a more child-centered approach to learning.

A draft curriculum is in place. The curriculum will also ensure that pre-service teachers

are well versed in crosscutting issues such as HIV/ADS, gender, special needs and

psychosocial education. The Government also offers 100 percent sponsorship to attract

well-qualified students to PTCs.

In-service training is more complicated. There are over 150,000 primary school

teachers in Uganda, of which 128,371 were on the Government payroll in 2007. In-

service training programs were offered through PTCs and coordinating centers to update

teachers on the latest approaches and to qualify unqualified teachers. However, even

with the mechanisms in place this is a staggering number of teachers to re-train in terms

of both substance and process (pedagogies) through in-service programs. Supporting

teachers and monitoring their performance is similarly difficult with the resources

available. The issue of professional growth received little attention until 2003 when the

Education Service Commission began to develop a Scheme of Service that would, among other things, establish standards and provide more opportunities for training, both of which would contribute to higher quality teaching.[56]

In-service training and the Scheme were the subject of debate the annual sector review. The MoES approved the Scheme but the Ministry of Finance has stopped its implementation for budgetary reasons. Stakeholders complained about the way teachers are treated and the lack of support for their training or progression. One educator said, "There is no training policy. Teachers have to get permission to get additional training and then do this on their own. Then the MOES doesn't increase salary or give the teacher a permanent appointment." (Comment made in Annual Sector Review meeting; no attribution) In sum, while in-service training is gradually improving the skills of current teachers, in the context of globalization where both new knowledge and new pedagogies are desperately needed now the current process is too slow and keeps Uganda "behind the curve."

The ceiling on Government-paid teachers of 129,000 has effectively stopped the recruitment of teachers. This ceiling, imposed by the MOF, remains one of the biggest obstacles to improving quality by reducing the PTR.[57] With increasing numbers of students entering primary school and the numbers of teachers capped, the inevitable

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[56] The purpose of Scheme of Service is to describe the minimum training required of teaching personnel, establish standards for recruitment, training, and professional growth, stipulate minimum professional growth opportunities, institute professional promotional ladders, and provide well-defined descriptions of a teacher's roles and responsibilities.

[57] In many countries, budget ceilings such as these are a direct result of IMF requirements. In my interviews in Uganda, respondents indicated that the Ministry of Finance determined budget ceilings though the MOF may have been influenced by the IMF. ActionAid has done considerable research on the issue of the IMF and education. This research demonstrates the heavy impact the IMF has had in terms of the limits it places on overall government spending, inflation, etc., Such limits make it difficult to increase spending in the education sector, for example, on teachers' salaries, hiring more teachers to reduce the PTR, etc.

result is a rise in the PTR. The ceiling is not expected to be raised until FY 2010 or 2011 at the earliest at which point the number of teachers may be raised by about 1000. Many stakeholders complained about the ceiling stating that with a growth in the school population of two to three percent each year a corresponding increase in the number of new teachers is essential. The addition of 2500 new teachers each year with those growth rates would retain a PTR of 70:1. That is much too high for delivering quality education, especially at the lower grades.

Recruitment and teacher retention are further complicated by HIV/AIDS. One survey estimated that one-third of *all* teachers are living with HIV/AIDS, the second highest group after the army. UNATU reported that 90 percent of teachers in Uganda were at risk of contracting HIV/AIDS. (UNATU, 2007) Primary teachers are the majority of teachers. Deployment issues (e.g. proximity of health facilities, keeping families together), increased absenteeism, time loss caring for the sick, inefficiency in teaching and loss of teachers related to HIV/AIDS continue to present a challenge to effectively implementing UPPET.[58]

Teacher performance continues to be a problem in this large, decentralized system. Teacher absenteeism in primary schools is a major problem. The 2007 Efficiency Report identified "slackness and a lack of commitment on the part of teachers and head teachers" as part of the problem with quality in UPE schools.(Winkler and Sondergaard, 2007) To address this issue the Government has adopted Customized Performance Target (contracts) for its cadre of teachers and head teachers. The purpose of this program is to motivate the teaching staff to do a better job by defining measurable

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[58] The MoES has a three-part HIV/AIDS policy: Non-discrimination that applies to job applicants and current employees and rejects HIV testing for recruitment, access to training or promotions; confidentiality; and, gender equality.

performance indicators and targets and linking teachers' performance to learning outcomes. In 2007, the Ministry distributed 25,000 CPT documents to the districts to enhance the implementation of CPTs.

The implementation of this program was a matter of debate at the Annual Sector Review meeting. UNATU, the national teachers' union, took issue with the Government's approach and expressed a concern about how the CPT program would affect Uganda's teachers, even though it (UNATU) had consulted with the Ministry as it developed the program. The General Secretary of UNATU, Ms. Teopista Birungi Mayanja, pointed out the contradiction in the IMF policies on education funding: "They are saying 'All the children should go to school.' However, at the same time, they are saying 'Come on, don't send them more teachers.' Then they are saying 'We want efficiency. However, the learning outcomes must be of quality.'" The Ministry wants to promote more accountability, a point with which the union agrees. On the other hand, the teachers' union believes the performance targets can send a "negative" signal to teachers and that peer mentoring would be better approach. At the Annual Sector meeting, Ms. Birungi Mayanja proposed that the Government focus more on promoting self-regulation and peer review and support rather than sanctions. She said that providing "positive reinforcements" for both teachers and head teachers to do their job would be more effective. Such incentives should include adequate housing, higher compensation, and opportunities for professional growth.

Teacher deployment and management affects UPE implementation as well. Teachers are recruited by districts and can be deployed anywhere in the district. Remote districts have difficulty in attracting primary teachers though an incentive is provided for

some "hard to reach" districts. Rural districts have difficulty hiring qualified teachers in

math and science who are short supply and can easily find jobs in urban areas that are

preferable. A 2007 World Bank draft report on teachers in Uganda summed up the

implications of these circumstances.

> Firstly, the trained teaching force is not optimally distributed throughout the
> system resulting in the majority rural population not gaining access to the same
> educational opportunities as their urban counterparts. Secondly, female students
> in rural areas are doubly disadvantaged as they are less likely to experience
> female teaches as positive role models. Finally, the relative scarcity of a cadre of
> trained and experienced teachers in rural schools significantly limits the potential
> of any school based development and mentoring program. (World Bank, 2007, p.
> 53)

> *Quality.* Quantity (i.e., increasing access) trumped quality during the first decade

of UPE. Students were in abundance in the early UPE years but the resources needed to

teach them (including well-trained teachers, sufficient classrooms, textbooks and other

learning materials) were in short supply. Quality plummeted. Now, 10 years later, the

focus in UPE has shifted to quality.

The first recommendation in the Efficiency Study conducted in late 2007

addressed this issue head-on.

> Uganda has done an admirable job of increasing access to primary education over
> the past decade. However, increased access has come at the expense of the
> quality of instruction….Uganda needs to make a very serious effort to improve
> quality at all levels…In terms of facilitating economic growth, improvements in
> quality--at all levels of education but especially in lower primary--should take
> priority over improving access at the post-primary level. (Winkler and
> Sondergaard, 2007, p. 5)

How is quality to be measured, achieved, and sustained at the primary level? Uganda has

high repetition and dropout rates and low test scores. For example, NAPE reports

indicated that less than 50 percent of both P3 and P6 students reach the defined

competency levels in literacy and numeracy in rural areas where the majority of students

live. Teacher shortages (a result of the ceiling on hiring) have led to high pupil/teacher ratios and overcrowded classrooms and sufficient learning materials are not available for students. These indicators reflect the lack of quality at the primary level. They have been identified in various studies and repeatedly noted in the annual sector reports.

To address some of these issues the MoES developed a Comprehensive Program for Improving Quality in Primary Education. (MoES, 2007, Comprehensive Program). The Program identifies the major causes of low quality education, which include the following:

- Teacher, pupil and head teacher absenteeism
- Inadequate/lack of accommodations for teachers
- Inadequate school level supervision
- Inadequate inspection visits by Inspectors
- Non-functional School Management Committees
- Poor utilization of teachers
- Under deployment of teachers in districts where they are needed most
- Larger classes in the lower grades (P1 to P3) and misuse of the UPE grants

The Ministry has developed identified a "package of interventions" to be implemented nationally to improve quality. These were addressed in the Efficiency Report and the ESSAPR. The interventions focus on addressing the needs of pupils and teachers, improving management at the school level, and improving community participation. In addition, the MoES has steadily increased the number of classrooms and improved the pupil-textbook ratio.

Implementing this plan is not without challenges. Trapped by budget constraints, the MoES determined at a meeting of the Education Sector Consultative Committee (ESCC) in October 2007 that it must take a gradual approach. The Plan was presented at the Annual Sector Review (ASR) the same month. The Ministry explained that it

planned to implement only a few of the "quality improvement interventions" in seven

especially needy districts and would implement other "budget neutral" interventions in

other areas of the country. Additional challenges to the Plan's successful implementation

include structural problems at the local government level, the flow of funds from the

center to the schools and negative attitudes of parents, communities, and teachers.

(MoES, 2007, Comprehensive Plan)

Universal Post-Primary Education and Training (UPPET)

Description of Reform

UPPET was defined as the "equitable provision of quality post-primary education

and training to all Ugandan students who have successfully completed the primary

leaving examination." (Lewin, 2006, p. 2) Prior to UPPET, post primary education, and

secondary school in particular, was largely in the private domain and remained the

preserve of the elite. Thus, when UPPET was implemented at the beginning of the 2007

school year, reform was long overdue. As Table 6 indicates, there had been virtually no

"reforms" at the post-primary level in the past 20 years. This was true despite the fact

that globalization was coming fast upon Uganda and there was a growing need for more

expansive education and technical training at the post-primary level.

UPPET sought to achieve four objectives as identified by the Director of

Education, MoES at a conference in 2007: (1) Achieve equitable access to post-primary

education and training; (2) Enhance the sustainability of UPE by increasing transition

rates from primary to post-primary education; (3) Make post-primary education

affordable so children from poor families could access secondary schools or post-primary

vocational/technical training institutions; and, (4) Achieve the MDG goal of gender parity

by enhancing the enrollment of girls in post-primary education. Other UPPET and USE documents have a similar list but also included references to "improving the quality of education and training (and) making post primary education and training more effective, efficient, and *relevant* to the social and economic needs of the country." (Mbabazi, 2007; MoES, 2002, p. 8; MoES USE Report, 2007) None of the official UPPET or USE background documents reviewed for this study referenced *globalization* or explicitly tied "relevance" in education to preparing Ugandans for the opportunities or challenges which globalization brings with it.

Like UPE, UPPET had been on the "drawing boards" for some time prior to its announcement and implementation. The assumption was that demand for secondary education would automatically increase as UPE beneficiaries passed through the system. The PEAP and other broader policy documents focused on reducing poverty and noted that post-primary education would contribute to that goal. Additionally, stakeholders recognized that a post-primary education not only brought higher private returns (e.g. higher earnings and possibility of employment in the formal sector) but also higher societal returns in the form of workers having the "knowledge, skills and competencies" to contribute to national competitiveness. (Ward, 2006, p. 136)

The President announced in 2005 that UPPET would be introduced. Like UPE, UPPET was preceded by a series of studies that examined the array of issues accompanying the introduction of tuition-free education at the post-primary level. The studies addressed multiple financial, human resources, internal efficiency and infrastructure issues and explored possibilities for expanding public-private partnerships that would be an essential part of the program. Enrollment and transition rate patterns

and projections, access issues such as regional, income-based and gender imbalances and quality effectiveness concerns such as curriculum, training teachers, etc., were also examined.

The studies were shared with a small group of stakeholders who helped to develop a set of options. These were shared with a wider group of stakeholders and a set of options developed that were discussed more widely. This process was followed by a national consultation (2006) and consensus-building process which led to an agreed-upon policy. All of this was translated into a strategic plan of action and included in the Education Sector's Medium Term Budget Framework. (Mbabazi, 2007)

UPPET included programs in both academic secondary schools and post-primary technical and vocational education and training (TVET) institutions. Universal secondary education (USE), which was announced in advance of UPPET, responded to the needs of the largest number of students completing primary school.

When UPE was launched a decade earlier, it opened the floodgates of primary education and enrollments overwhelmed the system. Because of financial constraints, UPPET adopted a more gradual approach. Beginning in February 2007, UPPET applied only to students entering Senior 1 or their first year in a post-primary TVET institution that had successfully completed P7 and passed the PLE in December 2006. In 2008, it applied to students in both Senior 1 and Senior 2 or students in their first or second year of post-primary TVET. The program will continue to expand by one grade each year through Senior 4 in secondary institutions. No decision has been made as to whether it will apply to upper secondary, Senior 5 and 6.

USE policy required that there be a USE school in every sub-county. In sub-counties that had no secondary school, the Government has built (and will continue to build) Seed schools. In other sub counties, Government expanded its public-private partnerships (PPP) with private, mostly religious, schools around the country. Because Uganda has never had an extensive network of public secondary schools, it provided Government funds to selected private and community schools which became Government- aided schools ("public" from the Government's perspective in terms of funding and sometimes ownership) though their foundational bodies may have been private.

Schools (public or private) identified in rural areas to participate in UPPET were those that charged fees under 75,000 USch (roughly US $44 as of January 2008) per term. This fee amount was indicative of the fact that the people in that catchment area were very poor and would otherwise be unable to afford to send their children to secondary school. The Government also signed Memorandums of Understanding (MOU) with private/community schools in sub-counties that did not have Government-supported secondary schools. (MoES, USE, 2007)

The Government provided grants to USE schools. These grants were divided into two parts—a variable grant and a threshold grant. The variable grant (a specified amount for each student each term) covered instructional materials, co-curricula materials and other expenses such as students' certificates, career guidance etc., all of which directly support the teaching and learning of students. In 2007, the variable grant (tuition fee) for Government schools was USch 29,420 (about US$ 17.50). For private secondary schools, the Government's partners in USE, the grant was USch 47,000 (roughly US$

28). (MoES USE Report, 2007) One educator at the annual sector review meeting stated that the money paid to private institutions was too small and teachers were not being paid their salaries. The Permanent Secretary of the MoES noted that the MOF remits even higher capitation grants to private schools than to public schools to help them take on and pay additional teachers because of UPPET students.

The "threshold" grant was provided to Government secondary schools participating in the program. The grant was USch 7,000,000 per academic term in 2007. These grants were provided to 728 Government-aided secondary schools during the first term in 2007. Threshold grants for Seed schools were USch 5,000,000. In 2007, 64 Seed schools received such grants. In the second term of the 2007 school year, threshold grants were provided on a sliding scale dependent on enrollment. This grant covered a broad array of common school management (administration) costs. Private schools did not receive threshold grants. They were also expected to recruit their own staff and provide their own instructional materials.

In 2007, 794 Government-aided secondary schools and 46 Government technical and vocational institutions participated in UPPET. Additionally, 363 private secondary schools and 16 private TVET schools joined the program. In all, 164,051 students benefitted from UPPET in 2007. Ninety-eight percent of these students were enrolled in secondary schools. Of the secondary school students, 25 percent were enrolled in private schools. The total number of students enrolled in S1 in 2007 was nearly 246,359. Thus, the USE/UPPET students (161,549) represented 65 percent of the total S1 students enrolled that year. (ESSAPR, 2007; Mbabazi, 2007) Recognizing that many primary schools in the rural areas may not be able to deliver the same (high) quality of education

offered in schools in urban areas, principally Kampala, the Government set up a quota

system to ensure that every district would have a certain number of students entering

secondary school.

Not all schools wanted to participate in USE because they feared a decline in

quality with the increase in enrollment from USE students and refused to enter in

partnership with the Government. On the other hand,

> …some private ones…have actually requested to be included in the
> program…with the hope that the funds that may be provided will be a welcome
> relief to the community; some with the hope that when you open your doors to
> USE you will boost the numbers because quite a number of private schools do
> thrive on the question of numbers. You have more children in there and then you
> have more income. (Personal Communication, October 22, 2007)

Implementation Issues and Debates

UPPET has been in operation for just one year. Nevertheless, interesting issues,

some of which were identified before its implementation, have surfaced regarding access

and eligibility, curriculum, teacher recruitment/deployment, gender parity and even

"lunch." These issues are discussed in the paragraphs below.

Access. UPPET portends an aspiration; it is not universal in a dictionary

definition sense. In fact, while one of the original principles of UPPET was "equitable

expansion" and UPPET has been important in creating new opportunities for many poor

students, it remains selective, even discriminatory, in its admission criteria. The only

students who were guaranteed a tuition-free place in an UPPET institution in the first

year of the program were those who graduated from P7 at a certain time (December

2006) and with a certain PLE score (28 or less).[59] Initially, the ceiling was set higher (at

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[59] The national PLE consists of four exams. Scores range from Distinction 1 to Fail 9 for each exam.
Distinction 1 includes everyone with a score of 80 percent and above. If a student gets a Distinction 1 on
all four exams, s/he will pass the PLE with an aggregate four. If the student were to fail all four exams

aggregate 32) but it was soon recognized that the admission cut-off line had to be set

lower to further restrict the number of students entering the UPPET program to align the

number of potential applicants with the resources available. Therefore, the cut-off score

was reduced to an aggregate of 28. This becomes the filter for admission to secondary

school.

The consequences of that policy decision were several. Students who had

graduated, for example, a year or two earlier from primary school, and who were still

age-eligible for secondary or a post-primary TVET school and who had achieved the

requisite score on their PLE could not participate in UPPET. Alternately, students who

had completed their primary schooling in December 2006 but had more than the

aggregate 28 points on their PLE were also excluded from UPPET. Students in either of

these circumstances could continue their education only if they could afford to pay their

own fees to attend non-UPPET public secondary or TVET schools or private schools

which often admit students with lower grades (i.e., higher PLE scores). Some students

who had successfully completed P7 a year earlier decided to repeat P7 (a costly expense

for the Government) in order to be eligible for tuition-free education under UPPET the

following year. This approach retains a sense of elitism in this "universal" policy. One

educator commented:

> Before we had USE, many children were unable to go to secondary because they
> didn't make their grades whether for Government-aided or private (schools).
> Private usually takes lower grades. Now with the establishment of USE, when
> Government came out and said, 'you know, you would not be selected if you had
> lower than [a certain aggregate]', then everyone sat up and said, 'So what sort of
> "universal" [is this?] …because you have to meet certain charges that's already
> an exclusion. (Personal Communication, October 22, 2007)

(i.e., receiving a score of nine on each exam) s/he would have an aggregate 36. Other scores between these
two ends of the aggregate continuum are possible depending on the combination of scores one achieves on
the exams.

A 2006 study found that "more than 65 percent of those enrolled in secondary education in Uganda are drawn from families with household incomes in the top 20 percent" (Ward et al, 2006).

The primary school graduates ineligible for UPPET or those who could not afford to pay for the next level of schooling fall into the category of "out-of-school" youth. They have few options except low-wage work in the informal sector.

> There are many kids out of school. There is nothing for them. Unfortunately the policy was clear – only those students who completed P7 in 2006 were eligible for USE. [To get around this] some have gone back and repeated P7 so they would then be eligible for USE – they try again. It is all about the numbers. Only a limited number of students can get in. Thus, students go back and repeat P7 because you have to have a certificate with a Dec 2006 date or later. (Personal Communication, November 8, 2007]

What to do with students who cannot get into school under the UPPET program poses a real dilemma. One participant in the Sector Review meeting noted that some private vocational institutions took students with aggregate scores over 28 because they had been advised not to send students away. He asked, "Should students be told to repeat P7, for example, so they will be eligible the next year to enter UPPET or will there be other options for them?" Another participant asked whether there might be some cost-sharing plan under UPPET as there is for teacher training institutions that would allow more students to participate. This question was not answered.

UPPET is not very "free" either. Students are expected to pay for their own school uniforms (for secondary school), school supplies, lunch, and transport, if necessary. If a student cannot afford these costs, this may keep them out of school

despite the offer of tuition-free schooling. For example, while uniforms are not

compulsory,

> …If you don't wear a uniform you are a misfit. And the administration will say, 'please stay at home until you buy a uniform'…And besides a uniform you also have to buy books, exercise books, pens and things…So you see, a child can miss school for lots of small reasons (Personal Communication, October 22, 2007).

UPPET does not cover any boarding expenses.

While this policy may be an efficient way to allocate a limited resource, i.e.,

public secondary school, it raises an obvious issue of equity and equal opportunity. Some

students who have attended severely under-resourced schools in certain rural areas may

not have experienced a teaching/learning situation that prepared them to perform well on

the national PLE thus hindering their chances of continuing school under USE. In

addition, as only certain schools in rural areas are designated for USE, if a student does

not live near to the school nor has no transportation s/he may be excluded even if s/he

had the PLE scores to enter the program.

Curriculum. A secondary curriculum review was initiated in 2007 with support

from the World Bank. This will be the first time in more than 20 years that the entire

secondary curriculum framework will be reviewed and ultimately revised. Clearly, given

the dramatic changes not only in Uganda during this period but also in many areas which

are critical to globalization (e.g. science and technology, the environment, global

economy, etc.), this review is long overdue. Additionally, a proposal in the 2007

"Roadmap for Reform" for secondary curriculum was a restructuring of secondary

education overall which would necessarily affect the way the curriculum is conceived and

implemented. The proposals for curriculum reform and school restructuring are under

consideration.

Secondary curriculum raises issues of structure, content, and pedagogy. The existing secondary curriculum is overloaded. Up until 2007, secondary schools could select the courses they would offer from a menu of 42 courses. There are seven core subjects, Mathematics, English, Physics, Biology, Chemistry, History, and Geography. Students take these core courses plus two or three others for a total of 10. Other courses in the menu included such offerings as agriculture, religious education, tailoring, entrepreneurship, art, foreign languages, etc. Courses were added over time and the "menu" expanded though the new courses were not integrated into a coherent framework. The result was an unwieldy number of courses that was expensive to provide in terms of teachers and materials. This menu was recently limited to just 22 courses from which a school selects the 10-12 courses it will offer. For Seed schools the menu is limited to only 14 courses. A difficult issue for existing schools is to determine which courses they will offer off the menu and whether those offerings will prepare students appropriately:

The 2007 report on secondary curriculum reform cited a number of reasons why Uganda needs a new secondary curriculum. First, it noted that teaching methodologies in the existing syllabuses do not promote effective learning and acquisition of skills. Second, the existing curriculum does not address the needs of the majority of students now entering secondary education, does not adequately address the social and economic needs of the country, and is not sufficiently flexible to address emerging fields of knowledge. Third, it noted that key characteristics required of the 21st century curriculum are missing.

> The existing curriculum… is a static one in which learners, driven by the need to succeed in a high-stakes examination, are forced to learn a mass of knowledge that is largely abstract, fact-centered, decontextualized and irrelevant. The deep conservatism of the curriculum which has remained unchanged except in small

detail for some 30-40 years contrasts dramatically with the rapidly changing demands made of the 21st century workforce….what this means for the curriculum is that there must be a major move from 'knowing that' to 'knowing how'; a move from absorbing factual knowledge to developing knowledge competencies. (Clegg et al, 2007, p. 11)

The lack of relevance of the secondary curriculum was repeatedly noted by several respondents who criticized the very system from which they had come.

> The private sector needs innovativeness, not academic excellence. The kind of training we are getting is to promote academic excellence. People are competing in order to be the best. They are competing for marks. Schools are competing to be the best school. In the process of competing, they don't give room for our children to be innovative. (Personal Communication, November 8, 2007)

An example of the curriculum deficits was summed up in one interview. The educator described how students in Senior 4 could not even write a simple letter in English to apply for a job after 10 years of schooling. She cited the deficits in both curriculum and pre-service teacher training:

> I would still attribute it [the failure to write a letter in English] to the curriculum. Because the teachers who are teaching this curriculum went through the same curriculum and during their training they were not trained to prepare their students for the world of work. It was just passing on what they have gone through…It is comfortable for them, it's easier for them, passing on what they already know. So it is back to the training, back to the curriculum. It's all about the curriculum really. But it is just more than the secondary school curriculum. It goes back to the PTC curriculum or the National Teachers' College curriculum, the university curriculum for everybody who has to do with education. They should be prepared to prepare the learners on how to face the world of work after school. (Personal Communication, November 6, 2007)

What constitutes "relevance" depends on who is answering the question. While few would disagree, for example, that science should be an integral part of the secondary curriculum, there is continuing discussion about the degree to which vocational subjects should be taught and considered a standard part of the secondary curriculum (i.e., vocationalization of the curriculum) or whether they should be taught in a separate

education "stream". As one educator noted, Uganda's economy depends on agriculture yet agriculture is not a prominent feature in the curriculum unless one attends a post-primary agriculture school. She gave the example from her own schooling experience.

> I remember when I was in school I did agriculture. As we joined the school in Senior 1…we were actually allocated a plot of land and you had to grow not less than six vegetables on the plot. And we would sell the vegetables and produce for …pocket money….Not any more. Parents are coming and saying we didn't bring our children here to teach them how to farm. We want them to go to the university. (Personal Communication, October 22, 2007)

Therefore, as UPPET expands its reach and the Government revises the secondary curriculum, the question of curriculum content will become a topic of debate.

Textbooks are also well out of date, more than 20 years old in some cases, and for some of the subjects, like literature and English, there has never been a teacher's syllabus. Therefore, as one respondent said, "we leave it up to the teachers to find how they handle the teaching of their subjects. Yet subjects that have never had a teaching syllabus, it becomes very tricky for the teachers. Teachers have to depend on their training sometimes which is not very helpful" (Personal Communication, November 6, 2007).

The policy of compulsory science in lower secondary has spurred much debate. The implementation of this policy was considered an important step in increasing the number of graduates with science and technology backgrounds. Several respondents noted the importance of science education. "We are far, far behind in the East Africa region, global too. We need to innovate and improvise." An example of Uganda's need for scientists and technicians was provided during discussions at the annual Sector Review. One of the participants noted that160 people had applied for jobs at a new dam being built in Uganda for hydroelectric power. However, only five got jobs because none

of the other applicants had the requisite science or technical background. Similarly,

several respondents reminded stakeholders that Uganda looks forward to establishing a

petroleum industry in the future if oil exploration efforts pan out. "But, one said, "if we

have no scientists we won't benefit from this industry. We must do science and

technology. Uganda will be behind in the world, in globalization; we will never be there.

We cannot move without science" (Notes from the Annual Sector Review meeting; no

attribution).

The debate is not about whether science is important but how the policy was

implemented. Despite the recognition of the importance of science, the consensus among

many stakeholders was that the system was not ready to implement the science policy

properly. There is a dearth of science and math teachers. Moreover, aside from the

absence of up-to-date textbooks and other materials, over 50 percent of the schools lack

proper labs and equipment for science classes. Most of the rural schools have no

laboratory, which means that the teaching of science in these areas focuses on the

theoretical and on memorizing facts, not on practical applications that are crucial to

developing a cadre of young scientists in Uganda. It was reported that many students

lose interest because they do not see the practical applications. This approach also comes

home to roost at exam time. A participant in the Sector Review meeting reported on a

visit to a private school that was ill prepared to offer science courses. She made the

following observation: "The students were doing a practical exam in chemistry. And

the students had picked a pipette and were trying to fill it from a cup. It means that the

students were seeing the pipette for the first time" (Personal Communication, November

1, 2007). The Government acknowledged that many schools were are not properly

equipped but also noted that it has constructed a number of laboratories and distributed

science kits to all Government secondary schools

Some stakeholders said the policy was too expensive and presented a conflict in

terms of how to use scarce resources: Should funds be used to train more science teachers

or to recruit more good teachers to fill the gap in the science area?

> There is a recognition that you have to modernize the curriculum but also keep it
> relevant to the country….Making science compulsory in secondary school…is a
> part of the whole globalization, trying to keep up with science and technology.
> But without having the resources to do it well…You will see in most secondary
> schools, the first time children have seen a lab is when they take their
> examinations. So you know when there are no science teachers and no laboratory
> and you make science compulsory. It's like a chicken and an egg—which do you
> do first? (Personal Communication, November 6, 2007)

The first O-level exams in science were given in 2006. All secondary school

students sat for the same national exams in several science subjects. Students in urban

areas, principally Kampala, often attend schools with better laboratory facilities and

equipment and thus may perform well on the exam. Students in rural areas, however,

whose schools are not as well equipped and who may not have a trained science teacher

may have a difficult time passing the exams. This reinforces the already existing

"divide" between students in rural and urban areas. More than 30 percent of the students

failed science in 2006.

Post-primary TVET schools also suffer from very outdated curricula that have

little relevance to current needs in the economy. These schools also often lack

appropriate or well-maintained equipment. The MoES, in cooperation with the private

sector and several donors, has worked to reform BTVET and its curriculum. This reform

is intended to "make BTVET more relevant to the skills requirements of employment, to

provide access to larger numbers of learners and to make vocational training affordable by reducing its unit costs" (Nalumansi, 2003).

A key component of this effort was the development of the Uganda Vocational Qualifications Framework (UVQF) to improve assessment and competency levels in a range of technical specialties. The UVQF develops Assessment and Training Packages for different trades that include an occupational profile, assessment instruments, and a modular training curriculum. These profiles are developed in collaboration with the private sector (industries, companies, and expert workers). In this way, it is possible to

> …get a quick labor market reflection in the profiles. It is a fast, quick, cheap approach. Instead of going for an extensive labor market survey, we said [the] labor market may be good but it also doesn't address these kinds of issues…. [The profile creation process] takes place in little hotels, in meeting rooms, for two to three days [while the profile is developed.] …At the end, you have that occupation profile for a certain level, e.g. what expert workers are supposed to do in industry for a job….You see, you ask a carpenter, for instance, 'What are you doing on the job?' And you ask not only one, you ask 10 or 15 [carpenters] so you get an average. And if you do [a profile] later, you get a national average of that occupation. What are the tasks, jobs and duties for that craft person? And this you take as a basis for the remaining review. On the basis of this, you adjust the assessment system and then the curricula, and not vice versa. (Personal Communication, November 6, 2007)

Between 30 and 40 job profiles were developed by October 2007. The initial profiles focused on the ICT sector because it is such a fast growing sector and there is a demand for trained technicians. Additionally, assessment tools and about 30 modular training packages called Assessment Training Packages have been prepared to date. Previously there was no national framework for standardizing vocational training curricula, assessment, or award of qualifications. Adoption of the UVQF is expected to improve the effectiveness of the BTVET curriculum.

Teacher Recruitment and Deployment. Teacher recruitment and deployment are complicated issues for UPPET, especially USE, implementation. Secondary education is not yet decentralized so hiring of Government-paid teachers is still a function of the Ministry. In preparation for USE, the Government calculated the number of teachers USE would require and realized it was about 7000 short. It had resources to hire roughly 2000 teachers but budget limits permitted no more. In 2006/07, 2329 teachers were recruited, primarily for the rural schools. Many more teachers will need to be hired in the future to meet UPPET's targets as it rolls out over the next three years. Quantity is not the only recruitment issue. There is a great need for science, math, and English teachers that are in short supply. Incentives have been put in place via scholarship quotas to encourage university students to study science and math. However, there is a lag time in these university students coming "on stream" as trained teachers. In addition, given the demand for graduates with science and technology credentials in the private sector, the MoES will be competing with that sector for its science teachers.

The issue of teacher recruitment is linked to the growth of private secondary schools. There is a surplus of unemployed teachers, most of who have been trained in National Teachers Colleges and universities, mostly at Government expense. Many of the surplus teachers are hired by private secondary schools at low wages that enables to the private schools to offer cheaper education, in some cases, than the Government schools, which charge variable fees depending on location, and the program offered. The Government is subsidizing the training of teachers for private schools that may not be in its best interest. (Stephens, 2007, p. 9) As one observer noted, the Government is "really supporting the commodification of secondary education."

Teacher deployment raises several additional issues. A key objective of USE was to increase equity and that meant taking secondary education to the underserved rural areas. The problem is that most teachers want to teach in urban areas and only reluctantly accept rural assignments. Once hired and "in the system," reports indicate that quite a few leave their assigned schools and negotiate another place in an urban area. This leaves the rural schools understaffed and has increased the student teacher ratios in the poorest districts. (Winkler & Sondergaard, 2007)

Transferring teachers around schools is also difficult particularly because parents want to keep certain teachers so they pay them directly to keep them at their school.

> They have tried the last three or four years to transfer some teachers who have been in certain schools for up to 10-20 years. They can't move. The head teachers can't allow them. The parents can't allow them. So the Government also sits back….[for example] If the school is told that [the Government] is going to transfer the economics teacher, yet that teacher has been generating about, if there are 50 students, about 40 A's, the parents are going to say that [they] are going to pay for this teacher. (Personal Communication, November 89, 2007)

Other factors complicate transfers as well. Teachers who are HIV positive may need to be located near a clinic for treatment and cannot be sent to smaller communities where treatment is not available. In addition, if a married couple is teaching in the same school, it is not easy to transfer one of the spouses to another school even if his/her skills are needed elsewhere.

Poor teacher deployment has had an impact on internal efficiency at the secondary level. Low pupil teacher ratios and low teaching loads are, in part, a consequence of the requirement that each secondary school has a minimum number (12) of teachers and offers a minimum number of subjects (10) even when enrollments may be small. Many teachers are paid, in effect, on a full-time basis for part-time work. In addition, while

teaching two subjects has been the norm, many teach only one. In addition, many rural schools have small enrollments though their salary costs may be similar to schools with large enrollments. These circumstances add up to higher wage bills particularly for smaller, rural schools.

The efficiency study made a number of recommendations to improve the efficiency of secondary education, one of which was linked to the curriculum issues. Proposals included reducing salaries for new teachers, increasing the pupil teacher ratio, reducing the number of required courses, enforcing the requirement that all teachers teach at least two subjects, and developing a "transparent" deployment strategy that responds to school needs.

The study also addressed the role of the private sector in providing secondary education noting the importance of private contributions even for financing public schools, which enables the Government to use more of its resources for expanding education to poorer families. The study recommended that the MoES "should design and implement a transparent capitation grant to private institutions with clear incentives for sustaining household finance of secondary education" (Winkler and Sondergaard, 2007, p. 10) These issues were the subject of discussion at the annual sector review and at a special meeting to validate the recommendations. The donors and the other stakeholders endorsed nearly all of them. The teachers' union and others have raised concerns about how these proposals will affect teachers' attitudes and performance in the future.

Gender. Despite the many and serious efforts undertaken by the Government and NGOs alike to get girls in school and keep them there, disparities persist in UPPET. In 2007, girls represented about 45 percent of all students enrolled in secondary schools.

This overall figure obscures the drop in girls' participation in upper secondary. In S1, girls were 47 percent of total enrollment in 2007; in S6, they were just 40 percent. In post-primary TVET institutions, girls were only about one-third of the student population. In the short term, unless Uganda makes school compulsory, which it cannot do for budgetary and other reasons, the prospect of increasing these ratios significantly is not very high. This will have a major impact in the long term on the country's ability to achieve gender equity and ensure that all its citizens can respond to globalization.

Lunch. Oddly enough, the provision of lunch (or lack thereof) is a hotly debated issue and has become something of a political football. This issue, however, illustrates how the resolution of small issues is important to making a reform like UPPET work on a large scale. The UPPET program does not provide lunch for UPPET students. However, some school boards agreed to pay for food. Therefore, there was a question of disciplinary action. Head teachers were told not to charge for food in USE schools. But non-USE students in some USE schools were already being charged for lunch. Many parents believe that since school is free, lunch should also be part of the package. According to UNATU, one consequence of this lunch issue is that "children dodge afternoon lessons due to lack of mid-day meals and the lunchtime movements have facilitated indiscipline of children where boys and girls roam villages, trading centers and towns where they are located" (UNATU, 2007, p. 7). Head teachers are caught in the middle. They must follow regulations but they also want to please parents and keep students in school. The Government is hoping the issue will melt away because it is not prepared to accept that cost. One alternative proposed at the Sector Review meeting was to get parents to come in, prepare food, and let kids come with money to pay for food.

Reflections

Sector-level reforms in Uganda--decentralization and privatization--have conditioned reforms in the sub-sectors. These two "globally inspired" reforms became the framework in which the sub-sector reforms emerged. The problem is that this framework had not matured sufficiently to fully support the sub-sector reforms. The reform elements were new, their operation was mostly at the trial stage, and citizens were not prepared to assume all the responsibilities of the decentralization of education. Furthermore, the privatization of education swooped in and was, and remains, largely unmonitored and only marginally regulated. This was true despite a "best efforts" attempt to put oversight and support mechanisms in place via district officials in the case of decentralization of primary schools and via central government agencies (e.g. ESA, ESC, NCHE etc.) in the case of privatization. In both cases, the purpose was to nurture and monitor the reforms in a way that would improve their outcomes. The incentive structure valued access, not performance, or quality, which affected the outcomes at the primary level and could at the secondary level under UPPET though this remains to be seen as UPPET has only been in place for one year.

Overall resource constraints inhibited some of the potential benefits of the sector-wide reforms and their siblings, the sub-sector reforms. Uganda, an extremely poor country, was unable to supply the new reform framework with the plentiful finance, regulations, and human resources needed for it to serve the encompassing interest of the education sector or the country. Nor had Uganda significantly changed the surrounding governance environment (e.g. corruption), particularly for decentralization, to ensure the full measure of gains of the sector reforms. As a result, decentralization and privatization

could not and did not initially produce the benefits anticipated--a surge in educational quality and benefits for many more Ugandans.

Sub-sector reforms were undertaken in this imperfect environment. Their introduction and implementation can be compared to a patchwork quilt. There was an overall design as defined in numerous policy documents and a purpose: reduce poverty and enhance economic growth by improving education access and quality. However, the pieces of fabric (the sub-sector reforms) have been stitched together in a way that makes it difficult to predict or appreciate the result. Questions of competence in execution, the timeliness or speed with which reforms have been implemented and whether the current approach is appropriate remain. Will all the pieces come together "as a whole," revealing a pleasing pattern that achieves the purpose? Alternatively, will the outcome be a "crazy quilt" of "irregular and random" pieces of fabric that never quite qualify the product as a work of art?

The universalization of education at the primary and post-primary levels has been an adventure in increasing access in two dimensions—to school and to school governance. UPE and UPPET have had, and will likely continue to have, positive results in terms of getting more children in the classroom even if the reforms are not truly "universal" and education is not compulsory. UPPET will increase access for students to post-primary BTVET programs, and reforms in post-secondary BTVET (e.g. UVQF) may open more options for technical training. At the tertiary level, the rapid rise in the number of private institutions has created more access for students with means and the Government's scholarship program, though relatively small, has created opportunities for some poor students to access higher education. In sum, sub-sector reforms to date have

been mostly about access. Access has also been the rallying cry of the global community during most of the past 20 years.

Access without content or quality, however, is a partial achievement. Many more have gotten in the door, but the efficacy of their education is less than hoped for and needed. Research indicates that the impact of reforms is highly dependent on the institutional arrangements that surround them. (Azfar, 2000) Even the best soccer player cannot play well enough to win every game if all other teammates play poorly. Students who finally gain access to the classroom cannot learn what they should if the classroom provides a poor environment for learning.

The second dimension of access is that of access to educational governance because of the decentralization of primary education and the delegation of some governance and oversight responsibilities to Boards of Governors at the secondary level. In both cases, it appears that access to educational governance has increased. Reports indicate that more parents and communities are aware of, and involved with, their local schools. The Government undertook public education campaigns particularly after UPE was implemented to promote this participation. However, this access also remains incomplete. Illiteracy, cultural mores, or simply preoccupation with family and work responsibilities influences participation. For UPPET, this access is more elusive since UPPET is not decentralized and parents in rural areas cannot easily influence the action at the center. Greater efforts to encourage participation are needed before this form of access translates into empowerment.

Uganda has turned its attention to improving the *quality* of education in the sub-sectors. This is happening at multiple levels. Improving efficiency is essential.

Improving efficiency at the expense of quality, however, would be a mistake. Artful policy decisions are required to ensure that quality remains in focus even when resources are scarce and tough decisions need to be made. This is a balancing act that must find success.

Curriculum issues are an integral part of all the sub-sector reforms though they are more prominent, and foundational, in primary, secondary and BTVET than in tertiary. Uganda is behind the curve in this regard for a variety of reasons, some not of the country's making. The wave of globalization, however, requires that the curriculum issues and related teacher training/retraining activities be addressed expeditiously. A seamless, substantively-integrated curriculum with a "global perspective" that takes a child from Primary 1 through at least the equivalent of Senior 4 (or a comparable BTVET level program) is needed "today", not five or ten years from now. Content relevance is an issue to be addressed immediately at the practical, not theoretical, level. Curriculum content needs to address both the opportunities of globalization (e.g. science, technology, economic issues) and the challenges (e.g. cultural changes).

Content is only part of the picture. New cognitive skills need to be honed along with new ways of working together if Uganda is to be able to take advantage of globalization and prosper within the global context. These new skills are well-documented by researchers and popular writers such as Friedman. Ugandan educators and public officials also appreciate their importance as reflected in public documents and interviews. Critical thinking and problem solving, innovation and entrepreneurism, collaboration, team orientation and communication all need to be nurtured in Uganda's students, their teachers and teacher educators. These skills are important for not only

economic growth, promoting good citizenship, and sustaining democratic institutions, they are also important for enabling Ugandans to become global citizens and participate in the global community.

Addressing curriculum issues requires that pedagogical practices be re-tooled to support new content and skill building. The application of these practices needs to begin in Primary 1 and progress consistently through the end of secondary school to minimize the disconnects between substance and process. Acknowledging this, however, requires a frank recognition of the "elephant in the room," teacher pre-service and in-service education and training. The teacher education sub-sector was not addressed in this study as no major reforms have been undertaken in this area. A number of efforts have been made, however, by the Ministry and donors to better prepare and support teachers. There are some in-service training programs for primary teachers but virtually none for secondary or BTVET teachers. Teacher training curriculum is being revised, albeit slowly. In addition to training teachers, there is also the work of upgrading the skills of current teacher educators.

The task of improving the *quality* of education then is multifaceted. It is not simply a matter of improving efficiency, reducing or increasing the indicator numbers in whatever direction would make the system more efficient or cost effective. It is a matter of redirecting the learning and teaching environment in a way that achieves the result Uganda wants—economic growth and a reduction in poverty. Uganda has worked hard to achieve success with its reforms and has made some progress. However, it needs to speed up the process if it is going to "catch the wave" of globalization.

Uganda faces several options. It can continue on the current path moving methodically to achieve multiple and sometimes competing goals with its reforms and slowly make its way through writing new curricula, training teachers, expanding assessment, phasing students into UPPET, etc. This one-year-at-a-time approach drags out the implementation of UPPET and of a new curriculum and pedagogies at all pre-tertiary levels for much of the next decade. Alternately, it could either allocate its resources differently shifting resources to education from other sectors or try to attract more funds from donors or the private sector.

The "Cuban method" might be a third option that would "jump start" the process to improve Uganda's capacity to respond to globalization via sub-sector reform. In 1961, Cuba's Literacy Campaign "stopped the clock" for a number of months while thousands of volunteers, young and old, fanned out into the countryside to teach literacy. Some variation on this approach might enable Uganda to retrain more quickly its cadre of teacher educators and the teachers themselves, ramp up efforts to expand adult literacy and provide students with completely new, "relevant" curricula within five years rather than extending the process for close to a decade. This latter proposal may seem radical and much too costly. Given the wave of globalization Uganda wants to "catch," however, the opportunity cost may be greater in both absolute and relative terms to delay these reforms for a decade or more by following the current approach.

A radical approach is necessary in a rapidly changing global community. For many reasons (strong leadership in the MoES, solid links to the global community, positive relationships with donors, NGOs and the private sector, etc.), Uganda is well-positioned to try something "out of the box". Without a bold initiative, yet another

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generation of students may miss the education and training opportunities that would

better prepare them as individuals and Uganda as a nation to respond to the opportunities

and challenges of globalization.

SECTION FOUR: CONCLUSION

Chapter X: Observations

Introduction

Globalization is a theory and a process. As a theory, it seeks to explain the integration of economies and societies around the world as they are knit together by travel, language, values and ideas, trade, labor and financial flows, communication, and technology. It also addresses the political interconnectedness of nations via global governance arrangements and expanding cultural exchange via the Internet, mass media, travel, etc. As a process, globalization affects all countries, some more favorably than others, in terms of economic growth, national sovereignty, and cultural identity.

Globalization brings opportunities and challenges. Poor countries are especially vulnerable to vagaries of globalization that can exacerbate existing inequalities and subordinate national priorities to global ones. Education can play a role in this context. Two quotes at the beginning of this study linked globalization and education.

> If knowledge is fundamental to globalization, globalization should also have a profound impact on the transmission of knowledge. (Carnoy, 2000, p. 43)

> Education as an instrument of economic productivity, politicization, and enculturation can play an important part in the humanization of the process of globalization. (Bola, 1998, p. 489)

This study explored the relationship between globalization and education in Uganda. Principally, to what degree are education reforms in Uganda attributable to globalization and what are the impacts and implications of these reforms in terms of positioning Uganda for globalization?

Previous chapters have addressed two key questions: (1) How do education stakeholders in Uganda understand globalization and its impact on Uganda, in general,

and on education, in particular? (2) What education reforms did Uganda adopt during the past 20 years and how did globalization shape these reforms?

Research confirmed that stakeholders understood the multiple dimensions of globalization in the context of Uganda. They were also generally quite aware of globalization's various impacts on Uganda--economic, cultural, and political. Uganda education stakeholders were aware of the many ways globalization affected education. However, they also acknowledged that this "force" has not been a significant focal point of education policy dialogue as such.

Uganda adopted three major reforms—decentralization, privatization, and the universalization of primary and post-primary education—in the past 20 years. It is clear that global agendas in the education marketplace, one element of globalization, played a role in shaping these education reforms in Uganda. While domestic circumstances necessitated reform, interactions with the global community influenced the thinking of policymakers regarding reforms made in Uganda's education system. Reform ideas were brought to Uganda via multiple global "transmitters" and adapted to the local context. Hence, it can be said that globalization played, and continues to play, a role in reforming education in Uganda.

A third question in this study that has not yet been fully addressed is, what impact have the reforms had on beneficiaries and have these reforms better positioned Uganda to respond to the opportunities and challenges of globalization? The following pages review the impacts of the reforms in terms of access and equity, quality and relevance.

Instituting certain reforms in education is critical to improving education and enhancing a country's potential to develop its economic as well as its social and political institutions to be better positioned to take advantage of what globalization has to offer and, at the same time, resist, as much as possible, the downsides of globalization. This is axiomatic. The measures used to assess the impacts of education reform can be debated. For the purposes of this study, four criteria-- access, equity, quality, and relevance—were selected against which to assess whether education reform in Uganda has improved education and better positioned the country for the "wave" of globalization.

Access

Access as used in this study has two dimensions. One dimension of access is when more students gain admission to school and the classroom, making education available to a larger number of students. A second dimension of access is to increase access to governance of the education system for students, families, and local and national organizations. When voice, transparency, information flows, accountability, and participating governance increase for parents and other stakeholders in the educational system, this type of access is also expanded.

Promoting access has been the cornerstone of Uganda's education policy for the past 20 years and a key strategy for the country's poverty eradication efforts. Education reforms in Uganda have increased access to education at all levels. About this, there is no question. The implementation of UPE, USE/UPPET, and the privatization of education has created more access for more children. Nevertheless, the definition of access, the "price" of access, and the restrictions placed on access even if accepted in the

context of a resource constrained environment need to be considered in assessing Uganda's progress in improving access.

At the primary level, nearly universal access has been achieved at the entry level. School is mostly "free," but parents are still expected to provide uniforms, textbooks and some other amenities. Often there are other fees such as teacher subsidies that parents are expected to pay. In addition, while PTAs and their related fees have been formally abolished at the primary level, it was reported that some schools still charge such fees. These costs may be prohibitive for poor families and deter their children's enrollment in primary school.[60]

Education is "universal," at least in principle. It is not, however, compulsory because, as one educator candidly noted, "We can't afford to make it compulsory….In theory, it is implied in the word universal" (Personal Communication, November 7, 2007). Nevertheless, several respondents noted that primary education has reached the poor. "Personally I have seen in my village…only 10km outside Kampala…I see some children from quite poor homes….There are some basics that they lack, but they are going to school" (Personal Communication, October 22, 2001).

Access has been achieved at least in the lower grades (P1 to P3/P4) for most children. However, as reflected in the statistics, access to the upper grades is limited, not by the Government, that encourages a progression through primary school to P7, but by the socio-economic circumstances and cultural mores, which deter children, especially girls, from continuing to access education. Access may also be overstated because of the way it is enumerated.

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[60] Additional information on school fees and the costs of primary education may be found in a 2003 report by Klees, et.al., "Policy Options for Achieving Quality Primary Education for All Children in Uganda."

You get reports that tell you that the number of girls accessing is quite close to the number of boys… [When you] visit physically you realize that that is not very accurate. It is the way we have interpreted "access." When we are looking at equity, we probably talked about those who have "registered" those that have enrolled. But when you are going to the school you will see that lower down there may be probably even more girls, slightly more in P1. Probably because of the sensitization of parents or local leaders, even of girls themselves. There are many more girls attending schools than in the past, a few more girls than boys at the lower levels. Somewhere after P3, P4 they disappear, the girls disappear. So whatever we are calling access may probably be better called enrollment. They are not always staying. (Personal Communication, October 22, 2007)

Success in *achieving* access needs to be defined differently, more expansively.

Access cannot refer only to the opportunity to *enter* tuition-free at Primary 1. Instead, universal education must have a broader meaning. Success in achieving access no longer equates with access-to-entry; rather, it should mean *access-to-completion*. Instead of gross or net intake rates, completion rates need to be the standard by which access is measured and assessed for both females and males. Looking at it through this prism, Uganda has not done so well in achieving access given its low "Survival Rate to Last Grade" rate of only 25 percent in 2004. This rate compares unfavorably to a rate of 63 percent for the Africa region and 98 percent for developed countries.[61] (UNESCO, 2008, p. 307) This was evident in reviewing the class size statistics for primary school in 2006. The P1 class that year had an enrollment of 1.76 million children. The P7 class, on the other hand, had an enrollment of only 468,000, just 25 percent the size of the P1 class. Though these figures do not track one specific class cohort through the seven-year cycle, they illustrate the potential drop in enrollment that occurs between P1 and P7.

Policies that Uganda has put in place together with programs receiving considerable support from the global community (both donors and INGOs) seek to

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[61] UNESCO statistics show a completion rate of only 25 percent; the government of Uganda claims that the rate was closer to 45 or 50 percent in 2007.

promote a more expansive definition of access at the primary level. For the Government's part, it has undertaken several efforts to expand access as reported in the 2007 Education and Sports Sector Annual Performance Report (ESSAPR). These efforts include continuing to implement UPE through targeted infrastructure development under the SFG in districts with the poorest pupil classroom ratios (PCR); collaborating with private sector providers, and "go to school, back to school and stay in school" campaigns in selected districts. (ESSAPR, 2007) INGOs and NGOs provide a number of programs that target girls (and some boys) through scholarship programs, orphans and vulnerable children programs, and special programs to assist children living in conflict zones, having special needs (i.e., disabilities) or who are members of hard-to-reach populations (e.g. children of pastoralists and fishermen).

The challenge the Government has not aggressively addressed is the education of parents to enhance their literacy skills and to increase their appreciation of the value of education so that they will support their children's trek through all seven grades of primary school. A 2004 study found that participation in basic education programs "helped parents to contribute towards the improvement of the learning environment, habits and practices of children" (Okech, et. al., 2004, p. 47). To achieve access-to-completion requires additional interventions with parents to ensure that children are supported in completing primary school.

At the secondary level (both traditional secondary as well as post-primary BTVET institutions), the question of access is more complicated. UPPET was embarked upon in a more cautious mode because of tremendous resource constraints that limited the number of students the Government could support tuition-free. Secondary education

is neither universal nor totally fee-free despite the name of the reform. Under UPPET, access is limited to those who pass the PLE with a certain score. Moreover, this access is limited to a specific cohort of students who passed the PLE in December 2006. All other students still need to pay for their post-primary (secondary or BTVET) education at either government or private institutions. Hence, while Uganda has taken a significant step forward in terms of establishing a policy to increase access opportunities for the poor, it has not opened the doors of accessibility to *all* students by making education either compulsory to a certain age and/or available to all regardless of test scores.

The Government provides bursaries for "bright but needy" students in an effort to create more opportunities at the secondary level in addition to USE. It has also embarked on programs to build Seed secondary schools in areas where there is no secondary school and to establish public-private partnerships to ensure that a secondary school is accessible for most children. So progress is being made, albeit slowly. Meanwhile, those students who do not successfully pass their PLE are left either to find a job, which is difficult at a young age, or to find funds to pay for their secondary education. This gives new meaning to the traditional education "three R's" (reading, writing, and 'rithmatic) in the Ugandan context. Two of the revised "three R's," retention, and repetition, clearly need more attention at the primary and post-primary levels to achieve access-to-completion. The Government is very aware of, and sensitive to, this issue.

Tertiary education presents similar access issues. Despite the Government's scholarship policy, which allocates 10 or 11 Government scholarships to students in every district, and the opening in 2007 of a new public university in Eastern Uganda (Busitema University), access to institutions of higher education for most students

remains largely available only for those who can afford to pay for it. The dramatic growth of private universities and business colleges reflects the demand for tertiary education. The establishment of a loan scheme, which is being considered, might also bring a university education within the reach of many more poor students and increase access to higher education. However, it too could end up favoring the students who are better off financially and thus able to qualify for loans.

Access to the *governance* of the education system, the second dimension of access, has also improved in the decade since Uganda implemented UPE in a decentralized system where the districts are deeply involved in the administration and monitoring of schools. More parents are involved with School Management Committees and Boards of Governors. Efforts on the Government's part to inform the public, for example, about school programs, regulations, and financial flows to local schools, etc., have improved public awareness of the importance of schooling and presumably community awareness of its collective responsibility to become actively involved with schools in the towns and villages around Uganda.

Many community members, most importantly parents, who remain illiterate are, however, effectively excluded from participating in their children's education. They cannot assist their children with their schoolwork. They may not understand the requirements or regulations of the school, participate in school activities such as the SMC, or assume leadership in monitoring a teacher or head teacher's performance and holding him/her accountable. There can be many reasons for this including, but not limited to, a lack of confidence due to their illiteracy. This may also translate into a certain powerlessness in accessing the levers of education authority at the district level.

Anecdotal evidence suggests these conclusions. However, shining a light via a study on changes in access to educational governance because of UPE and UPPET, exploring if/how the decentralization of education has empowered parents and communities, particularly in relation to adult literacy, would be one way to inform policymakers of the success of these education reforms in "moving power to the people."

The "bottom line" on access: Uganda's reforms have increased access to enrollment in schools for literally millions more students than was historically true in the country prior to UPE. The reforms have also increased access for parents and community members to schools and to district officials who determine in many ways a school's "fate." Well-informed, honest, and diligent district officials have contributed to improvements in education but this is not a universal experience. Parents and community members are still not holding their local officials accountable to the degree needed to operate an effective and efficient school system. Perhaps cultural mores also inhibit voice and agency. This remains to be explored.

Because of the education reforms, Uganda is ahead of many countries in the region in trying to transform the elite education ethos of the past into a universal education philosophy for the future. Despite its low completion and transition rates, it has made strides in the past decade. However, the "price" of education is still too high for many families. Moreover, it is doubtful that the education received in primary schools (the level of education which has most benefited from improved access) has better positioned Uganda for globalization, particularly since less than 50 percent of the rural students in P6 (i.e., most of the primary school population) have yet to meet the basic literacy and numeracy standards.

Equity

The impact of the Uganda's reforms on equity need to be examined through several prisms, namely gender, age, economic class, and rural/urban divides. Each of these prisms reflects a different perspective on the meaning of educational equity in the Uganda context.

Gender equity. Uganda has made gender equity a priority in policy and program. As the 2007 annual sector report put it, "gender mainstreaming is operational." It is a visible element in all education policy documents. The EFA and MDG goals are the benchmarks by which Uganda measures its progress. Numerous programs have contributed to improving the gender equity. These programs include scholarship programs targeting girls at primary, secondary and tertiary levels, quotas and affirmative action programs, Girls Education Movement (GEM) clubs, mentoring and career counseling, the teaching of life skills (sexual maturity and re-productive health), provision of separate sanitation and hygiene facilities for girls, and the promotion of a child-friendly learning environment. With these efforts, Uganda claims to have achieved gender parity at the primary level, at least in the lower grades, in 2005. However, gender disparities persist in the upper primary grades where dropout rates for females are often higher than for males and where fewer girls sit for the PLE at the end of Primary 7.

> When it comes to equity, there are efforts aimed at bringing the issues on girls' education onto the policy agenda. The scholarship that covers the whole country has poor selection criteria, which leaves out the educationally disadvantaged or needy children. I don't see how clearly the girl child is really at the center of this. For example, we are still seeing low survival rates for the girl child; the girl child is still dropping out in large numbers. While we read from Government documents that Uganda has ironed out gender parity, this is only true at enrollment in lower primary. Whenever we take head-count in upper primary, up to 60 percent of children are dropping out in some areas like Karamoja region. When it comes to girls, it is much over 80 percent. So, what gains are we talking

about with all these wastages? Moreover, the wastage is more in the poor, hard-to-reach areas and the educationally disadvantaged category. The poor and the vulnerable are the ones dropping out. The key question that we must answer is 'What does this mean in terms of the UN agenda for poverty eradication using education as a tool?' (Henry Nickson Ogwal, National Coordinator, Commonwealth Education Fund)

At secondary level, "gender disparities are persistent and remain wide."

(ESSAPR, 2007, p. 37) The transition rates from primary to general secondary education

are similar for males and females, slightly more than a one-third (37 percent) of those

eligible to continue. In addition, the number of females enrolled in secondary education

has been steadily increasing each year. In 2003, 308,950 females enrolled in secondary

school. In 2007, the figure for females was 383,864. (UNESCO, EFA Report, 2008;

MoES EMIS, 2007). Still overall female enrollment lags behind males.

For post-primary BTVET (Government institutions only), the percentage of

females enrolled in 2006 was just 34 percent, the lowest female participation rate of all

four sub-sectors. The percentage of females enrolled in tertiary-level institutions in 2006

was 42 percent, which is an improvement from the 35 percent enrolled in 1999.

(Roughly, the same percentage, 43 percent, is also true for universities only.) So progress

is being made, but parity is still in the distance. It should also be noted that UNESCO

figures indicate that 65 percent of adult illiterates are female.

Gender disparities in education have been well studied. Uganda is not a unique

case in terms of the constraints that girls and young women experience in education. One

respondent noted the important role the community plays in encouraging or discouraging

girls to continue their education.

You have to mobilize the community because a lot of the baggage, the 'gender baggage', comes from the community. So you have to work with the community. Sensitization, dialogue, just to have the parents talk to their children or for the

parents to be talking about issues…some of them are practices that are getting into the way of the children's education. Some of them are their attitudes about 'this is a girl, this is a boy.' Period. And I think they [these attitudes] do [get in the way.] For girls are different and boys are different. To get them to understand and for them to see the value of education so that they can send…sustain and …provide for their daughter in school, that has to be a lot of work for the community. (Personal Communication, November 7, 2007)

Education stakeholders in Uganda have made gender equity a high priority through a plethora of programs targeting girls and it has seen some results. Attitudes are changing, albeit gradually, even in rural communities.

You can see a parent thinking, 'My daughter can be a doctor.' It wasn't that way years ago. It was only in elite families. But today they are aspiring….and parents are sacrificing to keep their children in school, sacrificing to pay the high fees at university to make sure their daughters get out with a good qualification. And just to see the kind of courses that parents are trying to get their children into. Before for girls, it was English, arts. Now the parents say 'no, you're not going to do arts, you are going to do sciences. I think you're good at sciences.' (Personal Communication, November 7, 2007)

Age Equity. Age equity has not been seriously addressed in Uganda and perhaps it cannot be in the short term given the Government's resource constraints. Currently most of the Government's education budget (60+ percent) goes to the primary sub-sector. Non-formal education which is largely geared to educating adults and "out of school" youth is the responsibility of the Ministry of Labor, Gender and Social Development and financed from a separate budget. There are multiple programs in this sub-sector (See Chapter V), but they lack both a clear policy directive and the funding needed to address the magnitude of adult illiteracy (ages 15 and over), which is about 33 percent. Parent and community participation is important not only in a decentralized system of government but also especially in managing and monitoring schools at the community level. Hence, it a greater effort needs to be made to diminish the disparity in literacy rates between youth (ages 15-24) who had a literacy rate of 77 percent in 2004 and adults

whose literacy rate for the same period was 67 percent. There appears to be little age equity when it comes to education.

 Economic equity. Achieving equity in education across economic class is a major part of the reform agenda in Uganda with the elimination of schools fees at the primary and post-primary levels and the provision of bursaries and scholarships. Despite these efforts, the prospect of developing a dual system of education, one for the rich and one for the poor, is real. UPE and UPPET were intended not only to increase access but also to move in the direction of making education "class-blind." While primary school has more or less achieved its goal in terms of equity of access for all economic classes, tuition-free education at the post-primary level is for a limited number of students who meet certain academic criteria that have been set intentionally high to minimize the number of students eligible for the award. A recent World Bank report noted, "Only six percent of children of the poorest 25 percent of families complete secondary education, compared with 22 percent from the richest 25 percent" (Clegg, et. al., 2007, p. 13). Thus, despite the fact that UPPET was designed to address the needs of "poor but bright" students, equity will be hard to achieve under the present circumstances.

 The existence of elite private schools, and some high quality public schools as well, especially in urban areas (e.g. Kampala), have created a dual system, one for those who are economically well off and one for the poor. One respondent described secondary schools as follows: There are three types of schools. The "first world" schools are the affluent schools that enroll only students with 4's and 5's on the PLE. Often they take all the 5's. The "second world" schools, some of which are private, may take those with scores in the 20s. They are an average school in performance, have a

basic structure, and a trained teacher. However, they are usually not in the top five

schools in their district. The "third world" schools are mostly rural schools. They take

anyone with scores from 24-28. The lowest performing schools take students with scores

over 28. They have no facilities, no labs, and the teachers are often school dropouts or

secondary school leavers who may have a diploma. These schools are both public and

private, often based in a house that has been turned into a school. The poor kids get

nothing. (Personal Communication, November 6, 2007) Another respondent put it this

way:

> Equity is another sad area because every poor child can only afford a certain level
> of education. They could never get to the top because they are poor. So that
> already has divided the country into those who can afford a good education and
> those who cannot. And that's determines which the job you will do, where you
> will live, and what family you will have…In the past, if you came from a very
> poor family and if you didn't have the money to pay school fees, okay, they
> charged something but it was not much. But if you worked hard, you could get to
> a good secondary school. And somehow, you would afford it, it wasn't too
> expensive. Now, to go to a good secondary school costs a lot of money even for
> people who have work and money to pay. So that means for a poor child that has
> no money, don't even think about it. (Personal Communication, November 7,
> 2007).

At the tertiary level, the Government provides 4000 "full ride" scholarships each

year for students attending public universities. The intent of the program is to ensure that

"bright but needy" students around the country have an opportunity to attend university.

This is fine in principle but in practice, there are some inequities. Out of the total 4000

scholarships, 3000 are competitive. It is an open competition and the Government seeks

to recruit the best students. A Government official acknowledged that most of the

students who win the competitive round of scholarships come from elite, often private,

schools in urban areas. They are better prepared to compete on exams for the scholarship

award. Of the remaining 1000 scholarships, 800 are awarded based on district quotas.

With 81 districts, that means that each district gets to select 10 or 11 of their best-and-brightest students, usually from poor families, to receive the scholarships. However, many students awarded scholarships in open competition come from families that could easily pay university tuition. Therefore, the Government, in effect, is subsidizing the wealthy at the expense of the poor.

There is some dissension in certain districts that believe their larger populations deserve a larger share of the scholarships. The politicians' answer to that is that all of the 800 district scholarships are going for the poor so it does not matter what rural area they come from. If a student fails to win a scholarship in the "competition," he/she may have an opportunity to win one at the district level. The remaining 200 scholarships are set aside for those who have excelled in sports and for those with disabilities. In the latter two cases, the students compete within the target group (athletes or disabled persons) for the scholarships. Some stakeholders expressed skepticism about the value of the scholarships:

> …these days there are what we call 'statehouse scholarships'….You see that children who get them are not really the needy. If you belong to the political party and if you are very rich, you go and organize it. But really, the needy don't get them. They [statehouse scholarships] are mostly for the university level. (Personal Communication, November 8, 2007)

> We have introduced a quota system for universities to help bridge the gap between the rich and poor…We need to strengthen the capacity in poor Government schools. We are doing that by creating Centers of Excellence around the country. But as yet, there is no evidence of leveling the playing field. …Regarding quality, we need to put more money into poor schools to bring parity. [We] need to find the balance between equity and efficiency. (Personal Communication, November 9, 2007)

> One thing I can tell you is that the majority poor are not there. I'll give you an example in Uganda: We have probably about 2000 spaces for Government scholarships in the university. You will find that to get this one (you) must have gone to the best schools, best primary school, best secondary school. For you to

be among these people the chance that one out of this 2000 is from a poor small school is very minimal. That means that the education system right now even at higher levels is favoring the rich.[62] (Personal Communication, October 25, 2007)

Geographical equity. The rural/urban divide, i.e., geographical equity, continues to plague planners and policymakers, and is inextricably linked to the issue of economic equity. Both UPE and USE/UPPET were designed to bring schooling to everyone regardless of where they lived. School facilities grants, collaboration with private sector providers to ensure coverage, bursaries for poor students in rural areas are a part of the program. However, certain groups (e.g. fishermen and pastoralists), as well as those who live in hard-to-reach rural areas or in conflict zones, have more difficulty reaching equity in education. To be sure, the Government together with many NGOs and development partners has developed special programs to reach these populations that have had considerable success. The Government provides equalization grants to schools in the rural areas to offset the disadvantages of poverty in those areas. That program alone, however, may not be sufficient to address the quality issue in rural schools. In addition, many of the rural schools are disadvantaged.

The difference between rural and urban schools is defined, in part, by amenities. In one interview, the respondent noted that the rural schools have no materials, no desks, and often poorly trained teachers (because the well-trained teachers can find places in the urban areas in either public or private schools). Yet these students sit the same national exams as their counterparts in well-provisioned schools in urban areas. As two different respondents noted:

> The children of people who are better off have an edge over the children of people who are poor. So the gap is going to widen. It's going to widen. The others have an edge over these children. And even as we talk about USE, you look at things

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[62] The actual number of government scholarships is 4000.

345

like electricity – where is it located? It is in the urban and peri-urban areas. In the rural areas – the rural areas education program is not yet rolling, as it should. So that means that you've already got challenges there. The access to information that is a key impact of Globalization, access to knowledge and information. (Personal Communication, October 26, 2007)

There are two levels – Kampala and the rest of the country. But there are really good schools in the middle of the country, in the bigger counties. But much, much less so. You can see it in Kampala. It's less obvious in other places but it is still there. But Kampala definitely, some of the middle class are getting an excellent education. European kids, you know. Those are the ones who are getting the computer skills and acting ….and all that thing. (Personal Communication, November 6, 2007)

Test scores confirm the rural/urban divide. NAPE conducted its annual study of the achievement levels of P3 and P6 students in literacy and numeracy in June 2007. The study revealed that the proficiency of urban students in both literacy and numeracy was much higher than that of rural students. Seventy-one percent of urban P3 students reached the required proficiency level in literacy compared to 41 percent for rural students. Similarly, for numeracy, the proficiency rates for P3 urban and rural students were 60 percent and 42 percent, respectively. A similar gap in achievement between children in urban and rural schools held for the scores on the P6 proficiency exams. Students in Kampala, meanwhile, achieved proficiency scores in the 90th percent range. The digital divide is another part of the geographical equity equation that is influenced by both economic and geographic factors.

Equity is difficult to achieve even when public policies are designed to mitigate at least some of the circumstances that contribute to the inequities. Uganda's efforts to improve equity are necessary, but not sufficient, given the depth of poverty in the country. Consideration should be given, for example, to requiring a "means" test for university scholarships in addition to competitive exams so that a greater percentage of

the scholarships would be available for the rural poor. Such a policy decision could

provoke "political" problems. In the long term, however, it would increase equitable

access to education for more students. As one Government official said regarding the

multiple higher education degrees that the elite in Kampala obtain: "The Government is

subsidizing everyone, even those of us who could afford to pay our own way. And then

many of these people with degrees leave the country and Uganda never benefits from the

education for which the Government paid" (Personal Communication, November 14,

2007). Equity has many dimensions. It is on the education "radar screen." In terms of

equity making a difference in Uganda's ability to address globalization, the verdict is still

out.

Relevance

Relevance in Uganda's education system is now being addressed. Until 2007, the

curricula used at the primary, secondary and BTVET levels had been in use for 20 years

or more with only minor substantive revisions. The new, primary level Thematic

Curriculum is focused on the needs and interests of young children with content relevant

to their experience and country. It will be expanded one grade at a time until all seven

grades have implemented the new Thematic Curriculum by 2013.

At the secondary level, the implementation of a mandatory science policy was

undertaken to strengthen students' knowledge and skills in science and technology. A

similar policy was adopted at the tertiary level, which now requires that 57 percent of the

students receiving statehouse scholarships study science and technology. This renewed

focus on science education is designed to redress historical trends and attitudes which

promoted and valued education in the arts and social sciences. Science received little

attention at both levels. At the secondary level, there have been inadequate numbers of trained science and math teachers especially in rural areas and many teachers who are teaching those subjects are poorly prepared. Additionally, the provision of equipment and laboratories was very expensive and, until recently, was not a priority.

At the tertiary level, the emphasis on science and technology represents a response to global trends and the need for more technically competent graduates. Science was neglected at this level historically partly because degrees in the arts and social sciences were the perceived pathway to employment and also because of the high costs associated with developing a proper science program. Even today, many of the newer private universities do not offer programs in sciences because of the costs of such programs.

A major effort was initiated in 2007 to revamp the secondary curriculum. The "Roadmap for Reform" noted, "Uganda is one of the first African countries to consider far-reaching changes to its secondary schools in order to make its secondary system more compatible with economic growth and labor markets demands" (Clegg. et. al., 2007, p. 8). This effort followed three World Bank-sponsored SEIA conferences, which, among other issues, focused attention on the importance of African countries developing education and training curricula to produce a "critical mass of skilled labor with relevant key competencies" essential for economic and social development." The Roadmap lays out a plan for a massive revision of the secondary curriculum. It wisely noted that such revisions are not simply a matter of changing content, a huge (and political) task in itself. Revisions are also a matter of changing pedagogies, re-training teachers, producing new

textbooks and changing the overall orientation of secondary education.

This begs the question of defining "relevance":

> Relevant to whom?...Somewhere someone knows, someone is the expert and you say, 'ok, this is what is relevant. We shall equip them with literacy skills. We shall equip them with numeracy skills. We shall equip them with life skills.' But these children's futures, how exactly do we determine where they will be in the future? There is a lot of talk here about equipping or producing job-makers rather than job seekers. But still I think they learn a lot of book knowledge perhaps somewhere what we haven't done much of is a look at equipping them with the vocational. Because even with the life skills I don't see anything that will make these people job-makers. (Personal Communication, October 22, 2007)

The Government's responsibility for bringing relevance to the BTVET sector has been somewhat eclipsed by the private sector's establishment of numerous vocational and training institutions that have, to some degree, been more responsive to the perceived demands of the economy and the labor force. The development of a framework for the BTVET curriculum, Uganda Vocational Qualifications Framework, is important in this process. The policy "is intended to rationalize curricula for vocational training in the country in order to improve assessment and competency levels in the work place" (MoES, ASSEPR, 2007, p. 15). Developing the Framework has engaged the private sector directly in the process of preparing occupational profiles as a basis for the curriculum reform, so it is hoped that the result will make the curriculum more relevant to the students as well as the market place. A question remains as to how, or whether, these efforts will fully address the question of relevance. This depends on how "relevance" is defined and who defines it. As the former CEO of the Uganda National Chamber of Commerce and Industry (and current Deputy Executive Director of UIA), Tom Buringuriza, put it:

> What we have here is an education system but not a training system. So we educate by the Oxford dictionary; we convey knowledge. We don't train. We

don't prepare people for jobs or for sport. That is educational training. Training is preparing someone for a job or a sport, not a dictionary education. The problem arises from the type of system we inherited from the British being 'input' oriented. We need an 'output' oriented education.

Until recently, relevance, especially in terms of Uganda's need for a technically and managerially skilled workforce, has played "second fiddle" to access in education. Education was not arranged to be relevant to Uganda's need to better position itself to take advantage of whatever globalization had to offer. Stakeholders' comments, particularly those of Government officials, reflected the fact that Uganda's intersection with globalization had not been a priority in Parliament or in policy. Attitudes have changed. Uganda's stakeholders have taken cues from the international arena and recognized the critical importance of changing not only the focus (and substance) of their curriculum but also the way it is delivered if their system is to develop the intellectual and other capacities of the next generation and position Uganda to take advantage of the opportunities globalization has to offer. What is not clear is whether these changes will also help Uganda mitigate any of the downsides or challenges of globalization. Relevance needs to be determined in a way that promotes more opportunities for all citizens thus building a more equitable society. Relevance has become a priority. It is too early to assess its impact.

Quality

Quality can be assessed in various ways. In Uganda, most objective measures confirm that quality is lacking. In effect, quality was sacrificed on the altar of access during the reforms of the past 20 years. More and more students entered the system but the budget caps restricted the numbers of teachers. In addition, as one respondent said, "you can't improve the pupil teacher ratio while the numbers of children are increasing

and the numbers of teachers are not" (Personal Communication, November 6, 2007).

Similarly, there were not enough classrooms and instructional materials to go around.

The absence of quality was reflected, for example, in the primary test scores. If the majority of primary students are less than 50 percent proficient in literacy and numeracy after six years of schooling, quality is clearly missing in the classroom.

> What is happening at the moment is inevitable. There is no way you have increased access to education and at the same time guarantee the quality of that education…This is not something which has been planned carefully so that you have enough teachers who can train. You don't have enough schools; you don't have enough housing for teachers to motivate them to go in urban areas. It would be an over-expectation to expect the two come hand in hand. (Personal Communication, November 8, 2007)

Therefore, the challenge is to restore and improve the level of quality. Table 9 summarizes Uganda's performance on a few "input" criteria on which quality is often assessed for the primary and secondary sub-sectors. These indicators provide an imperfect picture of the quality issue "on the ground" where quality is also compromised by very large class sizes in the early grades, poor pedagogical practices, high absenteeism among teachers, head teachers and students, and an antiquated curriculum using poor materials. They do illustrate, however, some of the challenges, particularly at the primary level where the "basics" are taught.

Table 9: Quality Indicators (Inputs)

Indicator	Primary	Secondary
Trained Teachers (%)	80	82
Pupil Teacher Ratio	48:1	22:1
Pupil Classroom Ratio	72:1	48:1
Pupil Textbook Ratio	1:8	na
Repetition Rate (%)	13.1	1.9

Other indicators such as education processes and outcomes can judge quality. The 2007 efficiency study linked efficiency to poor quality, citing multiple reasons for low internal efficiency in both the primary and secondary sub-sectors.

> The issue of quality is a difficult one. One of the main findings from [the efficiency study] is that it is not just a question of increasing teachers, if the teachers we have in the system were used a bit more effectively that would already make a huge difference. And the onus is on the sector…now to show how they can be more efficient with the resources they have before they are allocated a whole lot more resources. (Personal Communication, November 6, 2007)

The leakage of resources throughout the system combined with poor teacher deployment policies, the misallocation of resources within schools, and an over-burdened curriculum at the secondary level have contributed to the quality problem. The lack of attention to the BTVET sub-sector and the rapid expansion of private education at the tertiary level have also contributed to the motif of poor quality in Uganda's education system.

Poor quality is not only a function of insufficient resources, though the latter is a major contributory factor. It is also a function of corruption, a lack of accountability and inefficient use of the resources available. Stakeholders are now focusing on quality and appreciate its importance to achieving other goals in the sector. They recognize that even if access, equity, and relevance are addressed, without quality results these other markers of impact will have less meaning. The ability of individual citizens to compete in the national economy and Uganda's ability as a nation to compete in the global economy depend on the country's ability to produce graduates at all levels who can produce quality products and services. Quality has not been a hallmark of Uganda's education system in recent years but it is taking steps to regain that reputation.

Adopting and Adapting Education Reforms

Uganda has adopted a number of education reforms common to similar reform movements in other countries, i.e., decentralization of educational governance, privatization of schooling at all levels, and universalization of education (at least in policy) at the primary and post primary levels. This education policy convergence, which has been studied by a number of scholars, reflects the borrowing and lending of ideas, policies, and practices across borders facilitated by the multiple transmitters of the globalization process. (See Chapter VII) Some believe that this convergence is a direct result of the intervention of donor agencies and INGOs in the policy and practice arena in a given country. This is a plausible and perhaps likely explanation. Yet as Steiner-Khamsi noted, "because globalization involves deterritorialization it is difficult to map the trajectories of transplanted reforms" (Steiner-Khamsi, 2006, p. 666). Halpin and Troyna arrived at the same conclusion: "We know that ideas have been passed on, but we do not know which ones in particular or in what form and how and in what ways, they influenced the judgments of particular education policymakers subsequently" (Halpin and Troyna, 1995, p. 307).

While Uganda adopted many globally "certified" reforms in education, it also *adapted* them to the particular circumstances found in Uganda. Until the country embarked on these wide-ranging sector and sub-sector reforms, education was largely the domain of the elite. Illiteracy rates were high and opportunities for education were limited. Additionally, Uganda had to re-invent its education story in a very complex context. This context included extensive poverty, a recent history of political chaos and oppression following Independence, a long-term guerilla insurgency within its borders in

the north and wars outside its borders in neighboring countries which led to large

populations of refugees and IDPs, and the existence of "hard-to-reach" populations who

lived in remote rural areas, roamed the country as pastoralists or lived as widely

disbursed populations on the largest lake in Africa. Uganda's education reforms had to

address these multiple circumstances simultaneously and adapt the "global" versions of

the reforms to the "local" situation.

Uganda adapted sector-wide decentralization reform to "fit" with its historical

circumstances including a largely rural population, decentralized tribal groups, and the

organization of the NRM, which had established geographically widespread Resistance

Councils. The latter were transformed into the first District Councils under the

Decentralization Act in 1993. By the time UPE was implemented in 1997, Uganda had

some experience with decentralized governance that, in theory at least, had prepared it to

consign responsibilities for implementing primary education to district officials. Policy

and management mechanisms were in place even though technical and managerial

inexperience and incompetence at the district level in many cases hobbled

implementation. Responsibilities for managing finances flowing from the Government,

hiring and firing education personnel and monitoring performance devolved to the

districts. Other critical education responsibilities, e.g. teacher training, curriculum,

assessment, and, most notably, funding, remained with the central Government.

Ironically, while decentralization was caste as a "bottom up" reform (more power

to the people, etc.) and the indigenous, decentralized organization of the NRM supported

the "bottom up" notion, decentralization was imposed mostly from the "top" where the

terms of devolution were determined. This approach created a principal-agent problem.

The central Government had certain objectives in mind in passing authority for particular aspects of primary education to the districts. However, the central Government was unable to exercise the necessary level of oversight and quality control of the decentralized implementation process and results even though it remained responsible for the overall delivery of quality education. Consequently, the implementation of primary education has been uneven and generally of very low quality as district officials deviated from the dictates of the central Government and struggled to deliver education without the necessary resources, and financial and well-developed institutional infrastructure that would produce a quality educational experience.

Privatization of education was also adapted to Uganda's particular circumstances. Though the British formalized the system of education in the 1920s and the Government took over the schools after Independence (the Act of 1970 gave the Government full control over schools), the majority of the schools for many years thereafter were private, mostly religious-affiliated schools. Thus, the notion of private schooling was not novel. It existed in Uganda prior to being joined by the more globalized idea of privatization from abroad.

While demand for education increased dramatically over the past 20 years, the Government could not supply the educational infrastructure (schools, teachers, etc.) needed. Instead, it facilitated the expansion of private schooling as a solution to the supply problem. It did this in two ways. First, it established a legal and regulatory framework that encouraged the establishment of private schools. This changed the educational map at all levels, but especially at the post-primary and tertiary levels that were most in need of additional places for students. Second, it arranged public-private

partnerships, particularly with secondary schools, to ensure adequate access to education

for students who lived in areas where there was no public secondary school.

Neither of these adaptations was unique in and of itself. However, each was

adjusted to the Ugandan context. The legal and regulatory changes that facilitated the

expansion of private schools were undertaken in a larger context of economic reform and

liberalization designed to create a favorable environment for private sector investment in

general in the country. Incentives relevant to the education sector (e.g. exemptions from

the VAT for textbooks and laboratory equipment) were a part of these broader economic

reforms. Because private education was already extant in Uganda, these broad

privatization reforms seemed to mesh well with the structure and needs of the educational

system.

The forging of public-private partnerships became a necessity, especially after

USE/UPPET was announced. The Government takes a broad view of what PPPs mean in

the Ugandan context and, as a result, they take different forms in different sub-sectors. In

the more traditional sense, PPPs include co-financing for secondary and post-primary

BTVET institutions under the UPPET program wherein the Government provides public

funds to selected private institutions (over 350 private secondary schools and 16 private

BTVET institutions) to cover the tuition of students enrolled under the UPPET program

in those schools. In a broader sense, public, donor-supplied funds provided support for

private BTVET training institutions. Additionally, the private sector has participated in

curriculum development activities. NGOs have also played a significant role in the

provision of education in northern Uganda. Finally, the Government views the PPPs as

an opportunity to both enhance "sector coordination and policy dialogue" and rationalize

"sector operations as a result of elimination of overlaps" (MoES, ESSAPR, 2007, p. 40). PPPs reflect the place Uganda finds itself at this time with regard to expanding the provision of education to the masses. They remain a work-in-progress.

The universalization of education at the primary and post-primary level was also adapted to Uganda's context—economic, political and social. UPE initially permitted only four children per family to enter primary school tuition-free, principally because of the enormous costs associated with bringing all primary age children into the system at one time. The policy was soon expanded to include all children in a family. Massive donor contributions made this possible. While Uganda removed the formal school fees, however, the Government required parents to pay other costs associated with schooling including the provision of uniforms, books, teacher subsidies, and contributions to the PTAs. (PTAs were later formally abolished to remove this "cost" to parents and thus reduce their financial obligation to educate their children.) This approach, which depended both on increased allocations from the Government's budget to primary education plus very substantial financial and other support from donors, made it possible to *increase access* dramatically even though quality dropped concomitantly. Unlike China, for example, that made education completely free for all students through primary school, Uganda's "mostly free" approach still left some students knocking on the door in the early years and discouraged others from staying in school and bearing the costs (both direct and indirect) in the later years of primary school. This, among other reasons including the absence initially of a clear and "fee free" path through post-primary school for the first decade after UPE was implemented, contributed to high drop out rates in the upper primary grades.

The introduction of UPPET 10 years later reflected at least one lesson learned from the UPE experience: Do not "universalize" the whole sub-sector at one time. Hence, instead of making it possible for all students who completed primary school to enter a post-primary school (traditional secondary or BTVET), only those who met two specific criteria were allowed to proceed. Given the Government's severe resource constraints and its entrenched commitment to primary education, this policy was designed to provide limited access to post-primary education. This addressed the Government's political and economic needs to expand access in line with its overarching policies to reduce poverty and expand economic growth. It also responded to pent-up social demand from poor students completing primary school who did not have the funds to continue their schooling.

In sum, Uganda adopted reforms that are common in the global education arena, in part because of globalizing influences. However, it adapted these reforms to its unique circumstances at a particular time in its history. Education reform is a dynamic process, not a static one, simultaneously incorporating global and local ideas and interaction between them. Decisions made in the past are likely to be re-visited in the future as the reform process continues to absorb and account for new global and local ideas and as circumstances change in the world and in Uganda. In the meantime, three fundamental reforms—decentralization, privatization, and universalization—have changed the Ugandan education landscape.

Reflections on Education and Globalization in Uganda

Has education reform in Uganda better positioned the country to address the opportunities and the challenges presented by globalization? The answer is "not yet."

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However, if the country continues on its current educational path, the answer to this question in the future could be affirmative.

The purpose of this study was to explore the nexus between rhetoric and reality, policy and practice in the education sector in Uganda in the context of globalization. Globalization has affected the interplay between these elements of the education system. In the late 1980s, Uganda responded to global economic and political trends commonly captured by the term neoliberal reform. It decentralized its governance, liberalized, and privatized its economy. Its efforts were rewarded with splendid results in terms of economic growth after a previously extended period of stagnation. Decentralization did not immediately lead to in-depth community participation as anticipated and enabled corruption to flourish but a number of Ugandan respondents said that decentralization has brought government "closer to the people" and in that way has gradually encouraged more participation and accountability. Uganda also enthusiastically rejoined the community of nations by signing on to numerous global treaties and conventions that affirmed its willingness to be bound by international goals and codes of conduct.

The education system mimicked these broader changes. It initiated sector-wide reforms. It decentralized, at least at the primary level, by devolving authority to the districts. It also delegated various aspects of education (assessment, curriculum, etc.) to different statutory bodies, thus spreading responsibilities and accountability more broadly. Privatization of education has become almost a mantra as the Government lacked the resources to expand the public system sufficiently to meet the demand. While there are critics of privatization, most stakeholders affirm this option as the only way, in the short term, that Uganda can respond to education needs.

Stakeholders represented by Ministry officials, donors, and NGO leaders as well as district officials, head teachers and teachers, etc., interviewed for this study expressed an awareness of the impact of globalization on Uganda and the opportunities and challenges or risks it poses for the country. They also identified various ways that globalization has impinged on education, ranging from donor dictums on budget priorities and projects to global goals or benchmarks that have guided Uganda's education strategies.

Recognizing that the tide of globalization the country confronted required an educational response, Uganda initiated sub-sector reforms that universalized both primary and post-primary education. These policy decisions were a critical part of Uganda's strategy to eradicate poverty. Uganda appropriated the EFA and MDGs as its own. The Government focused on increasing access, more at the primary level than at the secondary. However, it has failed to provide simultaneously the quality necessary to retain most students through both education cycles. The Government has made serious efforts to address equity issues that have yielded some positive results, but there are multiple dimensions to the equity question most of which still need attention such as the rural/urban and poor/rich divides. The Government has only recently begun to address questions of relevance, though it has recognized for some time that its curriculum and pedagogy at all levels were anachronistic. It has begun to take steps to remedy this situation.

At the beginning of 2008, there is a disconnect between rhetoric and reality and more convergence between policy and practice. Uganda has had the "right rhetoric" for a long time. Ministry officials are knowledgeable and committed. They know what

national and global standards Uganda needs to meet but they lack the resources in the

short term to actualize their goals. Consider for a moment the disparity in resources that

Uganda, an independent nation in Africa, has versus those of one U.S. state, Maryland, a

small state located outside Washington, D.C. Table 10 provides a brief summary of

indicators of education resources. To some degree, this is a comparison of "apples and

oranges" because the broader contextual circumstances are radically different and

enrollment and budget categories do not match perfectly. Nevertheless, the figures

illustrate the magnitude of the resource gap Uganda faces in creating and sustaining an

excellent education system that will prepare students for the globalized world in which

they live.[63]

Table 10: Comparing Education Indicators: Uganda and Maryland

Indicator	Republic of Uganda	State of Maryland USA
Total Population	28,900,000	5,600,388
# Students in Public Primary & Secondary Schools	7,117,833	851,640
Total Students as percent of total population (%)	24.6	15
# Teachers	149,221	59,274
# Schools	12,368	1,429
2008 Education Budget	US$ 399,519,452	US$ 6,638,000,000
Cost per student	US$ 56	US$ 10,371

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[63] NB: Maryland is the author's home county and was selected for comparison for that reason. This is not a perfect comparison. It is only *illustrative* of the gap in spending between a poor country and a single state in a wealthy country. The total education budget for 2008 was projected at USch. 767.07 bn. The exchange rate at 3/31/08 was used to convert that number to US$. The 2008 budget figure included in Table 10 for Uganda is 86.98 percent of the total projected budget for the year reflecting only the allocations for primary, secondary, and post-primary BTVET for 2008. The remaining 13.02 percent is allocated to higher education and "other." While Uganda's budget figures were converted to U.S. dollars, they were not converted to purchasing power parity so they understate the real value of the education expenditures in Uganda. The enrollment, teacher, and school figures for both Uganda and Maryland include only those for the government (i.e., public sector). Data source: MoES EMIS; Montgomery County Board of Education.

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Maryland's budget for primary and secondary education is 17 times larger than Uganda's yet the state has only 12 percent of the enrollment of Uganda. While the "cost per student" comparison is imperfect, it highlights this gap. Maryland spends 185 times more per student though this ratio would change marginally if the Uganda figure were adjusted to PPP. Given these tremendous resource constraints, it is not surprising that the rhetoric espoused by political leaders is different from the reality on the ground. Quality schooling is a goal; budget realities, among other things, significantly limit its attainment. Gender equity is a goal; cultural and economic realities over which the Government has little control make it difficult to achieve.

There is more convergence between policy and practice. The Government has identified policy objectives for each sub-sector and developed specific tasks on an annual basis to achieve each of them. For example, developing and implementing the Thematic Curriculum was a policy objective and key tasks were identified to realize the objective in a timely way. Similarly, recognizing the need to bring more efficiency to the sector as a policy objective, the Government has identified specific actions that will hopefully make that possible.

One issue upon which to reflect is whether the sustained strategy of giving such a high priority to basic education at the primary level should continue when the needs of other sub-sectors, which are critical to Uganda's economic development, have been largely neglected. Even if primary education were truly universal and compulsory and 90 percent of all students completed the primary cycle, would the skills which primary school students have acquired be sufficient to break the cycle of intergenerational poverty

in which most of the citizens of Uganda are trapped? Uganda put most of its eggs in one basket because of the global consensus that basic education should come first. In effect, it was "sold a bill of goods."

Now with globalization "knocking at the door", Uganda finds itself without the skilled workforce needed to expand and enhance its agricultural and industrial base, in part because its push to ensure an "education for all" has not worked out that way. Its work force not only lacks the appropriate technical skills, it also lacks the managerial skills, and "work orientation" (collaborative and team-oriented, problem solving, critical thinking skills) required to promote entrepreneurialism and economic growth. Universal primary education was at the heart of Uganda's poverty reduction strategy. Is it time to rebalance the priority given to different sub-sectors?

Uganda has undertaken education reforms both sector-wide and within sub-sectors. However, the effects of these reforms in terms of positioning Uganda vis-à-vis globalization will not "kick in" for a decade or more at the current pace. It will be three more years before the first cohort of USE students reach O-level exams and two more years before those students graduate from Senior 6, if USE is extended for the last two years. Similarly, for post-primary BTVET students, it will be at least three years before they are trained to enter the workforce. In addition, for what will these students be trained, especially when the facilities and curricula are both inadequate and out of date?

Curriculum changes are in process that will address, in part, Uganda's intent to develop a more competent workforce and more globally proficient citizenry. However, it will be six more years as currently planned before the Thematic Curriculum is completely implemented throughout primary school. Students who entered primary school in 2006

or earlier will not benefit from this new curriculum. That could be six to seven million students, nearly one quarter of Uganda's current population, who will finish primary school over the next five years and who will have "missed out" on the new curriculum.

In 2007, a World Bank study proposed an approach to revise the secondary curriculum. This is under consideration. The minimal period anticipated for implementing a more relevant curriculum at the secondary level is more than five years, and that assumes that all activities (establishing and defining the curriculum reform structures, developing institutional capacity, revising the curriculum, developing teaching and learning materials and assessment structures and monitoring the implementation of the new curriculum) move along "on schedule." If the new curriculum is introduced in secondary school one year at a time as it was in primary school (and the first year is not introduced until 2012), it could be as late as 2017, nearly a decade away, before a new secondary curriculum is fully implemented from Senior 1 to Senior 6. This means that it will likely be a decade before Uganda will have a fully revised, "relevant," and seamless curricula implemented from Primary 1 through Senior 6.

Students entering primary school in 2007 (and will graduate in 2013) have the possibility of benefitting from both the new Thematic Curriculum as well as the new secondary curriculum. However, those students who entered primary school before 2007 and are now mid-stream in their primary education will be trapped by the old pedagogies and outdated curricula at least through primary school and will likely be ill prepared for a new curriculum in secondary school, regardless of its relevance. Less than a decade ago, the Internet and e-mail were just taking off. Now they are ubiquitous and an increasingly essential ingredient of daily economic, political, and social transactions in a globalizing

world. But, not in Uganda. If another decade goes by without a dramatic change in the curriculum and pedagogy for the majority of students, most of whom are poor, what will these students have missed?

Education reforms were essential to initiate a longer-term process to better position Uganda to respond to the opportunities and challenges of globalization. The verdict is still out on whether these reforms have accomplished their goal. Expanding *access* to education was Uganda's focus. It has been a costly venture. One opportunity cost was the failure to focus on other aspects of education reform. As a result, Uganda must now address with renewed intensity a revised version of the three "R's." The traditional "reading, 'riting and 'rithmatic" have been eclipsed by the need to also address relevance, repetition, and retention in order that the traditional "Three R's" can be universally achieved.

Globalization played a role in pushing Uganda to adopt UPE. History shows that Uganda's leaders already valued universal education before it became a global "buzzword." The final "push" came with the studies and standards showcased at global conferences that promoted "basic" education as critical to eradicating poverty. To some degree, basic education makes that contribution. However, it is also the case that this narrow focus may not have served Uganda's broader societal interests and better positioned it to push back and absorb the globalization influences it now faces. To take advantage of the opportunities globalization has to offer (e.g. economic growth, more equitable participation in the global economy, increased flows of new information and ideas) and to resist those globalizing influences that it considers threats, Uganda needs to better prepare the "next generation."

Globalization has had, and will continue to have, various economic, political, and cultural impacts on Uganda and on its education system. How, and how quickly, Uganda responds will determine its ability to integrate more fully into the global community. As Figure 1 (Chapter 7) shows, this is a two-way process. Globalization is pushing opportunities and challenges to Uganda. However, Uganda also has the possibility to respond and "feed back" at multiple points in the process. With these actions, Uganda will shape and take advantage of globalization. The Government measures its success in education by international indices, but to synchronize globalization and its own interests more fully, it will need to focus more intently on the knowledge and skills – technical, managerial and problem solving--the country requires. This means a more intense focus on UPPET and an expansion of BTVET training and adult education. Uganda's resources are scarce so a starting point is to find a better balance in their use. Uganda's history demonstrates the country's resilience. Now is the moment to respond in a different, broader way so that Uganda can shape its own responses to globalization in the future that will provide for it and sustain its place in the process of globalization.

Uganda is "behind the curve" even if it is ahead of other countries in the region. It has focused on education for poverty reduction. To realize that goal requires success in the efforts underway in each sub-sector to improve impacts. Most important, it requires that Uganda focus on quality and relevance, for example, by speeding-up the process of reforming curricula as well as teacher training and retraining, to be able to "catch the wave" of globalization and be better positioned to respond to both its opportunities and its threats.

Relevance of Uganda's Experience for Other Countries

Uganda's experience with globalization and education reform may have some useful lessons for other countries particularly in the Africa region, which are under-resourced, and, for the moment, dependent on development partners for a significant share of their annual education budgets. Decentralization can work but to be effective it requires good preparation at the local level. Adult (literacy) education is critical, as is continued community education about participating in the education process. Training for district officials, community members, and parents is important if they are to understand and successfully execute the responsibilities that have been devolved or delegated to them. Private schools can contribute but need to be well- regulated and monitored with oversight and regulatory bodies given the resources needed to monitor their performance. Public-private partnerships can augment the Government's capacity to deliver education services but the structure and duration of such relationships needs to be carefully negotiated. Uganda's experience with the SWAp and EFAG has been studied by several other countries. In general, this approach to donor and Government collaboration seems to have worked well in Uganda.

There are lessons to learn from the implementation of both UPE and UPPET that may also be relevant for other countries. Maintaining and improving quality has to be an integral part of the policy to expand access to education from the beginning at both primary and post-primary levels. Getting children enrolled in school is only one-step in the process ensuring a good "basic" education for all children. Limiting access to "universal" education (e.g. the UPPET policy) may be a sound fiscal policy but it can create false expectations that have downstream political and economic implications.

Uganda could be a model for other African countries struggling to multi-task and achieve competing objectives simultaneously with minimal resources. The above lessons from the Uganda experience provide a starting point for policy discussions elsewhere. While not a perfect example of planning and prioritization of education reforms, Uganda's experience provides important insights into the reform process, which, if captured concisely, could benefit other countries.

Topics for Further Study

Uganda is at the forefront of many reforms in education in Africa even though all of the reforms have not yet yielded full results in terms of access, quality, relevance, and equity that would be desirable. A myriad of studies on education in Uganda have been conducted over the past 20 years. Several recent studies were undertaken related to the revision of the secondary curriculum and structure, teacher education, and efficiency in the education system. The research environment is rich and hospitable. Though the statistical databases are not perfect, serious efforts have been made to continually upgrade the data and improve the quality. Education leadership in the Government is strong and civil society, like the Government, is deeply involved and committed to improving education in Uganda. Additionally, the increasing number of universities in Uganda provides the prospect of research partnerships that can be mutually beneficial for all parties. It is in this context that the following topics for further study are offered.

Private Schools in Uganda

No comprehensive survey has been conducted of the private schools in Uganda in the primary, secondary and BTVET sub-sectors. Opinions, estimates, anecdotes, and some statistical data exist, but a full study that reviews the ownership, funding and fee

structures, curricula, teachers and their qualifications, physical infrastructure, characteristics of the study body, etc. has not been undertaken. Public-private partnerships are an integral part of the Government's strategy to expand secondary education. Private vocational and technical training institutions are, by default, an essential component of post-primary education opportunities. A thorough study of the contribution of private schools across all three sub-sectors could provide the Government with useful information for future planning. Such a study would also help to improve the monitoring and accountability of private schools. A study of private schools would seek to identify all private schools in each sub-sector. It would gather and aggregate common baseline information about their formation and registration status, enrollment, fee structure, teaching staff, curriculum, academic standards, test scores, and other data that could then be available and analyzed for policymakers.

An additional part of this study could be the contribution of community schools to Uganda's education system. Community schools have a long history and have been especially important during times when Uganda's education system was falling apart after Independence. More recently, community schools have filled a void in areas where there was no Government school. Many have subsequently become government-aided schools. A study of the process of their formation, funding, community involvement, academic achievement, etc., could usefully supplement a broader understanding of all the components of Uganda's education system.

"Out of School" Youth

Students who complete primary school but do not transition to secondary school or students who fail to complete primary or secondary school fall into the category of

"out of school" youth. Exactly how many children are in this cohort (ages 5 to 18) is not

known. What is known is that many of the younger children become involved in child

labor in agriculture (tea and sugar plantations), industry (constructions sites, factories), or

domestic work or they fall prey to sexual exploitation or child trafficking both within

Uganda and between Uganda and other countries. Several respondents noted that the

BTVET sector is, in theory, geared to addressing the needs of these children. But, as one

respondent said, "how do you put a 12 year old into the workforce?" Aside from their

age, many do not have the literacy and numeracy skills required to participate in a post-

primary vocational education program. There is no program for "out of school" youth.

> We have that problem but there is no program for them yet. We don't have any
> arrangements for them. People just find their ways. They've got some jobs –
> subsistence farming. Girls go for housework, for marriage. We still have that big
> problem because the economy has not created sufficient jobs. That is the whole
> problem. (Personal Communication, November 13, 2007)

A study of out-of-school youth could seek to quantify the problem, not only in terms of

absolute numbers but also in terms of relative numbers of children in different age

brackets who need educational and training opportunities outside the formal system. It

could also establish a baseline of information about the kinds of jobs these youth find,

what they are paid, and their aspirations in terms of returning to school for additional

training.

Role of "Non-Traditional" Development Partners

The private sector and other countries (e.g. China) could play a more expansive

role in Uganda's education system by underwriting the costs of certain types of training

that would be mutually beneficial to the country and the "donor." What are the options

for expanding private sector involvement, especially in technical and vocational training?

Would such efforts necessarily take the Government permanently "off the hook" for providing education for all its citizens? If Uganda is unable to provide sufficient numbers of science and math teachers, could China, for example, provide such teachers in the short term? How could the private sector supplement Uganda's efforts to expand ICT training around the country? Researchers could explore these and other issues in such a study.

Decentralization and Educational Governance

One of the assumptions of the decentralization of education was that parents and communities would become more engaged with the educational process. This, in turn, would improve not only accountability but also participation by students in schooling and performance by teachers, head teachers, and other school officials and so forth. Azfar's study in 2000 on decentralization touched on this issue but it was too early to assess what actually was happening in this regard. Decentralized primary education was implemented nearly a dozen years ago. A field survey of parents, teachers, and district and Ministry officials could shed light on this issue and identify ways that participation and empowerment could be enhanced in the next decade to ensure that UPE and UPPET realize their full benefits.

Appendix

Interview Protocol

Interview Protocol

Central Research Question: To what degree are education reforms in Uganda attributable to globalization and what are the impacts and implications of these reforms for post-primary (secondary and vocational) education and training?

[*NB: These questions were selectively administered to different respondents depending on their role and responsibilities for the provision of education and training in Uganda.*]

Secondary (supporting) Questions:

1. **What has happened in post primary (secondary and vocational) educational reform since 1990?**

   What reforms have occurred in education, in general, and in post primary education, in particular, in the past 20 years? (Please describe each reform in terms of changes in policy, structure, practice etc. When were the reforms implemented and why?)

   What did the reforms accomplish? (Did they have a positive/beneficial or negative/detrimental impact on post primary education? Did these reforms change the way post primary education is provided? If so, how?)

   What were (are) the principal debates in implementing these reforms? (Was there any resistance to these reforms? If so, by whom and how was it manifested?)

   What role, if any, did you have in initiating and/or implementing any educational reforms related to post primary education?

2. **How do education stakeholders understand globalization and its relationship to education reforms?**

   What does the term "globalization" mean to you? (Has globalization had any impact on your life or on the lives of members of your family? In what ways?)

   Has globalization had an impact on Uganda generally? If yes, please describe specific changes or impacts (economic, cultural, political, etc) that you believe have been caused by globalization. (Why do you attribute these changes or impacts to "globalization"? Have these changes had a positive or negative impact on Uganda? Has globalization created new opportunities (or risks) for Uganda? Please explain.)

   Has globalization had an impact on *education* in Uganda? (If yes, can you describe specific impacts that has globalization has had on education?)

   Has globalization had particular impacts on reforms in post primary education? Please explain. (Does globalization require a different approach to post primary education? If yes, in what ways?)

Have education reforms enhanced Uganda's capacity to respond to economic changes (opportunities) and employment demands resulting from globalization? If yes, how? If no, why not? (How is education linked to Uganda's integration into the world economy?)

For respondents from the Private Sector:

What business are you in? Please describe. (Has globalization had an impact on your business? How?)

Have you observed changes in the labor market as a consequence of globalization? If yes, have these changes required new skills, knowledge and attitudes (managerial, technical, language, etc) on the part of employees? Are these skills, knowledge, and attitudes included in post primary education and training programs in Uganda?

In general, are there enough well-trained people to fill the positions you have available? If not, why? What additional training is required and does your company provide on-the-job training for employees? What is the role of the private sector in terms of funding skill development?

3. **What impacts has post primary education reform had on the beneficiaries of education in terms of improved access, equity, and quality of education particularly related to the inclusion of knowledge and skills needed for economic and social development?**

Have education reforms improved access, equity, and/or quality (relevance) in post primary education in the past 20 years? If yes, what are some specific examples of improvements in these areas? If not, what are (have been) the obstacles to improving access, equity and/or quality (relevance) in post primary education?

What are the basic skills/knowledge that a student should acquire in post primary education? Do post primary education and training programs currently provide the knowledge and skills needed to support economic and social development in Uganda particularly as the country responds to globalization? (Are new values, ways of thinking and skills required by globalization? If so, what are they?)
In what ways can UPPET make a difference in terms of improving access, equity, and quality in education? (What was the motivation behind UPPET? Was globalization a contributing factor in the development of this policy? If so, in what ways?)

What role do *private* institutions play in providing post primary education and training? (What types of private institutions exist in Uganda for post primary education and training? Have the private post primary institutions improved access, equity, and quality in education? If yes, in what ways? If not, why not?)

Does the current curriculum for post primary education and training programs provide adequate preparation for employment in a changing economy? If yes, what are the strengths of the curricula? If not, in what specific ways does the curriculum need to be changed to be more responsive to current (and future) employment opportunities?

What kind of job can one get with a post primary education? (Are jobs available that graduates cannot get because they are not educated/trained appropriately? Alternatively, are there not enough jobs for those who are qualified? Please explain.)

4. **What affects has education reform had on Uganda's ability to respond to the opportunities (and risks) of globalization?**

How is education linked to economic growth and poverty reduction in Uganda? To Uganda's integration into the world economy?

Has education enhanced Uganda's capacity to respond to opportunities (and risks) presented by globalization? In what specific ways?

Are the skills and attitudes required for long-term global competitiveness different from those required for short-term poverty alleviation? Please explain. What role does education have in addressing these two goals?

What are (and/or should be) the roles of the various education stakeholders (e.g. the government, private sector, NGOs, universities etc) in developing and promoting secondary and vocational education programs?

5. **How does resistance to globalization manifest itself in education in Uganda?**

Does the provision of education reflect any resistance to globalization? In what specific ways? (Has globalization generated any new problems or issues for post primary education? Please explain.)

Do tensions exist between education's role in promoting national unity and preserving culture, history and tradition in Uganda and its role as the transmitter or interpreter of culture (e.g. language), events, practices, and institutions drawn from the larger global community? Please explain.

Does resistance to globalization in the educational context divide along fault lines such as income, gender, geographic location (rural/urban), ethnicity, etc.? Please describe.

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