

PNAPK 143

**EDUCATION MANAGEMENT  
STUDY REPORT**

**Executive Summary**

*Prepared for:*  
Agency for International Development  
Kampala, Uganda

*Prepared by:*  
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## **PREFACE**

This report provides information to enable USAID to develop a program to assist primary education in Uganda. The report describes the current conditions in primary education and discusses a range of policy options and initiatives that could be undertaken by USAID to assist the education sector.

This report was prepared by the Jay Moskowitz (team leader), Diane Vanbelle-Prouty (educational specialist), Mark Hoffman (management specialist) and Paul Coates (finance specialist). The report was prepared in the field, following a visit from September 2, 1991 to October 25, 1991.

## **ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS**

<b>ADB</b>	<b>African Development Bank</b>
<b>AEO</b>	<b>Assistant Education Officer</b>
<b>BED</b>	<b>Basic Education Database</b>
<b>BEIRD</b>	<b>Basic Education for Integrated Rural Development</b>
<b>BEND</b>	<b>Basic Education for National Development</b>
<b>DA</b>	<b>District Administrator</b>
<b>DANIDA</b>	<b>Danish International Development Agency</b>
<b>DEC</b>	<b>District Education Committee</b>
<b>DEO</b>	<b>District Education Officer</b>
<b>DES</b>	<b>District Executive Secretary</b>
<b>EEC</b>	<b>European Economic Community</b>
<b>EPRC</b>	<b>Education Policy Review Commission</b>
<b>ERTV</b>	<b>Educational Radio and Television</b>
<b>ESCP</b>	<b>Establishment Staffing Control Project</b>
<b>GOU</b>	<b>Government of Uganda</b>
<b>IDA</b>	<b>International Development Association (World Bank)</b>
<b>ITEK</b>	<b>Institute for Teacher Education at Kyambogo</b>
<b>MITEP</b>	<b>Mubende Intensive Teacher Education Project</b>
<b>MLG</b>	<b>Ministry of Local Governments</b>
<b>MOE</b>	<b>Ministry of Education</b>
<b>MOF</b>	<b>Ministry of Finance</b>
<b>MOH</b>	<b>Ministry of Health</b>
<b>MPSCA</b>	<b>Ministry of Public Service and Cabinet Affairs</b>
<b>PED</b>	<b>Ministry of Planning and Economic Development</b>
<b>NCDC</b>	<b>National Curriculum Development Center</b>
<b>NGO</b>	<b>Non-governmental Organization</b>

<b>NPA</b>	<b>Non-Project Assistance</b>
<b>NURP</b>	<b>Northern Uganda Redevelopment Project</b>
<b>ODA</b>	<b>Overseas Development Association</b>
<b>P1</b>	<b>Primary Year 1</b>
<b>P7</b>	<b>Primary Year 7</b>
<b>PAPSCA</b>	<b>Program for the Alleviation of Poverty and the Social Costs of justment</b>
<b>PIU</b>	<b>Project Implementation Unit</b>
<b>PLE</b>	<b>Primary Leaving Examination</b>
<b>PTA</b>	<b>Parent-Teachers' Association</b>
<b>PTTC</b>	<b>Primary Teachers Training College</b>
<b>PU</b>	<b>Planning Unit</b>
<b>PVO</b>	<b>Private Voluntary Organization</b>
<b>RC</b>	<b>Resistance Council</b>
<b>SHEP</b>	<b>School Health Education Project</b>
<b>STEPU</b>	<b>Science and Technology Equipment Production Unit</b>
<b>TSC</b>	<b>Teacher Service Commission</b>
<b>TTC</b>	<b>Teacher Training College</b>
<b>UNDP</b>	<b>United Nations Development Program</b>
<b>UNEB</b>	<b>Uganda National Examination Board</b>
<b>UNESCO</b>	<b>United Nations Education, Social and Culture Organization</b>
<b>UNICEF</b>	<b>United Nations Children Fund</b>
<b>USAID</b>	<b>United States Agency for International Development--Uganda Mission</b>
<b>USHS</b>	<b>Uganda Shillings</b>
<b>WFP</b>	<b>World Food Programme</b>

## I. EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The Government of Uganda (GOU) openly admits that the primary education system is failing the people of Uganda and that the situation is rapidly deteriorating. The United States Agency for International Development Mission in Uganda (USAID) has expressed its intent to provide development assistance to GOU in the education sector. USAID has reviewed the condition of the educational system and is defining its role in developing primary education in Uganda.

This study was performed to provide USAID with additional information on primary education so that it may proceed to the next step--designing the program. The objectives of this study were to:

- Confirm the assessments of the education system contained in previous sector studies;
- Explore the host of policy options and program initiatives that have been suggested by various parties concerned with primary education;
- Identify the constraints imposed by resources, human capital, magnitude, duration or other factors that limit the range and potential effectiveness of policy options and program initiatives;
- Comment on the likelihood of successful implementation of the policy options and program initiatives identified above; and, Suggest areas for further study.

### A. PROGRAM GOALS

The GOU and USAID goals are largely the same, but with a few significant differences. Over the past 3 years the GOU has focused attention on the education system's inability to support Ugandan cohesion and development. The GOU has identified improving primary education as critical to achieving self-reliance, social justice and a sense of mutual responsibility. The GOU's proposal to improve primary education requires:

- Providing free universal primary education;
- Shifting government funding away from secondary and tertiary education and to primary education;

- Upgrading teacher quality and performance; and,
- Revising curriculum and examination.

While the GOU recognizes the need for a complete overhaul of the primary education system, it lacks the financial and human resources to significantly reform the system.

USAID has been exploring how it can assist the GOU. Over the last 18 months, USAID has reviewed and refined its thinking on how it should participate in the education sector. Initial assessments discussed a wide and disparate assortment of needs and intervention strategies. The current goals, while still being finalized, reflect a more focused attention on policy options and program initiatives to improve student learning. In contrast to the GOU whose first priority is increasing access, USAID's goal is improved learning for existing pupils.

The study team's review finds that improving student learning in Uganda hinges on satisfying three key needs: 1) improving teaching skills; 2) increasing teacher and student access to textbooks and instructional materials; and, 3) improving teacher compensation in order to reduce teacher attrition. How USAID chooses to address each need depends on how it answers questions such as:

- How long will USAID be involved in the sector?
- Within that time frame, what level of resources can primary education absorb and what type of activities are therefore appropriate?
- How active/participatory a role does the Mission seek to play?
- How directly does the Mission seek to impact student learning?
- What relationship does USAID desire between itself and the Ministry of Education?
- How do we reconcile potential conflicts among the desire for immediate impact, sustainability, financial accountability and ease of implementation?

With the goal of improving student learning, USAID will develop its program objectives. Principal program objectives might include:

- Policy options to adequately finance primary education and increase teacher compensation;
- English literacy and competency for all pupils completing primary school; and,

- English literacy and competency for all pupils completing primary school; and,
- Numerical skills learned at each grade.

The full report includes additional objectives that could be pursued. However, a warning is in order. In contrast to other donors whose aid can be characterized as "emergency assistance," USAID enters the educational sector at a time when the GOU appears ready to develop primary education. While this motivation should give one hope, actual improvements in the overall quality of primary education will be extremely difficult to accomplish. The GOU has yet to arrest the slide in quality. A USAID program, over the next 5 years, will be a critical asset to the GOU in preventing the continuing decline.

## **B. STATUS OF PRIMARY EDUCATION IN UGANDA**

Attention is now focused on primary education. Hardly a day passes without a government pronouncement on the problems and needs of primary education and steps undertaken to overcome those problems. Unfortunately, as reflected in letters to the editor of New Vision, signs of progress are counterbalanced by daily complaints from citizens concerning poor quality, ghost teachers, inadequate teacher compensation and corruption.

USAID must come to an early understanding of the education system with which it will become involved. Structural and resource problems in that system will affect the design.

**Access to Education** - Approximately 2.6 million students attend primary school. The enrollment rate is between 60 and 75 percent. Dropout rates are substantial. The cohort survival rate as measured by the ratio of PLE registered students to P1 enrollment 7 years earlier, is only 35 percent. While girls and boys begin school in roughly equal proportions fewer girls complete primary school, sit for the PLE and progress on to secondary school. Similarly, far fewer children from rural families attend, let alone complete, primary school.

**Teachers** - The current teaching force is underqualified, undercompensated and undertrained. The system employs approximately 86,000 primary school teachers, of whom 60 percent are unqualified. Many teachers lack basic knowledge in the subject areas being taught and almost all the teachers, whether qualified or not, lack skills in basic teaching methodology.

Although it is relatively easy to become a primary school teacher in Uganda, surviving as one is difficult. Primary school teachers do not receive a living wage. Teacher poverty contributes directly to high turnover, low morale and teachers being absent from the classroom to pursue other income-generating and subsistence activities.

**School Facilities** - School facilities range from adequate to non-existent. Uganda lacks textbooks, instructional materials, classroom furniture and buildings.

**Educational Approach** - Even if the school facilities were pristine and the cupboard filled, primary education would not improve appreciably. Teachers must first be trained in how to utilize textbooks, interact with students, improve their own literacy and numeracy and develop skills which will allow them to move beyond the recitation and copying of factual information as the sole mode of instruction.

**Parental Response** - The public response to the current situation of deteriorating education and increasing cost (the team estimates that parents pay between 50 and 70 percent of the cost of primary education) is not clear. In some areas schools and teachers appear to be losing support and there is widespread resistance (with a few exceptions) to paying higher school fees. However, if they can afford it most parents want to send their children to school. Because of the role parents play in financing primary education, their response and continuing support is of paramount importance in bringing about needed reforms and improvements.

**Managerial Capacity** - A fundamental problem with the Ugandan educational system is its limited capacity, in human capital terms, to respond to the situation described above. The shortage of skilled teachers is matched by an equally critical shortage of personnel with managerial talents, initiative and training.

**Financial Accountability** - The weaknesses in internal control in the primary education system lead to incidences of loss. For example, textbooks are sold illegally, motorcycles disappear and roofing sheets evaporate.

## C. ROLES AND RESPONSIBILITY

The primary education system has numerous players. The primary actors of interest to USAID are ministries, district governments, donors and Non-governmental Organizations (NGOs).

**Ministry of Education (MOE)** - The MOE is responsible for formulating education policy, training teachers, developing curriculum and examinations and funding teacher salaries. The principal units are the:

- Planning Unit;
- Project Implementation Unit (PIU);
- Uganda National Examination Board (UNEB);
- National Curriculum Development Center (NCDC); and,
- Inspectorate.

**Ministry of Local Government (MLG)** - The MLG is primarily a conduit for the disbursement of GOU funds to finance the operations of the district education offices and the

purchase of some school supplies. Other ministries are tangentially involved in funding, schools or teachers, but are not concerned with education or learning.

The overall conclusion that can be drawn from the GOU ministries is that despite some bright spots and signs of improvement, the administrative capability is low, especially in the area of financial management and control. Both financial and operational data is unreliable despite attempts by the ministries to address these areas. The problems do not rest entirely with central government; managerial capability is clearly lacking at the district, school and PTA levels.

Within the MOE, the Planning Unit and Project Implementation Unit are effective, although the latter is dependent upon expatriate staff whose contract renewal is pending. The Inspectorate is in the very early stages of improvement.

Other GOU education entities have similar problems. The Uganda National Examination Board (UNEB) is currently not capable of revising its examinations to reflect new content areas and new approaches to student testing. Similarly the NCDC has limited capacity to develop new curriculum to meet the GOU goal of increased problem solving and practical skills. Fortunately all these organizations recognize current weaknesses and seek to overcome them.

***District Education Officers and District Inspectorates*** - These individuals are responsible for education service delivery for primary schools within their districts. They are responsible for teachers and school facilities.

Since primary education is a district responsibility the team spent considerable time in the field observing 11 districts. The purpose of the field work was to determine what the districts were doing, how effective they were and what role they could play in a USAID program. At the district level the team observed: 1) the district inspectorate not operating effectively, in spite of competent inspectors; 2) conflicting goals affecting the financing and operation of education; 3) logistical problems in inspecting schools; and, 4) mismanagement and abuse.

***Donors*** - The donor community plays a major role in Uganda--the budget is donor driven. The World Bank is currently the dominant player in primary education. The World Bank has been involved in Uganda education for over two decades. Their current efforts include purchase and distribution of textbooks, classroom construction and planning future programs.

IDA5 (at \$55 million--scaled back from \$97 million) and the Northern Uganda Redevelopment Project (at about \$15 million) constitute an ambitious agenda. The study team believes that the proposed IDA5 project seeks to accomplish too much, in too short a time frame, with inadequate human capital.

***Non-Governmental Organizations*** - A number of international NGOs are operating at the primary school level. These include the British Council, ActionAid, CARE, World Vision, Child to Child and Save the Children. The capacity of these players to participate with USAID in projects is highly varied.

Into this arena steps USAID. The report identifies possible policy options and program initiatives that the GOU and USAID may pursue to establish the foundation for meaningful improvements in primary education.

#### **D. POLICY OPTIONS**

The policy options discussed in the report range in scope and specificity, but each should require the GOU to take concrete actions or adopt positions that will demonstrate its commitment to reforming education. The major policy options are:

***Primary Education Budgetary Expenditures*** - Establish a national policy to stabilize the level of budgetary support, measured in real terms, devoted to instructional activities such as teacher compensation, teacher training, textbooks, school fees and the school inspectorate function.

***District Level Expenditures*** - Establish a national policy setting a minimum percentage of the district budget to be spent on primary education. Again, the additional funds should be utilized for instructional activities.

***Maintenance of Effort*** - The GOU should implement a policy to fund primary education at constant levels as determined on a per pupil basis.

***Restructuring Teacher Compensation*** - Revise the teacher salary structure to provide significant differentials between qualification levels.

Other policy options discussed in the report are:

- Consolidation of GOU Primary Education Funding;
- Orphans and Free Education;
- Gender Equity;
- Restructuring of Ministry of Education; and,
- Language of Instruction.

## **E. PROGRAM INITIATIVES**

In the context of the policy reforms, the Mission will select individual program initiatives. The report explores in detail, the initiatives that the team thinks have the greatest chances for successful implementation. The initiatives can be grouped into four broad categories: 1) teacher training; 2) school resources; 3) teacher incentives; and, 4) improved leadership. Figure 1 on page 8 shows the project initiatives discussed in the report. This executive summary provides highlights from potential initiatives.

**Teacher Training** - For long-term changes to occur in the classroom, teacher training and upgrading is crucial. The study team identified three distinct teacher training needs:

- Short term training in the use of textbooks and other instructional materials;
- Basic training in teaching methodologies and teacher/pupil interaction; and,
- Upgrading in content knowledge and teaching skills to achieve certification.

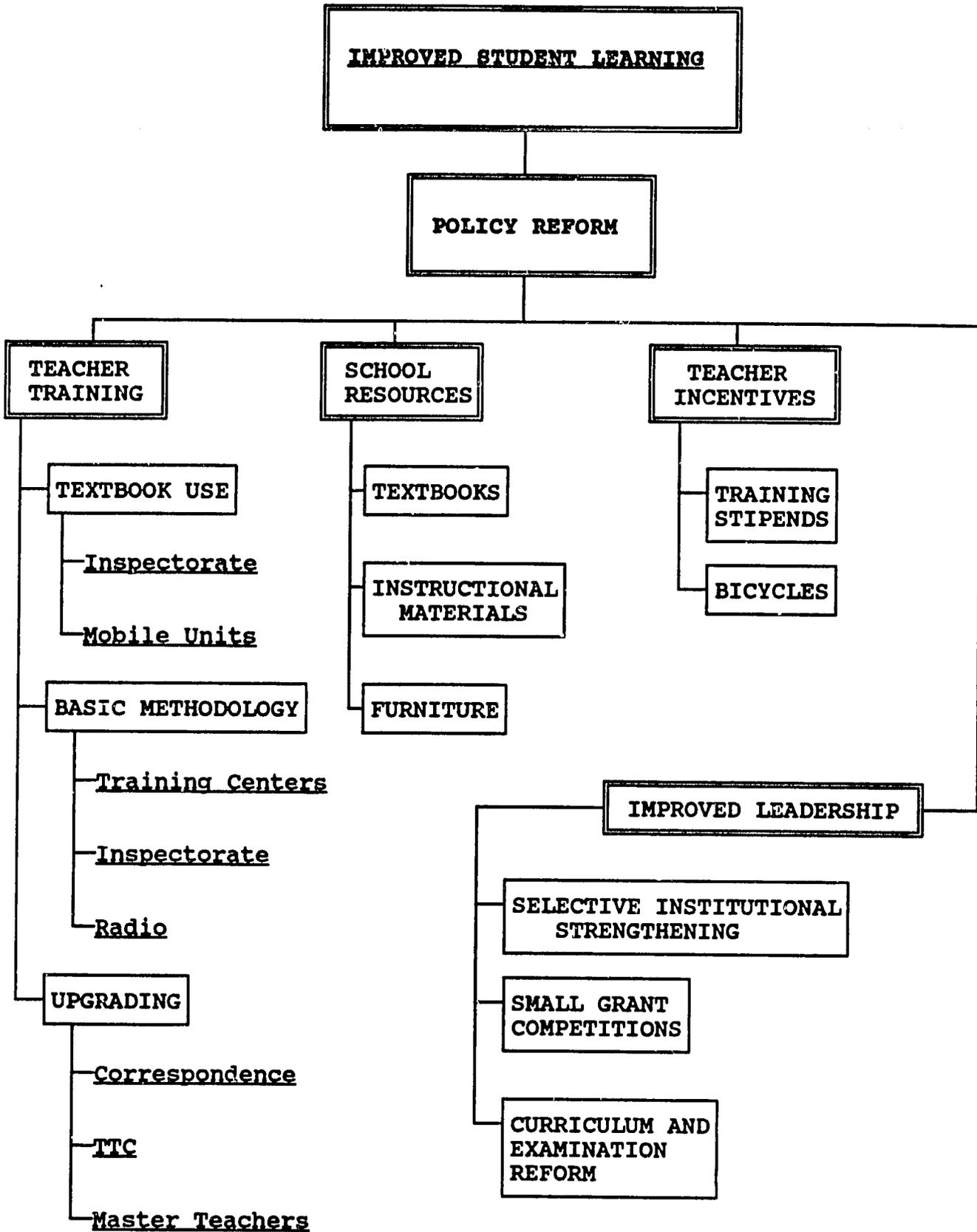
Seven approaches to teacher training were considered by the team. These include:

- Training trainers using a pyramid model by the Inspectorate;
- Use of mobile training units;
- Correspondence learning through expansion of the MITEP program;
- Radio learning;
- Senior/master teachers;
- Teacher training centers and demonstration schools; and,
- Strengthening Teacher Training Colleges (TTCs).

For any teacher training program to be effective, it is important to remember that one treatment or approach will not be a panacea for the system. Very likely there will need to be a varied approach or a multi-tiered program that responds to the needs and capabilities of teachers within the system.

A second point is that for any upgrading to be successful, incentives will have to be offered to participants. Furthermore, since a large percentage of P1-P4 teachers are women with small children, provisions for child care must be considered so as not to inadvertently discriminate against women.

**FIGURE 1**



**Teacher Training Initiatives (in order of priority as determined by the study team):**

- ***Training Trainers*** - One initiative is to use the Inspectorate as the focus of a training of trainer's model. USAID could provide technical assistance and financial resources to the Inspectorate to undertake either textbook training and/or basic instruction. The central Inspectorate would instruct district inspectors who, in turn, would instruct headteachers and/or selected primary school teachers within their counties.
- ***Mobile Teaching Units*** - Mobile training units could be used to provide textbook training sessions.
- ***Correspondence Program*** - Another option for teacher training would be to implement a distance learning program for teacher upgrading. This would probably be based on the MITEP pilot project currently being conducted.
- ***Radio Modules*** - Overlapping modules for radio-based teacher training could be used in pre-class listening sessions and to enhance student learning through during-school listening sessions. USAID could provide training for module developers and financial support for producing training modules.
- ***Training Center/Demonstration Schools*** - This initiative would provide for the resourcing of teacher training centers and accompanying demonstration schools. These schools should not be oversupplied or utilize high tech equipment. These centers could be used for training in both textbook use and teaching methods.
- ***Master/Senior Teachers*** - This initiative seeks to provide growth within the teaching profession for excellence in teaching and to retain current teachers.
- ***Upgrading TTCs*** - A final initiative would be to concentrate effort on resourcing TTCs, focusing on pre-service training.

Each of these teacher training initiatives has implementation issues. These issues (as well as implementation for all other initiatives) are presented in the report. The second category of initiatives considered by the study team involved school resources.

***Textbook Production and Distribution*** - Teacher training, although important, is not a cure for all the problems in the classroom. It is highly significant, but unless accompanied by other inputs including textbooks and instructional materials, change will be slow in coming.

While additional study is required before a choice of textbooks is made, some observations can be noted. The study team believes the emphasis should be on English and Math textbooks and teacher guides. First, during interviews with educational personnel we were consistently told that the greatest textbook need was for readers and language books. Second,

because of the observed weaknesses in the teachers' own skills in these areas, more textbooks in the classroom would lessen the impact of the teachers' lack of skills. Third, twice as much time is devoted in primary schools to English and math than other subjects such as science and social studies.

At what levels in the primary system inputs should be made? The team believes that serious consideration should be given to supporting textbook distribution for all primary school grades. Otherwise we see the potential for a loss of literacy and numeracy in the higher grades, particularly in rural areas where the quality of instruction in higher primary remains very low.

USAID could finance the purchase of textbooks to significantly improve the current textbook/pupil ratios. The goal is to move the textbook from a revered treasure to a commodity where use is encouraged and expected.

The provision of textbooks is not controversy free. The controversy involves whether to print the textbooks locally or import them. The report discusses the pros and cons of these options. While the study team can see ways in which local printing might become viable, it will be problematic and time-consuming. A second controversy is whether to continue to use the Project Implementation Unit (PIU) to administer distribution. Finally, USAID must determine whether textbooks are to be given, rented or sold.

***Instructional Materials*** - During field visits a wide range of schools was observed. While they varied in quality, without exception, they lacked basic supplies. USAID could finance the purchase and distribution of instructional materials. For illustrative purposes, providing each school with instructional materials of \$500 would cost \$4 million. Four categories of materials should be considered:

- Pedagogy books and activity books;
- Resource materials;
- Student Workbooks and supplies; and,
- Extra curricular materials.

***Classroom Furniture*** - If quality learning is to take place, schools must be a secure, safe and comfortable environment. Many of the schools observed were not comfortable and some were unsafe. While USAID does not wish to become involved in rehabilitating or constructing schools, the Mission could provide financing for the purchase of teacher desks and chairs, and student benches and desks. This initiative could support the development of a domestic furniture industry.

A third category of initiatives attempts to address the problem of teacher undercompensation. There is no question that most teachers live in very poor conditions and must work hard to survive. Low salary and poor working conditions fail to attract more capable individuals into the teaching profession and fail to keep qualified teachers in the profession. Adoption of the policy option to restructure the teacher salary structure most directly addresses teacher compensation problems. Direct USAID initiatives can, at best, only have an ameliorating effect.

**Teacher Incentives** - USAID could finance training stipends, hardship allowances (in return for boarding), childcare allowances, and purchase of bicycles. In considering teacher incentives, three principle factors need to be borne in mind. First, the current financial systems are poorly controlled; to channel USAID funds through these systems would place the money at risk. Second, the level of funding provided for the period may not be sustainable by GOU after the project is finished and this could be demotivating for teachers who become accustomed to extra benefits. Third, the number of teachers limits the extent to which USAID funds may be used for incentives.

**Teacher Loans** - The project team, at USAID's request, considered the potential of USAID supporting a loan program to support teacher's home purchases. While such an idea would appeal to the teachers, the study team concluded that the concept is basically inappropriate, unsustainable and potentially inequitable.

The final category of initiatives are grouped under leadership. USAID is not interested in undertaking a major program in capacity building and we do not recommend such initiatives. However, the team explored more targeted assistance to improve leadership which will contribute to improving student learning.

**School Level Instructional Grants** - USAID could finance a competition to generate innovative grass roots approaches for increasing student learning. Such a competition would further serve to improve leadership at the school level. Awards could be made (\$500-\$1,000 per school) that required participating schools to develop projects to implement textbooks, improve testing of students, demonstrate ways to introduce problem solving, upgrade teachers within a school setting, increase retention or involve parents in student learning.

**Curriculum and Examination Reform** - USAID could provide technical assistance to the UNEB and NCDC. This assistance could involve a combination of expatriate support and visiting scholars conducting short-term training programs. Areas which could be covered are introducing problem solving into the Primary Leaving Examination (PLE), new testing approaches at the UNEB and introducing practical skills into the curriculum at the NCDC.

**Planning Unit** - While undertaking "a frontal assault" on reformation and resurrection of the MOE is beyond the scope of USAID's program, the study team views providing technical assistance to the Planning Unit as a modest but potentially important contribution to

sustaining other initiatives. Such support might include policy analysis, database development, research and evaluation.

## **F. PROGRAM MANAGEMENT**

USAID may determine that in order to create an immediate impact, a broad base of education activities may be undertaken concurrently. It is anticipated that the program will involve multiple service delivery mechanisms. The study team reviewed and developed information on how USAID could best manage program implementation.

The team feels that it is probable the program will require two levels of management structure:

*Central Unit* - A central function would provide overall management, control and reporting of the technical and financial aspects of the project and perform consolidated procurement of commodities.

*Local Level* - A local level function would provide the immediate supervision and implementation support for resource distribution, information management, coordination and community relations.

How the two levels work together (and whether the central unit is within USAID, independent, within the GOU or at an NGO) is dependent on the program and time frame. The report provides a rationale for this approach and information that USAID should consider in determining program implementation.

## **G. SUSTAINABILITY**

Many factors effect the chances that the education development program will have a sustainable impact on the Uganda primary education system as a whole. Areas of potential sustainability include:

*Maintain Primary Education Expenditure Levels* - Should the GOU adopt the policy options on levels of primary education spending, there is a reasonable chance that improvements will be continued after USAID assistance is terminated.

*Arrest Decline of the System* - The Uganda education system is in decline and if the policy options and program initiatives are implemented, the arrest of the decline should be sustainable.

*MOE Planning Unit* - The capacity building of the planning unit may be sustainable if supported by MOE policies, funding and latitude to perform its function.

*MOE Inspectorate Unit* - The capacity building of the inspectorate department may be sustainable if MOE funding is continued and if allowed the authority to perform its increased functions.

*Textbooks and Instructional Material Survival* - The textbooks and materials provided by USAID will probably be available in many schools up to ten years from now.

*Classroom Furniture* - The classroom furniture supplied by USAID will exist for a generation, if not longer.

*Improvements in the Disadvantaged Regions* - If the teacher pay levels are restructured and extensive teacher training is provided, the program may leave some improvements in the most educationally disadvantaged areas. Given the low level of learning being achieved, even a minimal improvement would be appreciable.

## **E. SUMMARY**

Effecting change in primary education will be difficult, but education has the emotional support of government, parents and society. The resources are inadequate and the skill levels are low, but the opportunities for meaningful improvement are plentiful. USAID could make a tangible impact on the quality of primary education and consequently on the economic and social well-being of present and future generations of Ugandans.

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# DISTRICT CASE STUDY

## A. INTRODUCTION

In this chapter, an attempt was made to combine the methodologies of case study reporting and ethnographic research. This has been done in order to provide the reader with a more detailed look at the agencies in the primary school delivery system. Both of these methods of researching and recording data allow the researcher to provide a more intimate overview of the research site and the informants that were interviewed. Furthermore, the researchers record for the reader their own reactions and biases as they observe. Consequently, the researcher is not only the observer but a participant as well.

Our intention with this piece was not to say that all districts resemble Casidistra<sup>1</sup>. Indeed, Casidistra is a hypothetical place. A district in southwestern Uganda was chosen as the geographical location to represent the case study. However, the people and incidents shared in this case study were made up of a composite of people and situations that were collected from the 11 districts that were visited. In as much as the information in this case study is generalizable, it allows the reader to better understand the lived experience of district education offices, staff employed there, and schools, teachers, parents and students. As we share this story, we believe that the systems, patterns and routines found in Casidistra and Muzinta are similar to other places. Therefore, this case study does represent an accurate portrayal of primary education in Uganda today.

It is our hope that this case study<sup>2</sup>, which allows you to see this district and school through our eyes, will enable USAID to use the information to develop more effective, sustainable interventions.

## B. PAUL'S STORY (A RECOLLECTION)

*Before the Visit* - Shortly after the team arrived, one of the first items on the agenda was picking a district for the case study. During one of our planning sessions, everyone gave his/her reason for why we should pick a particular place. Although we each had different ideas about the place to visit, we finally picked a district that was significantly insignificant except for being one of the four districts piloted for the textbook revolving fund.

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<sup>1</sup> All names of persons and places are pseudonyms.

<sup>2</sup> A follow-up unannounced visit was made to Casidistra one month after the initial visit in order to confirm and triangulate the data that we obtained during our first visit.

Furthermore, it had the added spice of a recent fraud scandal. So, Casidistra was chosen as the place to go and Diane and I were chosen as the persons to go there.

On the road to Casidistra we played a game. How many people had we seen in the first two weeks of the project? Diane remarked that we had seen everyone from the Minister of Education and Sport to a parent who could not afford to send her children to school. We lost count after one hundred interviews, but we came to realize that we had, between all of us, covered all the relevant ministries, three districts, a variety of semi-autonomous bodies and a fair cross-section of schools, teachers, parents, even students.

As we fell into silence, I reflected on the administrative capability that I had observed. Not surprisingly, the level of funding was low, but the desire to improve the primary education system was high. There was also a hive of donor activity aimed at improving primary schools. Unfortunately, these donor efforts were relatively uncoordinated. Within the ministries, the picture was discouraging. Lack of coordination, lack of forward planning and lack of direction from the top permeated down the educational structure. Some sections were operating redundant systems and, generally, staff were poorly trained and motivated. At best, staff would be working on existing systems, so devoid of control, that their efforts were fruitless. At worst, staff spent the day talking among themselves, reading the newspaper or simply sleeping. Consequently, as we approached the district office compound I wondered, given this background, what Casidistra would be like.

*Our Arrival* - As we passed through the gates of the District Administration compound, Diane gasped and pointed out of the window, "Geeze, look at that Paul!" A lone overturned and burnt out armored carrier stood guard just inside the compound, a grim reminder of the turbulent years of civil strife, tribal tensions and invading soldiers from the south left abandoned in the field.

As we entered the District Education Officer's (DEO) room, I noted that he seemed to be a relatively young man with a cordial manner. As we talked I realized that he was intelligent and enthusiastic about his job. His enthusiasm waned however when we asked him to share with us the history of the district. "This area has had a very turbulent history," was his opening remark. For the next five minutes we listened to his poignant tale. Occasionally, his older colleagues interjected contributions of their personal experiences.

"The district is placed in the corridor of the route between Tanzania and the country's capital," he continued. "As a result, the Tanzanian invasion was funnelled through this area. In fact, it's commonly believed by the local people that the most damaging and sinister weapon of the Tanzanian army was foretold by Idi Amin. Over the radio, he urged Ugandans to have no contact with the Tanzanian troops because they were infected with a deadly disease. Now everyone believes that he prophesied AIDS and that it was the Tanzanian troops who spread this disease here in Uganda." Ironically, the preponderance of AIDS in this region merely consolidated the local belief. (Later that evening, as we talked to the local

people at the hotel restaurant, they confirmed what the DEO had said. "Tanzanian soldiers first got AIDS and brought it here in the invasion)."

The mood in our meeting lifted as we talked about the less emotional issues surrounding the background of the district. The district has five administrative areas and rests on the shoreline of Lake Victoria. Essentially, it is a rural district where three quarters of the population are engaged in agricultural activity, particularly in the cultivation of coffee, bananas, maize and beans. Two areas have nomadic peoples. We asked if the lifestyle of the nomads had any educational impact. One of the inspectors laughed, "Well," he said, "obviously they keep on the move, especially during the dry season. If the parents move the children move too but the schools do not. So, the children don't go to school, do they?"

"What about the shoreline areas?" I asked. An inspector responded, "Yes, this area also has it's problems. The people fish and the parents know that if they send their children out to fish, there will be food on the table. So if children fish, they don't go to school."

Although the subject was barely discussed at the initial meeting with the district officials, we learned about the "hidden economy." Later that evening, the local hotel restaurant served us with some useful information as well as matoke and beans. The local barman said, "Smuggling is a real problem here. You take coffee to Tanzania and sugar into Uganda. Many people have made a lot of money doing this. We were told that people from a variety of professions, including teachers, turned to this activity to make their fortunes. Inevitably the older children, particularly adolescent boys, were drawn into these bonanza money making schemes. No doubt, education became a low priority. The barman shrugged his shoulders when we questioned him about the danger if they were caught. He responded, "Why not, who could blame them? A lot of money was made." Despite our attempts to ferret out more information, the men who had shared their stories with us about smuggling in the past, claimed that they did not know what the current extent of smuggling was today. In fact, they insisted that the government initiatives to stop smuggling had all but undermined the lucrative business. We were dubious, but one thing was clear, this legacy had contributed to the erosion of primary education in this district in the past and it was probable that it was still having an impact now.

***District Statistics*** - When Diane left with the inspectors to select a school for the case study, I started my meetings with the accountants and the statistician. As the statistician, Joseph, sorted and rummaged through the pile of documents, he explained, "If I find the statistics they are not reliable. Even the number of schools quoted is questionable." I had thought that this statistic was relatively easy to establish so I questioned him further. As he talked, I realized that the issue had been raised, albeit fleetingly, by the DEO earlier in the day. Joseph explained, "You see, Mr. Paul, there are a number of illegally established schools in the district. Many parents cannot afford the school fees of the established schools, so Parent-Teachers' Associations (PTAs) set up their own unofficial schools. Of course, we do not know how many of these there are." It was a dilemma. These schools charged lower fees,

but had lower teaching standards and facilities. As I shared this information with Diane later that evening she told me, "I shudder to think what these illegal schools are like judging from my first day's impression of the legal school I'm at!"

Despite the limited data Joseph was able to provide, I learned that the district supposedly had 1760 unqualified teachers, 1031 qualified teachers, 278 official government aided schools and approximately 76,300 pupils. The number of primary school aged children that did not attend school was unknown. When asked about this, both the DEO and Joseph gave a similar response--maybe as many as 50 percent of children did not attend school.

I left the statistician's office. However, my quest for numbers was not over. I already knew from my observations in the ministries and previous districts, that this district would receive the standard central government assistance in the form of teacher's salaries and the 50 percent school fees contribution. The latter being a grant provided by the Ministry of Local Government (MLG) to enable districts to purchase scholastic materials, which, in Ugandan terms, means items such as school registers and chalk. However, I wanted to examine the other sources of funding that the district receives.

Locally, as at all districts, the people also pay taxes to fund the specific activities of the area such as building roads. The DEO had already provided the budget data, so I retired to a quiet room to study the figures. I found the following. Of this local revenue, the administration devoted about 5 percent of the total district budget to education. In 1990/91, this amounted to 26 million shillings although, as I examined historical information, I found that actual expenditure could be as little as one tenth of the budget. For example, in 1989/90 only 1.8 million was actually spent on education despite an estimated budget of about 20 million.

So, what was this money intended to be spent on? To answer this question, I analyzed the budget data and sought explanations for a number of line items in the statements. In theory, the lion's share of the recurrent funds were to be spent on local bursaries, refresher courses, the salaries of district administrative staff, sports activities, music activities and scholastic materials. The experience of 1989/90 revealed that most of the funding was not provided, and actual expenditure consisted exclusively of district administrative salaries and travel and subsistence allowances. Therefore, last year's expenditure did not reach the schools in any direct form; it simply perpetuated the existence of the district administration.

So concluded the end of the first day. In my view, we had achieved a great deal. We had completed the journey to the district and formally introduced ourselves to key people there. We had obtained useful background on the district and Diane had found herself a school. Finally, I was able to set up interviews with staff who administered the accounting systems. Given that the telephones don't work and the radio-message announcing our visit hadn't been received, meeting all the key personnel the first day was very promising.

***District Priorities*** - I began day two with a meeting in the DEO's office. He had assembled his team of senior staff, which included the assistant education officer and the senior inspectors. I opened with a general question, "So, what should the U.S. Government purchase on behalf of your district?" The DEO, after a minute's consideration, took the lead. "I think that the most pressing need is for building and rehabilitation of schools. We desperately need school furniture. The wars in the region that we talked about yesterday caused much destruction." I wanted to see if this was the group consensus, and asked each participant the question again. Each time the answer was the same.

Then I queried, "I understand you are in agreement on this issue, but what are your other priorities?" An inspector broke the silence, "Next, I think we should buy a vehicle for the Inspectorate to enable us to visit all the schools." As I surveyed the room, even those not in the Inspectorate were nodding in agreement. "But," I said, "Wouldn't the vehicle be borrowed by other officials?" They understood my implications. "Oh no!" the inspector replied, "We would be the only ones who would use it." I pressed him further, but he simply smiled. I also asked about the ability to sustain funding for the running costs of the vehicle. He continued, "There are local individuals who can maintain the vehicles, but the expense of petrol would be a problem."

They continued to discuss the list of priorities while I listened and jotted them on my pad: teacher training, school meals, training and materials for vocational studies (e.g., carpentry), textbooks and scholastic materials. This list came as no surprise to me. The first three items on the list were identical to the responses that we had been given at all the previously visited districts.

***Financial Systems and Control*** - This district, not unlike all the others that had been visited, operated four main bank accounts for primary education services. The school fees account was used to administer the MLG 50 percent grant and the equivalent contribution from parents. There were also separate accounts for teacher salaries, examination fees and education development. The latter was used to hold funds collected from parents (50 shillings per pupil) to assist the district administration to buy a vehicle for the Inspectorate. In all cases, the accounts were theoretically well controlled because they can only be accessed through the signature of at least two senior officers. However, my experience has shown me that systems are only as good as the people who operate them. Consequently, I interviewed the accountants who administer the procedures and conducted a walk-through test. This involved getting the staff to tell me the system from the start of the process to the end. At each stage, they tell me what they do and show me which documents they use.

First, I visited the accountant responsible for administering the School Fees system. This is where the MLG provide an amount per pupil, based on 50 percent of theoretical school fees, to enable the district to purchase scholastic materials such as chalk, school registers and other

administrative stationery. I used the word theoretical because the school fee used by the government is only between one to ten percent of the actual school fees charged.

I walked into the office, and the accountant, Henry, was at his desk. This was a promising sign. At the last district, the accountant didn't show up for work the day we were there. However, there was no activity in the room. There were no documents on his desk and no ledgers in sight. After my introduction and an explanation of the purpose of this visit, he stood up, unlocked the cupboard and took out his papers. It was already 10:30 a.m. and clearly nothing had been done. But the signs were positive.

Since the system was standard throughout all the districts, I quickly made a check of the system. The records were neatly kept and up-to-date. Henry was articulate and competent. He provided a startling contrast to his counterpart in the neighboring district. There, the records were six months out-of-date due to "low staffing" despite a workload that was less than his colleague here. However, even here, two days a week should have been adequate for Henry to keep on top of his job.

Part of the system involved keeping a cash book--a record of all the money received by the office and all the money spent. Accountants normally expect that the balance recorded in the cashbook agrees with the balance on the bank statement which reflects exactly the same transactions from the bank's perspective. The key difference between the cashbook and the bank statement is that there will normally be a timing gap between the two records. For example, you could write a check and put the details in the cashbook, but the transaction may not appear in the statement for several days until it is cashed by the recipient. In general, accountants expect to reconcile the differences monthly to identify outstanding checks or money received which has not reached the bank account. In this way, 1) the flow of cash can be controlled; 2) missing checks and other discrepancies can be identified; and, 3) the amount of money available can be determined.

At this district, this system was not being done despite the easy workload. The reason given was, "lack of staff." If this had been an audit, my suspicions of fraud would have been aroused and a detailed performance of reconciliations would have been undertaken. Discussions with the internal auditor revealed that, until recently, the weaknesses in record keeping observed at the neighboring district had been found here as well.

One particular feature of the system for recording the provision of scholastic materials was that it did not seem to track the distribution of materials to individual schools. Even though each school had a ledger, the information was not analyzed to determine what individual schools had received. Therefore, the mechanism to ensure that schools received materials appropriate to their needs does not exist. It appeared that decibel management operated here: those who shout loudest get what they want.

I examined the District Education Committee (DEC) minutes. I hold by the maxim that skeletons are usually hidden, but the cupboards are relatively easy to find. The minutes of March 12, 1991, revealed that funds had been "borrowed" from the 50 percent grant to pay off a debt for a motorcycle. Use of the grant for these purposes is entirely beyond the intention for which the MLG defines how the funds must be applied. An equivalent application of USAID funds would have meant that the money would have been disallowed and would have to be returned to the American government. Also, incidents had been reported in which head teachers sold scholastic materials provided by the district for use in the school.

To conclude my investigation on this issue, I examined the stores where the scholastic materials were kept. The storekeeper was absent and despite my inquiries, no reason was given for his absence. But the records seemed to be adequate and the store was adequate in space and neatly kept. Again, this was in stark contrast to the store at the neighboring district; it was no larger than a closet. Half the stock in the limited space was no longer used by the schools. In fact, I was told that some of the items stored there hadn't been used for the past five years.

After my visit to the store, I began an investigation of the payment of teachers' salaries. I discovered that the procedures and documentation basically mirrored the systems employed at other districts. As usual, there were no procedures established to physically verify the existence of teachers even on a sample basis. Consequently, the school money given to the headteacher could be paid to anyone. Also, the district relied on the MOE to reconcile the cash book to the bank statements. Thus, they inappropriately abdicated key control responsibilities to officers far too remote from the district.

Further complicating the poor accounting, salary checks provided to the district (as at all districts), were based on a teacher payroll established in the 1989 census. Therefore, the amount provided was inaccurate. The district had written a formal communication detailing the shortfall of about 650,000 shillings for teachers presently employed but who were not on the central register. However, I saw no mention of the monies being paid to teachers on the 1989 register who were no longer employed to offset the shortfall.

The fraud allegations in this district centered on the payment of teachers' salaries. I made inquiries as discreetly as possible about this issue. The system, notwithstanding its inherent weaknesses, appeared to have reasonable controls. Predictably, the current controls in place were not operating effectively at the time of the fraud. Although precise reasons were hard to pin down, the basic problem was that the previous DEO was not properly supervised. This was particularly evident in the management of the bank account and salaries that were paid in cash. The inherent control weaknesses in these practices coupled with the normal vagaries of the system, provided more than enough scope for theft.

Finally, Casidistra did not follow the practice observed at an earlier district that I had visited. Before certifying that the payments should be made, the officers at this district got the signature of the relevant RC3 chairman. In theory, RC3 chairmen know the teachers employed at local schools. When operated properly, this process could provide an additional and useful control.

***Textbook Pilot Project*** - Despite the problems that I documented at Casidistra, the systems operation there would probably rank in the top twenty percent of the districts visited. So, relatively impressed, I turned my attention to the officer in charge of the Textbook Pilot Project implemented by the World Bank. The World Bank is piloting this initiative at four districts. The purpose of the project is to establish funds for the replenishment of textbook stocks. In theory, each student is required to contribute 500 shillings per year to the fund to pay for the books. The funds are then applied to buy new books to replace those that are worn out. A designated officer, a non-accountant, was given responsibility for administering the project at Casidistra.

Generally, my examination of the system inspired little confidence that the project was well controlled. Even though the project had been operating for some months, I found that unused books were still at the district. I was told that the books had not been released because insufficient funds had been collected from certain schools. I asked where the books were. The officer's face lit up, "Oh, they are in town. We borrowed the stores of the local farmers' union because we didn't have enough room at the district headquarters." After a pause he added, "Do you want to see them?"

We jumped into our vehicle and headed off to see the books. We arrived at the book storage site located in a rundown and questionable part of town. My heart sank as I surveyed the place. There was plenty of space, but the room was filthy and rat infested. There were rusted farm implements and dirty boxes of textbooks strewn haphazardly throughout the store. I brushed away the soil from a nearby box so that I could read the name of the school printed on the side of the box.

As we left the building, one of the officers who had accompanied us commented that he found it amusing that a mzungu would venture into this part of town. "The books are safe here," he chuckled, "but I'm not sure that you are!" The image of the storeroom was too fresh and I replied, "I have my doubts even about the books." "Oh no," was the officer's reply, "this is a strong padlock."

When we returned to the district office I asked to examine the store's records. The officer told me he didn't know what I was talking about. I explained, "The records where you record the number of items in the stores and their movement." He still looked confused so I continued my explanation. "Say, for example, you had a delivery of a hundred boxes into your store and later you gave out fifty to various schools. In this case you would have a record of the original hundred to tell you the number that was delivered to you. Then, as you

give out fifty, the record would be adjusted to show that only fifty were left in your store. The record would also indicate where the other fifty had been sent. In this way, you know how many items are in the store and periodically you can verify if the actual number in the store agrees with your record." "Oh, we don't have anything like that!" exclaimed the officer.

He did show me a record system which he used to monitor funds received from each school against the value of the money he expected to receive. The principle of the record system was simple and effective. However, the information did not seem to be used to manage the process. "At what stage do you decide to release the books?" I asked. "There's no set rule but I let them go when I think a school has contributed enough." Examination of his records seemed to indicate that once 50 percent of a year's contributions had been made the books would then be released. However, the records showed that collections were significantly below expected revenue for the period even considering his method of release procedure. Clearly, the officer involved needed some basic training in record keeping. Management guidelines would have been of great value as well.

There was an absence of any procedures to pursue non-collection. When questioned closely, the officer referred to snippets of information he had gathered when headteachers visited the district headquarters to collect salaries. Some headteachers had proven untrustworthy and simply kept the funds. Certain other PTAs had diverted the monies for other purposes such as purchasing building materials.

When asked why the headteachers had stolen the money, he replied, "I think it was to buy medicine--they had AIDS." I looked up and noticed his face was somber and spoke volumes. When I returned to the DEO's office, who had since left for Kampala, I examined the DEC minutes in hopes of finding out more about the missing funds. Minutes dated May 28, 1991, fleetingly referred to headteachers who were arrested for selling textbooks. I found no reference to the stolen money.

I had one more topic that I wanted to pursue here. With each of the officers, I asked them about the appropriateness of the textbooks that had been supplied by IDA3 and 4. With few exceptions, I was told that the books were "very fine" but that there was a saturation of mathematics books at the expense of other subjects. The reason given was, "They were the only books available at the time."

*Visit to the Neighboring District* - Overall, it had been a busy and useful second day. On the third day, I made a 120 km round trip over rough terrain to a neighboring district in order to get a comparative view of a nearby district.

Generally, it was more poorly resourced than Casidistra and not as well administered. There was only one school inspector there who had no transportation. During the past year, he had visited only ten schools out of around 250. While I was there, a delegation from another donor agency was visiting to discuss a locally based development project for the area in

roads, buildings and health, among other community projects. Since USAID was outnumbered by a ratio of ten to one, I was only able to see a limited number of staff members. Perhaps there is something to say for coordination of donor activity.

I made a surprise visit to a nearby school located on the top of a steep hillside. Although it was only 11:30 a.m. the students were on their way home; the school day had finished. The school was in a deplorable state. There was one mud constructed building with only half of a thatched roof. The dirt floor was covered with dried out sheaves of grass. There were no benches, desks or blackboards. Nothing. A man was working outdoors and I asked him about the school. He told me that the school had no latrine and he had been hired to build one.

This visit was a good introduction for me to primary schools. The next day I would be joining Diane at Muzinta. Although my expertise is in accounting, Diane told me that good ethnographers should "make the familiar strange so that you can see significant patterns and routines that influence learning." She thought that my experience in evaluating delivery systems would help me get a good idea of what a school "looks like and what influences the learning that takes place." Besides Paul, she said, "before you hold up your arms in horror and despair, I do recall that you used to be a teacher before you transformed into an accountant!"

### **C. DIANE'S STORY (A PRESENT PERSPECTIVE)**

*Day 1* - Although there are four inspectors in this district--all males, only three are available. The fourth inspector is conducting a school evaluation which is the first time that I have found someone from the inspectorate actually doing any kind of inspection of a school and its teaching staff. They are quite pleased to hear of the investments that USAID may make and begin an animated discussion of the difficulties that they face as an Inspectorate to meet their job responsibilities. Edward, a somewhat dour man, is the oldest and most experienced Inspector. "You ask us what our job description is. It is to inspect schools, but how can we do that if we cannot get there?" He leans forward in his desk, punctuating his statement with hand gestures that match the rhythm and syllabication of the words "inspect schools" and "cannot get there." Archangel and Joseph, his colleagues, nod their heads in agreement, adding "yes" and "that's right" periodically as Edward continues his tirade about the problems of their job "...we have no supplies--even the most basic thing as stationery we don't have."

"So, how many schools were you able to visit last year?" I ask. They discuss among themselves and finally Edward answers, "Maybe the four of us were able to get to 80 schools altogether." I ask if they don't have some record of the visits; could I get a more precise answer. He waves his arm around the room. There are piles of files everywhere--stacked high against the wall on desks, stacked against the wall under desks, scattered across working tables--an endless sea of files. "Oh, yes, there are records Madam. That's not our problem."

The problem is that we have no place to keep them. The way things are now, they really aren't much use to us." I agree with them that their filing system, or more appropriately the lack of a filing system, limits the usefulness of the evaluations that they are able to carry out.

"Well, let's talk about evaluation--let's say you visit a school and evaluate an incredibly incompetent teacher. What do you do? What procedure do you follow?"

"The first thing we do," Archangel explains, "is have a post evaluation conference with the teacher explaining what needs to be changed. Then, we'll talk with the headmaster and ask him to conduct follow-up evaluations."

"Is it the headmaster's responsibility to work with the teacher and help the teacher improve?"

"Yes, that's the plan but..." Archangel spreads his hands out in an expression of hopelessness "...in actuality they often don't have the time."

"Let's say the headmaster works with this teacher, there's no improvement, when will you get back to evaluate the teacher, eventually what happens?" Always, their response is more evaluation and more networking with a headmaster that may or may not take place. I continue pressing them for the procedure that they must follow. Finally, I ask, "At what point do you decide that a teacher who is incompetent must be removed from the classroom?"

Edward's response is definitive and forceful. "Teachers are never fired. We have no authority to do that. The DEO doesn't have the authority to do that. The only ones that can let a teacher go are members of the Education Committee, but even the committee is limited in that respect. And many districts don't have a functioning education committee, so firing teachers is a bit problematic. So, you will find that incompetent teachers are just moved to another school. That's the way it is here. It's so hard to get someone to become a teacher we certainly wouldn't fire them after we get them." Edward's monotone as he talks matches the expressionless mask on his face--just stating facts in a businesslike manner.

His comment leads in beautifully to my next set of questions about teacher recruitment, attrition rates and morale. Joseph responds, "Teaching is not an attractive profession. As it is now, teachers practically donate their services. Most of our teachers stay in teaching because they're used to it and right now staying in is easier than getting out. Besides..." Joseph smiles broadly and then chuckles before he continues, "...the government has used such sweet language lately that teachers really believe that tomorrow things will be sweeter!"

When asked about IDA3 motorcycles, duplicating machines and other items Archangel tells me, "...there's nothing left. Between Amin's soldiers and the Tanzanian soldiers it's all gone...at the very least nobody asked questions about the disappearance of those items. It was much safer just to acknowledge that it was no longer available." He doesn't need to

elaborate. I can vividly imagine the horrors during that period and the coping and survival strategies that people needed to develop from day to day, atrocity to atrocity.

I ask them what items they would need in order to do an effective job. "Transportation--that's the first priority. Even the few schools we are able to visit, we often must pay for taxis from our personal funds." Archangel continues as the others interrupt to add other necessary items: typewriters, paper, duplicating machines, and ink. When I began my conversation with these men the mood in the room was nearly despondent, but as they discuss the possibility of getting the items that they need to work, there is a transformation as first one and then another actively discusses the things that they need and even Edward shows some emotion and energy as they develop a list between them.

I end my conversation with them by asking them their opinion of the quality of teaching in their district. "Not very good. Teachers in our district aren't the worse, but they aren't very good. And if you look at teachers in illegal private schools--a real problem in this district--teaching is deplorable." They enumerate some of the problems they observe as they visit schools. One problem they readily agree on is paramount to all the others; the use of "beating the students, and caning them if they don't know their sums, if they talk when they shouldn't or if they come late." Archangel tells me, "I say to teachers, don't slap children if you're angry and let the headmaster cane the students if they must be caned but..." he shakes his head "...most don't listen and are quite severe with the children."

Archangel, one of the three district inspectors, is accompanying me to Muzinta. I'm being given a tour of the main town in the district that we're visiting. My guide, Archangel, a fiftyish gentleman who has lived many years in the area, shakes his head sadly as he recalls what the town looked like before. But the more painful memories are best left to rest dormant and Archangel's mood quickly changes as a dazzling grin spreads across his face. "Things are much, much better here now. As you can see things weren't so good before." With that his arm sweeps in an expansive wave past crumbling, bombed out building after building. "Who did this?" I ask, "Amin?" Archangel shakes his head in agreement, begins to speak, waits momentarily and then begins again. "Yes, Amin did some but not all. In fact, most of the destruction was done by the Tanzanian soldiers who came in to topple Amin. They were told to leave nothing standing and they followed their orders well."

We drive past the former administrative offices. What remains of the two story structure leans ominously to one side almost as if the building had been brought to its knees in submission before the marauding army. Small children gather around its sagging foundation and I notice that a poorly dressed (even by local standards) old man hobbles underneath the bombed out structure making his way around toppled pillars that supported the upper floor. Leaning on a long wooden walking stick with one hand he searches for valuables amidst the rubble with the other. "Yes, things are much, much better now. Much better," sighs Archangel.

I wanted to spend several days in a local school and, together with the inspectors, we selected a school that met the criteria I had established. I wanted a rural school. I wanted a less well endowed one. I wanted a school where the homes of the children were nearby so that I could easily visit with the parents. I wanted a school that needed help. After much discussion, the inspectors finally agreed on Muzinta and Archangel had been selected to accompany me to the school to make arrangements for my visit.

"Even though school officially opened today, there probably won't be anyone there. We will be lucky if even the headmaster is there. Things are very relaxed in the rural schools. I doubt that any students came today and there will be few tomorrow." I listen as he explains about the difficulty of arranging for my visit and I ponder whether he's apologizing for what I will find, or is hoping to discourage me from following through on my short visit.

We leave the town and continue driving southwest towards the Tanzanian border. About eleven miles outside of town we turn off the tarmac onto a narrow dirt road bordered by matoke and coffee plots. As William, our driver, carefully maneuvers his way around the potholes and gutted out sections of road I watch the houses that we pass. Although a few of the homes are well built, cement structures with landscaped yards, most are adobe or wattle and daub dwellings with clay tiles or metal roofing sheets. Small children play in the hard packed dirt while women, legs stretched out in front of them, sit on woven grass mats laid on the ground and sort dried maize. Some look up and follow our vehicle with their gaze as our four wheel drive car noisily bounces its way past their solitude.

The odometer on the car doesn't work, so I ask Archangel how far in the school is. "I think it's four miles. It's not very far in a car but when you have to walk and carry all your supplies it seems a very long way." Archangel wants to reinforce how difficult it is for the Inspectorate to do their job without proper transportation and regales me with tales of getting to schools. "One time we had to administer the PLE exam to an out of the way school. It was rainy season and the roads were very muddy. After we'd driven for some miles we discovered that a bridge crossing a large river had been washed out. So, each of the Inspectors took several packets of exams on his head and we began walking. First we waded through water almost to our waist across the swollen river. Then we climbed a mountain on the far side and had to walk 10 kilometers on muddy paths. We arrived at the school very late, administered the test and started off late in the afternoon to make the return trip. We didn't arrive back at the district offices until very late, and I can tell you that by the time we did, everyone was swearing." We both laugh as he remembers and I imagine what the trip was like.

"Slow down, here's the school." Archangel points up a slope to his right. As he turns off the track, William, the driver, downshifts and the motor strains as the car climbs the grade to the school resting in a clearing at the top of the hill. "You're in luck, the headmaster is still here." Introductions are made and Archangel explains why we have come. "Oh, sorry," the headmaster shakes his head sadly, "but we have so few children here now. We have an

enrollment of 125 students but only 10 have paid the fees for the new term. Today, they are the only ones who came." Archangel looks at me shaking his head in agreement and then says, "I tell you what. You let the parents know that a muzungu needs to see the school with children in it--you tell them that they can send their children to school this week without paying their fees so that she (points to me) can see this school. Ok, can you do that?" The headmaster shakes his head in agreement and responds, "Yes, that's a good idea, I will tell them that." We shake hands and, as I glance around me, we climb in the car to make the return trip to the district town.

*Day 2* - Archangel is waiting for us at the turnoff from the tarmac. He doesn't live too far from that junction and asks if he can take advantage of our vehicle to make an official evaluation of the school. I assure him I don't mind, realizing that even if I did, it was wiser politically to agree to his accompanying me. School officially starts at 8:30 a.m. It had been our intention to arrive there in time for opening ceremonies. Unfortunately, we had been delayed at the hotel and it is nearly 8:50 a.m. before we drive up the grade to the school. About 60 students are lined up in six rows in front of the largest classroom building. Only 6 of the students are dressed in the bright yellow uniforms used at the primary level schools in this area. Most of the young girls are in dresses too large for them and the boys are in shirts that hang well below their shorts. All but a very few of the students are barefoot. I soon learn that the headmaster, Emmanuel, had gathered the children together and waited for us to arrive before starting school. I notice three other adults standing behind him, one older man and two young women. Archangel starts the formalities of introducing me and Paul and then explains that we are there to find out what school is like for primary age children in Uganda so that the American government can help make their schools better. The headmaster rushes to the front and shouts in a sharp, strongly accented voice, "What do you say children?" In unison they reply, "Thank you."

One small girl near the front is carrying a baby and Paul asks why the baby is there. "The baby's mother is one of the teachers and she brings it to school," Archangel answers. "They're not supposed to bring them (he shrugs his shoulders in resignation), but they won't teach if they can't bring their babies. What can we do?" The headmaster dismisses the students and they spread out to their classrooms. Not all seven classrooms are being used, but I observe that students are heading off to more classrooms than there are teachers present. Apparently word hadn't gotten to all the teachers that, like the students, they were supposed to come this first week of school because a muzungu was here to see what primary schools were like in Uganda!

The school complex has four structures. The largest (P1-P3) is a classroom block of three classrooms. Archangel comments, "This really isn't a safe structure--it's ready to fall down. The roofing sheets are old and rusted out and there are large gaps in the roof now." Archangel's assessment of the building seems accurate. Most of the mud has worn away from the outside of the building and I can see the support beams through large exposed patches. A smaller block of two classrooms (P4-P5) rests fifty feet down the hillside.

Although this structure is much smaller than the larger one, the building is also in a sad state of repair. Both building structures are similar: wattle and daub construction, uneven dirt floors, several open windows and a partition between classrooms that goes only part way up.

Most of the students sit at benches with supports set into the dirt floor and uneven plank/desk tops that also have leg supports set into the floor. The dirt walls are bare. A blackboard was fashioned from a small (40" x 20") wooden plywood board painted black that rests on an easel made of tree limbs. Although quite an ingenious arrangement, the system is quite unstable and is insufficient, particularly since the teachers tend to use a "chalk and talk" approach to teach the students.

The third structure houses the P6 and P7 classrooms (each no larger than 8' x 8'), the headmaster's office and a small storeroom. Although the P6 classroom has a small window (unlike the P7 classroom), both classrooms are dank and dark. The students sit at a combination bench/desk top loaned to the school from the district. "We have sixty of these on loan. Technically we're supposed to get our own but we have no money. This structure (P6-P7 offices), is on loan to us as well from the Catholic mission that sponsors the school. We have needs madam--we need buildings, we need money. But we are very lucky that they will loan us this and we are thankful, yes we are thankful." I look about at the dilapidated building and wonder about their luck.

The last structure rests behind the loaned building. It is a small kitchen where some cooking utensils are kept and the noon meal for the teachers is made each school day. Since this structure is only a short distance from the P7 classroom, gusts of wind blow clouds of smoke from the fire into the classroom which sting my eyes and make it nearly impossible for me to breathe. I notice that the two students, both girls, who have come to school keep wiping tears from their eyes. I remain in the classroom as long as I am able to but after twenty minutes I am forced to leave. Whether by chance or by choice, during the period that the smoke pours into the classroom, the P7 teacher, Emmanuel, has been absent from the room carrying out "administrative business" he later told me.

A fifth structure stands in the midst of the other four. It is a partially completed brick, two-room structure. There is no roof, roofing beams or joists and weeds grow halfway up the walls.<sup>3</sup> "The PTA began constructing two new classrooms last year but there is no money. If we don't get roofing sheets on this soon, everything will just fall away." Emmanuel shakes his head in resignation and spreads his hands out in a gesture of despair. "I'm new here this year. When I came, there was nothing. Nothing."

I ask him about the IDA3 and 4 cupboards and textbooks. "Where are those, I don't see them here?"

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<sup>3</sup> Before leaving Muzinta, I made arrangements to pay for roofing sheets from personal funds.

"How can I keep them here--there is no secure place. I rent a room for 3000 USHS/month in a house in town. We leave everything there because I want those things to be safe." The few things that I have observed being used, Emmanuel carries to and from his own home 9 miles away in an old 25 kilo sugar bag that he deposits in the storeroom off his office. Periodically throughout the day, he rummages through this bag to gather pieces of chalk, scraps of paper, official books or a few precious textbooks to pass out among the teachers. Obviously, his sugarbag system is woefully inadequate and undermines the positive impact of the IDA textbook program.

At 10:20 a.m. I meet Archangel in the headmaster's office. He is writing the report on the teachers that he has evaluated. As we talk, William drives up and another inspector from the district climbs out. "We need to get a signature on a check and Archangel must sign so we are here!" Archangel jumps up from his seat and begins talking with his colleague in Luganda. I notice that several times in the conversation they point to me and eventually Emmanuel, the headmaster, joins the conversation. After several moments, Archangel turns to me and asks, "Madam, would you mind terribly much if I were to return now to the district? I have much work to do there." I assure him that I don't mind and Archangel, Emmanuel, the P5 teacher and the second inspector gather and begin to bow their heads. "We will pray for your safety now Madam." His comment takes me aback and I ask if I am safe there without him? "Oh yes Madam, at least we know who you are with and if anything were to happen we know who is responsible." With that reassuring note, Archangel and his colleague climb in the car and drive away.

Since I've been here this morning, half of the five teachers present have spent much of their time sitting on a log beneath a large shade tree. They cover each other's classroom, going back periodically to check work the students are supposed to be completing from the blackboard. During the morning that I have spent in the classroom, I have seen only one teacher actually teaching and the one that was teaching appears to be explaining the math problems incorrectly.

Interaction in the classroom is teacher directed with little to no talking taking place between teacher and students. Teachers say something and, in automaton fashion, the students repeat what has been said. It is clear, especially when the students in the lower grades repeat words or phrases in English, that there is little comprehension of what they are doing or saying. I haven't noticed any children asking questions or raising their hands to give a response to a question. Things are lifeless, dull and repetitive. All the spontaneity and freedom I noticed on the playing field is totally absent in the classroom. I observe periodically that as the teachers raise their voices ( and at times almost shout angrily at the children), they seem to catch themselves and glance at me to record my reaction. It is obvious that my presence has significantly influenced the interaction that is taking place in the classroom.

The baby, who I later find out is two-month old Joseph, has a well-established crying schedule--every 30 minutes--and is generally ignored by his mother. She lays him down on a

mat on the dirt floor in the far corner of the P3 room and assigns the task of carrying and walking Joseph to one of the girls in the room. At one point I mentioned to Joseph's mother that her baby seemed to want her (he'd been crying for at least 20 minutes from the time I finally started to clock it) and she hollered to one of the girls something in Luganda. Almost immediately, one of the small girls came running out and began walking him on one of the paths that lead away from the school. During a later conversation with Marie, Joseph's mother, she told me, "I only nurse Joseph at break and lunch so that having him here doesn't disturb the children."

Thirty-two year old Marie has been teaching the P2 classroom at this school for six years. She has two children; two-month Joseph and another boy five years old. "I have to walk three miles each way to come to school each day. I could really use a bicycle, but I can't afford to buy one. I really don't do that well because I have to pay so much for nursery school for my five year old. When I begin leaving this one, I won't have any money left over. What's the point of my working?"

In fact, Marie appears to be one of the more prosperous teachers at the school. When I talk to her about her living conditions and financial situation, I learn that she and her husband rent a home for 5000 USHS/month home has cement floors, electricity and two bedrooms--a considerably nicer home than any of her colleagues rents. On a scale of 1 to 10 (1 being very poor and 10 very rich), Marie tells me that she thinks she and her husband are about a five. "We have a nicer home than most of the villagers, we own a television and radio and we eat meat three times a week." When I ask Marie about her sources of income she explains that she and her husband own a small store which clears about 3000 USHS/month "although it's hard to tell, because we are still trying to improve it." They have three gardens--one each of sweet potatoes, beans and matoke. Marie explains, "I spend an hour cultivating in my gardens each day and nearly the whole day on Saturday. I also coach two students in P7 and earn 4000 USHS/week from that. That's where we get most of our money." Her MOE salary has been 2767 shillings a month with a PTA monthly allocation of 3500 shillings a month. However, Marie has a grade IV qualification and is able to compete for coaching jobs unlike the other less qualified teachers (including the headmaster) at Muzinta.

Just as Marie's family lives in a much nicer house than her peers, her family also has a more balanced diet. "We have fish twice a week, beef three times a week, chicken twice a week and an almost daily intake of eggs." In addition, Marie's older son receives milk three times a week. When I asked Marie to describe her wardrobe she told me that she owns ten skirts, ten blouses, four dresses and three pairs of shoes. Her husband has two pair of shoes, four shirts and four trousers. The oldest son has eight outfits and the baby has four. "We actually do quite well. All I really need is a bike and help with the nursery charges. If I could get that I'd be very, very happy."

In contrast, Henry, the P5 classroom teacher with a grade III credential and twenty years of teaching experience, lives in a mud, three bedroom home with his wife and nine children. Henry is a tall, almost malnourished man whose clothes hang loosely on his lean body. Somber eyes rest on hollow cheeks and the touches of gray in his hair belies his fifty years. "My wife cultivates coffee and we get three or four bags a year--maybe 10,000 shillings a bag if we're lucky." But with school fees for his children of 40,000 shillings/term, the coffee money is quickly gone.

Henry's family subsists on beans, matoke, maize and peanuts. "We have beef maybe once a month, goat twice a year, pork two times a month, chicken at Christmas and fish twice a week." His children are given milk once every few months, the family eats eggs about once a month and rice only at Christmas.

"We have three gardens--one of matoke, one of sweet potatoes and another with seasonal crops and a few coffee trees. I spend at least an hour in the garden each day and I work four hours in the garden on Saturday." Besides school fees, Henry explained that his next most expensive item is for kerosene to run lamps at night. "I buy one liter each week at 350 shillings a liter. I'm lucky that I own my own house so that I don't have to pay rent." When I asked Henry where he would place his living conditions on a scale of 1 to 10 he told me he thought that he would be a four. When asked why he said four he told me, "We have enough food to eat and I can afford to buy a little bit of salt and kerosene. I own four shirts and I have a grass mattress and one blanket on my bed."

When asked what his greatest needs were, Henry told me that medical care was a priority. "Now, when we are sick, we cannot afford to go to the doctor. I just buy some tablets and hope it's Ok." His list of needs included owning a bike (since he lived six miles from the school), improved housing and more sheets and blankets for his children, who now sleep on mats on the floor with empty burlap bags for covers.

The other teachers have similar stories although the specifics may differ. Joseph has lived rent free in a friend's home who now lives in Kampala. "When he left 15 years ago he told me I could stay there until he comes back." When I ask Joseph what will happen when his friend comes back--does he have the money to build a house--Joseph laughs uncomfortably and slowly shakes his head, "Oh madam, I don't have any money to build a house." He stops speaking, rubs his hand over his head and slowly, carefully replies, "I don't know what I will do. I guess I'd have to hope that I could find a school that gives housing."

Aisa is single with one child and lives with her parents who give her room and board. "I don't pay them because they know that I don't earn enough to survive." When I ask her more about this, she tells me that she earns less each month than her mother who cultivates. When asked why she teaches instead of cultivating like her mother, she whispered, "I don't know. I can't survive working here."

None of the teachers at Muzinga spent any time in the evening or on the weekend preparing for their classes or correcting school work. All of them indicated that they were forced to find other sources of income in order to survive. "We want to eat. We don't earn enough teaching to provide for our daily needs so we must do other work. That's how it is--I don't have time to prepare--no one does."

*Day 3* - Olive, a young mother, sits on the floor nursing her seven month old son. She has four children, but only two live at home. "My oldest lives with relatives in Casidistra and the next child who is in school lives with his grandparents nearby. He's been in P1 for three years now, the teachers say he's lazy. It's probably true because his grandparents spoil him. I don't like him living there (she shrugs her shoulders despondently) but my husband says it's best." Olive lives on the next hill over from the Muzinta elementary school. Although her home is near the school she explains that she'll send her daughter who will be going to school next year to a private school several kilometers away. "We pay the school fees for our son who lives with his grandparents but for her we can't afford the government school." Olive tells us that she grows matoke and brews beer to get enough money to pay for her son's school fees. When I ask her about contributing more in order to build housing for teachers or to give the teachers a better salary she explains that they already sacrifice in order to pay the fees they are charged. "If we were to have to pay more to send him to school we would probably not send him anymore. The government should help to educate our sons. What else can I do?"

The two room mud hut has one table and two chairs. I sit on one and Archangel sits on the other. Twenty-nine year old Olive sits on a woven mat on the floor. The walls are bare and I notice there's a candle holder that's been fabricated out of an empty tin can which rests on the table in the corner. "Our lives are very simple and we don't have much. But we can only give so much to educate our sons. If we have to give more it is too much." When asked what she thought were the educational priorities of the primary school system, Olive told us that building schools was the greatest need. After that the schools needed furniture, textbooks and uniforms. As we left her home Olive shouted to us, "And if your government could help us pay school fees that would be very good."

The next home we visit is Joseph and Matilda's. Joseph has only three teeth--two on top and one on the bottom. His eyes are bloodshot and he smells of alcohol. He looks as if he's nearly sixty while Matilda looks half his age. Joseph leans against their hut smoking a cigarette while Matilda and three small children sort maize into two baskets as we talk. They have nine children although only two are in school because the school fees are too expensive to send them all. "After this term we will send them to the private school because the fees are less." Matilda grows matoke and coffee in order to get the money to pay the fees. I ask Joseph and his friend who is visiting their home why they don't work more than four hours a day in the gardens so that they can earn more money. He tells me, "I work the same as her. I don't need to work longer." When I mention that his wife also cooks the food, cleans the house and cares for the children in addition to her four hours of cultivation Joseph replies,

"Those are things women do." In response to my question about the greatest needs of the primary schools, they agreed that lowering school fees, building schools and distributing supplies were the greatest needs.

A woven mat covered with drying tobacco is laid out in front of Anatasia's hut. Archangel tells me, "She'll mix that with banana leaves and make snuff out of it. Won't get much money for all her work though." Anatasia, a petite woman with delicate features, seems to be a bundle of energy. Her hut and yard are immaculate, dishes sun dry on a rack by the house and the youngest of her children is undergoing a vigorous bathing down by one of the older siblings. "I leave very early in the morning to cultivate in my gardens. I get home at noon and then do the work that needs to be done here." The work that "needs to be done here" in addition to her domestic and childcare responsibilities includes making banana beer and snuff. When asked how she would place the priorities of the primary school system she mentioned lowering school fees as the most important thing to do and then build more schools.

As we begin to leave her yard, Anatasia grabs Archangel's arm and urges him to tell me that I can't leave her home without a gift. She runs into her hut and quickly comes back clutching money in her hand. She curtsies before me and cupped in her outstretch hands is 200 shillings. "Please take this as a guest in my home." It's very rude if I don't allow her to give me a gift and I wonder how I can get out of the dilemma without taking her money. I tell Archangel to tell her that she's already given me the gift of telling me her story and now it's my turn to give her a gift. I explain she's to send her oldest son to the school later in the afternoon just before I leave so that I can send a gift to her family.

George and his brother are repairing a bicycle tire in the yard of their brick hut. This home is noticeably better constructed than the others we have visited. As we talk I discover that not only the home is unusual--the family itself is quite atypical. Monica is 35 years old and is moderately well educated having studied up to the "O" levels. Her husband, George, is 28 and left school in P7 making theirs an unusual marriage in this part of Africa. Monica tells us, "We have two children that are our own, but we also have two children that belonged to my sister. This home belonged to my sister and her husband but they are both dead now--they died of AIDS two years ago. They had six children. Four live with relatives in Tanzania and we have the other two. But we can't afford to send them to school. There is supposed to be government help for children who are orphans but we haven't received any help for them yet. Our government must do more for these children--the number of children who are left orphans is increasing each year. What is going to happen to them?"

Monica and George explain that they brew banana beer, grow matoke and coffee and raise pigs to earn money. They both work in their gardens much of the day and even with all these jobs they can only save enough to send one of the four children to school. When asked what their priorities would be for the primary school system, George, Monica and George's brother carry on a heated argument for several minutes. Eventually, Monica shakes her head

no and says "Uh." Archangel later tells me that George and his brother were trying to force Monica to agree with what they wanted to say and she refused. Eventually, Monica tells us, "The government should give help to orphans first. After that, build schools and provide textbooks for the students...but help for the orphans is most important."

Just as there is a familiar strain to the teachers' stories, the parents' stories too are similar. Many choose to send their children to the less expensive private schools. The parents barely eke out an existence and find it a struggle to educate only a few of their children. Their homes that I visit are simple, bare of all but the most basic necessities. The small children who huddle about their mothers' dresses are poorly dressed, dirty and often have distended stomachs usually a sign of a poor diet or worms. When talking about schools the message is clear that they do what they can but they cannot do more.

When Archangel and I return to the school in the afternoon we are told that a grandmother and her deaf grandson have been waiting for us since early morning. The headmaster tells us that "the grandmother heard a muzungu and the school inspector are here and she hopes that you can help this child." Cosma is eight years old and has lived the past five years with his maternal grandmother. "I struggle to help the child--I am all that he has. My daughter threw him out of her home and refuses to accept any responsibility for him. What can I do for him, I am an old woman? He needs to go somewhere where he can learn how to do something."

As we talk, Cosma who is seated on the dirt floor, follows our conversation with his somber eyes. I offer him a biscuit and he reaches out hesitantly to take the food that has been offered, glancing for approval from his grandmother. She nods her head and Cosma eagerly begins to nibble on the treat. The grandmother begins, "He is very intelligent and I know that he can learn if only there was someplace he could go to school." Archangel listens to her as she pleads for his help, her eyes begging for some hope. "There's really not much that can be done. There is a school, Nairambi School for the Deaf, in Kampala; but I don't know much about it." Archangel slowly shakes his head as he speaks, a sign of his regret that he can offer her so little. As I listen to their conversation I am reminded of a sign posted in the district education office:

*Education for "Physically Handicapped" Children*

If you have any of "them" in your schools please notify the undersigned  
because we are beginning an educational program for "them"...

Our conversation is cut short by the arrival of the local PTA members. I had asked them to come for a three o'clock meeting and four of the seven members have arrived. The others are unable to attend and the four who are there are anxious to begin. All four are men. The chairperson, Michael, has eighteen children, two wives and two children at this school. He is a Resistant Council (RC) member and is a member of the PTA because of his political position. Metodio has eight children and two children in the school. Henry has five children all too young to attend school with the exception of one boy. The last member present is

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Robert, the father of four girls. Although he has no children at the school, he is the representative from the church sponsoring the school.

I ask if there are any women among the absent representatives. Michael is quick to explain, "No, we had one at one time but it didn't work out. She didn't want to be on because she claimed she was too busy to be on the committee." While Michael talks the other three men shake their heads back and forth in agreement.

Michael and Robert have served on the PTA committee five and six years respectively. Metodio and Henry are new members this year. I ask if they have a five year plan for this school and Michael assures me that they do. "As you can see, we are building a new classroom block. When we finish that we'll make an office and teacher housing. We also want to add some technical training programs here--carpentry, brickmaking..." Metodio interrupts, "...and a hennery and piggery." Again, the others shake their heads in agreement. I direct the conversation back to the new classroom block and ask when they began it and when they hope to put on a roof. "We began it two years ago and we hope to have it done this year." "Exactly when do you hope to have the roofing sheets on--in one month, two months?" Michael's broad smile disappears quickly when I push them some more about the roofing sheets. "Do you have the money to buy the roofing sheets?" "Well,...uh..." Michael turns to Metodio, the treasurer of the PTA, and asks a question in Luganda. Metodio shakes his head as he talks and I redirect my question to Metodio, "How much money do you have right now to pay for roofing sheets?" His reply is quick in coming, "Nothing, we have no money at all for the PTA." This time there is no nodding their heads in agreement and we all remain silent for a moment. I then ask them about their accounting system. Do they have a bank account, do they have anyone check their books? Metodio tells me that there is no bank account for the PTA but assures me that he keeps copies of all receipts and that someone does check on his record keeping. When I press him on who and when was the last time this individual checked his books, he just shakes his head.

They tell me that this school was built over twenty years ago and that until very recently had an enrollment of over 200 children. I ask why the drop in enrollment and Robert explains, "Things have been turbulent here in the past few years. There's been a very poor standard--the teachers have been very poor and the curriculum is not very strong. Parents tell us they aren't going to pay money to send their children to such a poor school." I ask what they do to encourage parents to send their children to this school and what does the RC representative do when he hears of illegal private schools operating in his district. Henry begins to answer my question, "People just argue with us about the government schools and say they are too expensive." Michael continues, "There are too many private schools to worry about. We are just trying to improve this one. We are sure the enrollment here will go up again soon."

I ask them each why they are members of the PTA, why they send their children to school. Their answers are very much the same. They want them to be able to read and write. They want them to become good citizens. They want them to be able to be self sufficient. When I

ask them how much education boys need and how much girls need, their answers begin to change. Michael tells me that its "...dangerous to educate girls because they get pregnant. Four of my six daughters got pregnant after P7." Metodio tells me that "...after a girl is 13 she should get married." I think he's joking but he assures me that he's serious. "How old should the husband be?" I ask. "The same age?" He laughs and then says more seriously, "No, she should marry a 20 year old man." Again I ask if he is serious and he insists that he is.

We begin discussing moral education (sex) and AIDS. Robert, the father of four daughters 9, 7, 4 and 2 years of age, tells me that you know when to start talking to girls about these things "...by the girl's appearance." I ask him to elaborate. He looks at the other men uncomfortably, squirms in his chair, repeats what he said before. I rephrase my question and ask at what age their appearance changes. "Around 15," Robert quickly answers. I ask if they think that's not a little late, couldn't young boys and girls already be sexually active by that time. Clearly, my questions are making them uncomfortable and in agreement, the men assure me that that's a good age and that the girls would be too young to get pregnant. "How about AIDS?" I ask, "Will their youth protect them from getting AIDS?" Henry answers for the group, "Yes."

I ask them how much of their income they currently pay in school fees for all their children at both the primary and secondary levels. Michael and Robert, both carpenters, pay less of their income than Metodio and Henry, both cultivators. Michael calculates that he pays as much as 60 percent but only because he has so many children. Robert says that his school expenses probably take about 40 percent of his family's income. Henry says that all his money goes to school fees and the others argue with him for a while about his amount and he finally changes and says that he pays about 80 percent. Metodio gives a similar amount of 70 percent. When I ask them if they'd be willing to pay more to give teachers better living conditions and possibly get better teachers at their school, there is general agreement that no one would be willing to pay more. Metodio tells me, "...as it is now the money for school fees just trickles in. Parents struggle to pay this amount. How could they pay more? If school becomes more expensive children will not go to school."

Later that afternoon as Archangel and I walk along the dusty road towards the tarmac he talks to me about the PTA meeting. "Illegal private schools are a real problem. Parents don't understand that the education they are getting there is just not good. Last year I was sent to close a private school. Two girls who had failed the Primary Leaving Examination (PLE) had opened a school in their home and were teaching students up to P5." When I asked him if he had been successful in closing them Archangel tells me, "That day, yes. But they are open again and parents are very happy to pay them the lower fees."

**Day 4** - Archangel is waiting at the road ready to begin a last day at Muzinta. "I have been thinking about the things that we discuss a great deal. Changing the system will be very hard--there are so many things that can't be easily taught to the teachers and students." I ask

Archangel what he means and he shakes his head and says, "I'm not sure I can explain it. It's one thing to buy textbooks and bring in supplies and another to try and change a system of instruction. It's all good, but I just don't know..." Archangel resumes talking and gazes out the window as we make our way past the people and houses along the road. "We're so far behind in development, I wonder how quickly these changes can come. Can teachers teach what they don't understand themselves? But," he quickly adds, "the changes are good, educationally, the changes are good."

I understand the dilemma that Archangel foresees. I share with him a story of a headmaster from another district. This headmaster was motivated, energetic and anxious to improve his school. He'd visited several donor agencies and finally convinced one to donate the necessary materials to install electricity in the P7 room of his school. "The students live in that room--they even sleep there now so that they can study at night. Everyone is pleased with the electricity." I told Archangel how impressed I was with his efforts and initiative to improve his school. "However, when I asked him about the PTA allocations at his school he told me that since June none of the teachers had been given the PTA salary allocation." I pressed him further about whether the money had been given by the PTA and misappropriated and the headmaster reluctantly told me, "Well, the money was paid by the PTA but the bill for the electricity was so high that we had to use that money to pay the bill. I forgot about paying for the electricity."

"It was an administrative planning problem--not a PTA problem," I tell Archangel.

"That's part of the problem--how do you plan for an electricity bill when you don't have any idea that there will be one?" Archangel quickly adds.

We ride in silence for several moments and then I ask Archangel, "Why are there so many more girls at Muzinta than boys? This is quite atypical particularly since the ratio of girls to boys becomes dramatically higher in the higher grades."

"Boys don't go to school because there's so many other things that they can do that offer them a great deal of money. Smuggling is a major problem--they can earn a great deal of money in a relatively short amount of time. During one period, before the government really began to crack down on smuggling, well educated persons like doctors left the work they trained for to begin smuggling. They earned more in a year smuggling than they would in ten years of the work they trained for." I consider his remark. Economics. Survival. So much boils down to that.

When we arrive at the school there are a number of villagers waiting there for us. They have heard that muzungus are visiting the area and they've come in hopes that we can ease their burden. A lady with AIDS orphans waits hoping she can get some help; a man with tuberculosis has come with a doctor's letter explaining that he cannot work--would I pay his children's school fees? Another lady who I gave some of my personal money to the day

before has come again today hoping that I will give her some more. The headmaster drives them away but the group hangs on doggedly until we leave.

Paul has come today to observe in the classrooms as well. Observations that I have made on the other days are consistent with what Paul observes--sadly so. We visit the storeroom in the house in the village. Two International Development Association (IDA) cupboards--covered with dust--are there. The books are neatly lined up on the shelves clearly unused. The spines aren't even broken on most of them. Emmanuel is very proud that the books are in such good shape. Paul keeps asking why they don't use them in the classrooms and Emmanuel keeps smiling, replying that they take good care of the books.

After thirty minutes in a class, Paul finds me and suggests we discuss what the teacher had been doing in the class. "Look at this problem Diane, tell me what you get." He had written the problem on a paper exactly as the teacher had written it on the board and then had copied down the calculations that the teacher had made. "Esera gave  $\frac{1}{4}$  of orange to a beggar and then she ate  $\frac{1}{10}$  of them. What was left." His answer:  $\frac{37}{40}$ . I asked him what the answer was just to make sure it wasn't an oversight and requested that he go through his method again. He repeated his work and again gave the wrong answer. His method is hard to follow. First, he needs to get a common denominator. The question itself is ambiguous. And his answer is wrong.

Paul's frustration is evident. I tell Paul that I had become very confused during my observations in his class on the previous days. "I've been trying to figure out what he's been doing conceptually--I have no idea how he gets his answers. Incidentally, I noticed yesterday that he was correcting some mock PLE math exams during class and I asked him about that. He told me that he's a math specialist and is helping a colleague at a nearby school get the children ready for the math section of the PLE. I looked at several of the exams--most of the students were unable to complete more than 30 percent of the exam and even at that many answers were incorrect."

"Math specialist?" Paul shakes his head in disbelief. Paul continues. "Another teacher I observed this morning isn't any better. He didn't know the material, he read the example he was doing with the students clumsily and he made a number of errors doing the problem." He shows me the notes that he's written--his observations of the classroom. There is no student/teacher interaction, students are off-task, bored and a row of boys sitting at the back of the classroom sit with their textbooks closed and no attempt is made by the teacher to engage them. In fact, those who are working are ineffective because they do not understand. Other than the example worked out in the book, the teacher is unable to correctly complete the calculations for any of the other problems.

It's clear something is in the air. The children, whose numbers have increased each day are hyper. Villagers mingle on the edges of the school yard. Teachers hang around talking together. Today I see two I've never see before. One tells me that he's a visiting teacher

"...only come when they need me." I ask him to explain further and he just repeats his phrase as does Emmanuel when I ask him about the "new" teacher. Clearly, our presence at the school has significantly changed the daily routine.

Paul and I decide it's probably best if we pass out the gifts during the morning break--two playing balls, a map of Uganda for each room and a pencil and exercise book for each child--and leave so that things can get back to normal, if that is possible. Paul gets the balls, and before he has a chance to give them to the children, Marie grabs them out of his hand and says, "We will give them to the children later." After the festivities, the children thank us in chorus and we shake hands with the teachers and headmaster. Paul takes a few pictures and we climb in the car and drive away. As we turn onto the dirt road leading back to town I muse that Muzinta won't be the same for quite some time.

***Follow-up Visit One Month Later*** - I drive up the hill to Muzinta and the first thing I see is the sun's reflection off the shiny new roofing sheets. It's break time and the children are clustered in several large groups. I notice that in two groups the balls we gave them are being used by both the boys and the girls.

I am told that there are now 130 students, although only half have paid their school fees. "The inspector said they could come without paying so that you could see them in school and now they just keep coming...but this is good, this is good. The roofing sheets that you gave us more than make up for the school fees."

I am told that there are now eight teachers on staff. My count shows six--the same six who were there before. When I ask where the other two are, I am told that one is sick and the other had just gone off someplace. The headmaster makes a point of assuring me that the other two have come since school began but that I "just keep missing them."

The two new classrooms and storeroom will be ready in two weeks. "Now we can store the books and balls here. We'll save 3,000 USHS/month now too since we won't need to rent the storeroom any longer. The parents are so happy. They now say that we should cement the floors because of the gift we have been given. Everyone is so excited now about our school. We say that now things will continue to improve."

There are many smiles and encouraging remarks. I leave Muzinta feeling good about what I see. The small inputs that we were able to make appear to have revitalized the school. I am hopeful that things will continue to improve.

I am also able to visit three TTCs. Ten minutes before I arrive at the first one a young female student tragically and unexpectedly dies. "She had a headache and a fever but we had no idea she was this sick." The deputy teacher is concerned that the cause of death is meningitis, fearful because so few students have been vaccinated against the disease. I can understand his concern. Students are crowded into small rooms and, although there are

excellent shower and toilet facilities, given the overcrowded conditions, a highly contagious disease could have disastrous consequences.

All three TTCs follow a self-reliance program. They grow their own food and develop small-scale industries to subsidize their government allocations. Furthermore, two are sponsored by religious organizations and are clearly better endowed. One of the three is struggling to develop a special education section for mentally, hearing and physically impaired children. "To my knowledge we are the only TTC in Uganda that is doing this," the director tells me.

Despite noticeable differences in physical plants, I am impressed with how alike the three schools are. All three are in remote locations well off the main road. Supplies, particularly instructional materials, are almost non-existent. None have running water and only one has a bore hole closer than 2 km away. All three TTC's are operating significantly below capacity level. All three institutions are clearly "pushing" their programs and are painfully aware of recent rumors to cut the number of TTCs. And (like district level educational officers) when asked what their greatest needs are, I am told the same thing at all three schools, "We need textbooks, resource books and furniture."

#### D. CONCLUSION

If our visit was reflective of life in Muzinta Primary School, we have learned that there was in effect, no teaching taking place and very little learning there as well. Even some of the "learning" that did occur was miseducative. Student/teacher ratios often doubled in the classrooms because of teacher absenteeism and their engaging in non-work related activities during school hours. Supplies were almost non-existent, IDA textbooks weren't used or were made ineffective because of the manner in which they were implemented in the classroom. Students were bored, disengaged and clearly confused about things they were being taught. All the teachers, with the exception of one, appeared to be teaching at a higher level than they had the skills for themselves. None of the teachers were prepared--even on the second and third days when they knew observations would be made in their classrooms. Teachers were aggressive with the students, intimidating and overly stern. Had we not been there, I'm sure that corporal punishment would have been freely executed. The school lacked any firm direction and was barely managing to survive from day to day. Furthermore, the headmaster was ineffective both as an administrative leader and teacher.

But the teachers at Muzinta are not the root of the problem. Poorly trained and undersupplied, they do the best they can under difficult circumstances. Their days are long, particularly when one considers the commuting distances and additional non-teaching responsibilities they have. In spite of their difficult situations most (here as well as elsewhere) spoke quite passionately about the work they were doing and their desire to remain in the classroom. Perhaps Emmanuel best summed up their perspective when he told

me, "We must teach here and do the best we can with what we have and what we know. The children need us. They are Uganda's future."

If parents and PTA's are the backbone of financing and physical plant development, my conversations with them would seem to indicate that little help from them will be readily available. In as much as parents value primary schooling (which is debatable) and support the costs of it, things will move ahead. However, in many cases parents are unable to give more because of the lack of readily available cash. Families in that area tended to be subsistence farmers with a limited number of cash crops. Although the figures are not easily substantiated, conversations with parents seemed to support that the limited cash they had was already being "eaten up" by school fees for only some of their children.

During my interview with the PTA members, I observed that when I asked them why they supported education for their children, the response frequently cited in the literature was notably absent. The African model of educational investments--educate one child to a high level, preferably the oldest son, so that he can get a good job and financially assist the rest of the family--may not operate in Uganda. This model may not operate because of the opportunity costs of children who can find lucrative ways to contribute to the family's income without an education. If this is the situation, the government initiative to move towards free primary education by the year 2003 may be ineffective in responding to the large numbers of children (30 percent would be a conservative estimate) who never enter a school and to lower the rate of school leavers.

There is little incentive for teachers to become more actively involved in their work. Despite the recent MOE increases, the teachers at Muzinta were unable to adequately support themselves on their salaries, particularly since the Muzinta PTA did not provide any housing. The teachers developed survival strategies, including coaching, that take time and energy away from their professional obligations. Time conflicts were exacerbated with the P1-P4 teachers (all of whom were women) because of the added obligation of domestic and childcare responsibilities that they had. It should be noted that childcare responsibilities posed a time commitment problem (and distraction) in the classroom as well as in the home.

In as much as Muzinta's primary school is generalizable, primary schooling in Uganda is in a state of crisis.

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**EDUCATION MANAGEMENT  
STUDY REPORT**

**Conditions, Policy Options  
and Initiatives**

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## **PREFACE**

This report provides information to enable USAID to develop a program to assist primary education in Uganda. The report describes the current conditions in primary education and discusses a range of policy options and initiatives that could be undertaken by USAID to assist the education sector. The report contains a separately bound Executive Summary.

This report was prepared by the Jay Moskowitz (team leader), Diane Vanbelle-Prouty (educational specialist), Mark Hoffman (management specialist) and Paul Coates (finance specialist). The report was prepared in the field, following a visit from September 2, 1991 to October 25, 1991.

## ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

ADB	African Development Bank
AEO	Assistant Education Officer
BED	Basic Education Database
BEIRD	Basic Education for Integrated Rural Development
BEND	Basic Education for National Development
DA	District Administrator
DANIDA	Danish International Development Agency
DEC	District Education Committee
DEO	District Education Officer
DES	District Executive Secretary
EEC	European Economic Community
EPRC	Education Policy Review Commission
ERTV	Educational Radio and Television
ESCP	Establishment Staffing Control Project
GOU	Government of Uganda
IDA	International Development Association (World Bank)
ITEK	Institute for Teacher Education at Kyambogo
MITEP	Mubende Intensive Teacher Education Project
MLG	Ministry of Local Governments
MOE	Ministry of Education
MOF	Ministry of Finance
MOH	Ministry of Health
MPSCA	Ministry of Public Service and Cabinet Affairs
PED	Ministry of Planning and Economic Development
NCDC	National Curriculum Development Center
NGO	Non-governmental Organization

NPA	Non-Project Assistance
NURP	Northern Uganda Redevelopment Project
ODA	Overseas Development Association
P1	Primary Year 1
P7	Primary Year 7
PAPSCA	Program for the Alleviation of Poverty and the Social Costs of justment
PIU	Planning Implementation Unit
PLE	Primary Leaving Examination
PTA	Parent-Teachers' Association
PTTC	Primary Teachers Training College
PU	Planning Unit
PVO	Private Voluntary Organization
RC	Resistance Council
SHEP	School Health Education Project
STEPU	Science and Technology Equipment Production Unit
TSC	Teacher Service Commission
TTC	Teacher Training College
UNDP	United Nations Development Program
UNEB	Uganda National Examination Board
UNESCO	United Nations Education, Social and Culture Organization
UNICEF	United Nations Children Fund
USAID	United States Agency for International Development--Uganda Mission
USHS	Uganda Shillings
WFP	World Food Programme

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## I. INTRODUCTION

Primary education in Uganda is deteriorating. The statistics on school facilities, unqualified teachers and lack of materials reflect these conditions. However, the statistics do not reflect the limited human capital available to improve the situation. Most primary teachers attribute the failures to under-compensation, lack of teaching materials and semi-permanent classrooms. Although remedying these inadequacies is crucial, primary education suffers the most because teachers lack basic knowledge that is a precondition to learning how to teach.

The inadequacies of the teacher staff reflect broader problems for Uganda's educational system. The current system cannot attract qualified teacher candidates, train new teachers, provide proper inspection of schools, finance the distribution of a reasonable quantity of instructional materials or teach practical instruction skills.

Any set of policy options and initiatives to improve primary education in Uganda must recognize that it will be a substantial accomplishment simply to arrest further deterioration.

The GOU recognizes the dimensions of these problems and is leading the call for a complete overhaul of the primary education system. USAID assistance can be used to support initiatives already present in the system.

This report discusses ways in which USAID can assist in expanding educational opportunities and hopefully improve primary education. In particular, the report discusses initiatives for distribution of textbooks and instructional materials, provision of teacher training and other strategies that could contribute to improving student learning. The report also discusses policy options that might be developed with GOU for ministerial implementation to assure financial support for primary education and establish fiscal accountability.

### A. APPROACH

This report was prepared by the Education-Management Study Team. The team was in Uganda from September 2, 1991 to October 25, 1991. The team consisted of an educational economist/policy analyst, an educational ethnographer, a management consultant and a financial consultant. The team conducted interviews (Appendix A) in Kampala and 11 districts. In each district the team visited schools and spoke with teachers and met with district administrative staff and parents.

The team examined what the system for primary education is **intended** to do. Discussions were held with the National Curriculum Development Center (NCDC), Uganda National Examination Board (UNEB), various offices of the Ministry of Education responsible for teacher training, program administration, school inspection, and appropriate district education

officers. Interviews were conducted with MOE and NGO project implementors and other GOU Ministries involved in primary education financing and planning.

The team employed a technique known as triangulation before determining its findings. Triangulation requires identifying three independent sources of information through multiple interviews, multiple interviewers, site visits and secondary sources. To facilitate triangulation, the team developed and used an interview protocol for site visits (Appendix B), and met regularly to develop working hypotheses. Each team member, trained in different methods and approaches, has come to common findings and conclusions through the use of the triangulation process.

The team believes that this report reflects what the system is supposed to be doing, would like to accomplish, is currently doing and can be realistically expected to accomplish.

## **B. BACKGROUND**

USAID began investigating the potential for providing assistance to the Ugandan Education Sector in the spring of 1990. An Education Sector Study was prepared which discussed the state of education and potential areas where assistance could be provided. In subsequent memorandums and in the drafting of the CPSP, USAID refined its thinking on how best to help Uganda's primary education system. Four areas were selected for additional analysis:

- The distribution of textbooks;
- In-service teacher training;
- Curricula and examination reform; and,
- Teacher incentives.

The mission was particularly concerned about the ability of the GOU to be fiscally accountable. A combination of poor record keeping and a history of "money being eaten" suggested that any education sector program had to be cognizant of the problems of seepage at all service delivery levels (central government, district, school, and classroom).

At the same time that USAID was beginning its investigation of Ugandan educational needs, GOU was formulating its education goals and strategies. These were initially catalogued in the Education Policy Review Commission Report and subsequent draft White Paper. The GOU developed a wide-ranging list of goals; many goals are fiscally unattainable and constrained by limited human capital, however, not all the goals were over-optimistic.

Several goals are particularly germane for a USAID education sector initiative. First, the GOU intends to shift emphasis away from secondary and tertiary education and concentrate resources on primary education. Second, the GOU hopes to provide free universal primary education by 2003. This will approximately double the number of students and, according to a modelling exercise funded by the World Bank's IDA4 project, nearly double the number of teachers needed in primary education. Third, the GOU has identified the need to upgrade licensed teachers to Grade III qualifications as a key element of its strategy. This latter approach is reflected in IDA5 planning documents. Fourth, the GOU desires to shift the curriculum from one that emphasizes rote memorization to one that supports problem solving and acquiring practical skills.

Achieving significant improvements in education will be a daunting task. The current economic returns to education are limited for those with only a primary school education. A common refrain heard from parents and bureaucrats alike was that the cost of education kept increasing while the quality and utility of primary education was declining. To the extent that this perception is real, it may explain in part why parental and governmental support for primary education lags behind most other African countries. Access to education and materials has improved markedly over the last decade. In 1980, only 500 primary schools existed; today, the number is close to 8,000. Similarly, while textbooks are in very short supply, the number has increased from about 1 book for 12 children to 1 book for 6 children. However, the quality of teachers is reported to have declined as the system has expanded. Approximately 60 percent of all primary teachers are unqualified. In rural districts this figure increases to 80 percent.

### **C. ORGANIZATION OF THE REPORT**

In this report, Chapter 2 explores the relationship between education and development. The chapter includes a brief review of GOU policy goals, USAID program goals and objectives and potential program evaluation criteria.

Chapter 3 describes the current conditions found in the Uganda primary education system. Chapter 4 includes a description of the principal actors, their current activities in primary education and the study team's critique of these entities.

Chapters 2 through 4 are intended to provide USAID with an understanding of the environment in which their assistance will operate.

Chapter 5 discusses policy options and initiatives that USAID might undertake to achieve its objectives. A wide range of alternatives are discussed, with attention to what the option seeks to accomplish. Chapter 6 covers the factors affecting the implementation management structure and sustainability.

#### **D. ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS**

The study team would like to thank Cyprian Batala and Sam Onok of the Ministry of Education for their assistance in conducting this study. At the USAID/Uganda Mission, Holly Wise served as project monitor, providing direction and support. Others at the mission generously provided technical input and helped to make the team's time in Uganda enjoyable. Throughout the conduct of this study, in Kampala as well as outside, the numerous people interviewed were forthcoming in their responses and exceedingly generous with their time.

## II. EDUCATION--WHY SHOULD WE CARE?

Education in general, and primary education in particular, can propel a developing nation upward. Unfortunately, much of the education observed in the 11 districts visited will contribute little to Uganda's development.

In a developing country education supplies an increasingly qualified work force, a population with common knowledge of national goals and objectives, reduced population growth, the ability to attack disease, and improved economic conditions. Education is also fulfillment of a political right--a response to the colonial elite educational system that well educated a select few and left the remainder of the population outside the schoolhouse looking in.

### A. EDUCATION AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

***Social Rates of Return*** - The linkage between education and development can be measured by the social rate of return to education. Studies show that the social rates are higher for underdeveloped than developed countries, and in Africa, higher for primary education than secondary and tertiary education (Psacharopoulos, 1985). The most recent social rates for Uganda are from 1965. This data shows a return 3 and 5 times higher, respectively, for primary over secondary and tertiary education. While many events have transpired since 1965 to suggest narrower differences among educational levels today, the 1965 magnitude is so dramatic that it is unlikely that primary education would still not provide higher social rates of return. Massive inflation, economically attractive alternatives to schooling, and the recent history of negative economic growth probably have weakened the economic returns from primary education. However, with economic growth and political stability a more normal pattern should reemerge.

***Literacy*** - Education is the vehicle for the creation of a more literate population, which in turn contributes to development in many ways. A literate population is a significant factor in improving family health and nutrition, reducing fertility and increasing life expectancy. The education of the potential mother is especially important in determining children's health. In Uganda a strong relationship exists between child immunization and parent education (UNICEF, 1988). The USAID assisted study, Uganda Demographic and Health Survey (1988/89) (UDHS), provides dramatic support for the influence of a mother's education on child survival. With no education, the mortality rate per thousand for children under five was 198.4, but for the mother who had a primary education the rate was 30 percent less. Hopefully, increased literacy through improved primary education can play a significant role in increasing AIDS awareness. In Uganda, the adult literacy rate is estimated at 57 percent (IBRD, 1988); although the literacy rate in English (the language required for many areas of economic development) is lower.

***Agricultural Production*** - In Uganda where agriculture remains a key to economic growth, knowledge of better agricultural production methods supports improved standards of living. While there are no recent agricultural surveys and no labor force survey to assess benefits of education to agriculture, there are well established patterns of increased production associated with higher educational attainment levels found elsewhere that would probably pertain to Uganda. Currently, extension services in Uganda provide both basic education and extension education.

## **B. GOU GOALS FOR PRIMARY EDUCATION**

According to the Education Policy Review Commission Report (EPRC) (1989) education is failing in Uganda. The report cites the current inability of the education system to promote a "sense of national unity, self-reliance, social justice and equity, scientific and technical knowledge, cultural values, literacy and a sense of mutual social responsibility..." (p. vi). Nor does the primary education system provide practical or higher order thinking skills.

The GOU has identified several key goals for primary education. They are:

- Provide universal free primary education;
- Shift resources away from secondary and tertiary education and to primary education;
- Improve the quality of the teaching staff;
- Shift the curriculum from emphasizing rote memorization to supporting problem solving and practical skills;
- Conduct formative and summative evaluation of students;
- Reduce parental financial contributions; and,
- Reduce intra-district disparities in educational facilities.

The Ugandan educational system finds itself at a critical junction. The GOU recognizes the need for a drastic overhaul of the system (EPRC, Draft White Paper) at a time when parental support for education is waning due to perceived (and probably accurate) declining quality for increasing cost. The GOU does not have adequate resources to improve the system. USAID can play a substantial role in stabilizing and hopefully improving primary education.

## C. USAID GOALS FOR PRIMARY EDUCATION

**USAID Focusing Goals** - Previous USAID analyses have discussed goals for a USAID primary education sector support program (USAID, 1990; 1991a; 1991b; 1991c). Over the course of the last 18 months, the program goals have been refined from encompassing a wide and disparate assortment of needs to targeting assistance to activities that directly improve student learning. Initially, the areas of primary teacher training, headteacher education, management information systems, ministry-level institutional strengthening, broad curriculum changes, examination reform, increased teacher compensation and community self-help programs were considered. The goals now are much more focused. This report provides the Mission with additional information that should enable it to select specific program goals, policy options and program initiatives.

USAID involvement in the Uganda education sector depends on at least three factors: financial and human resources available to commit; the ability of the Ugandan educational system to absorb those resources (again in both financial and human terms); and, the time frame over which such a program will be implemented.

If USAID assistance is to significantly impact Ugandan primary education in the classroom and be even moderately sustainable, USAID must figuratively not place the cart in front of the horse. Many early explorations of potential USAID goals (and recent IDA5 plans) are more than the educational system can deal with. The greatest need is to arrest deterioration in the quality of primary education, not develop an unrealistic system. While the GOU has led the call for widespread educational reform, progress has been slow.

The study team concurs with recent drafts of the USAID/Uganda Country Strategic Plan (CPSP) which proposes concentrating USAID assistance in services directly related to classroom instruction. However, USAID can and should play a role in motivating the GOU to move more quickly in improving primary education. Encouragement of the GOU might be provided in the form of policy reform and other conditions precedent, budgetary support and technical assistance.

**Improving Student Learning** - Improving student learning in Uganda hinges on three key factors: 1) improving teaching skills; 2) increasing teacher and student access to books and instructional materials; and, 3) improving teacher compensation. As discussed in the next section, the needs in these areas are so great that USAID support at any significant financial level could, over time, provide meaningful assistance.

USAID must consider whether/how to assure that its programs are financially and institutionally sustainable by the GOU. There are trade-offs that need be considered in program design between program size, duration and ability and willingness of the GOU to sustain program initiatives. Previous aid by other donors can be characterized as "emergency aid--keeping the patient alive." However, USAID enters the educational sector at a time

when continuing "emergency aid" may be counterproductive. The GOU has to recognize that it cannot make education a preeminent part of its future through rhetoric alone. USAID assistance should not provide GOU a reason to avoid making substantial changes in the amount or allocation of resources for education, nor provide GOU with reasons for postponing institutional reforms, especially reforms affecting quality of education.

For learning to occur, certain conditions must be met. One is that instructional materials build on the experience base that children bring to the classroom linking the familiar with the unknown. Interaction in the classroom needs to use the knowledge and skills that the children do have in order to help them explore concepts and ideas that they do not have. This means that teachers need to teach new ideas as well as teach to the misconceptions of the child. Children need to talk and write about what they are learning. They need to be grouped so that learning is a shared adventure with each child free to contribute, question and create; and with the teacher-facilitator directing, but not controlling this process. For learning to occur, there must be the expectation that all children can and will learn. Children must feel that the classroom is an environment where they can make mistakes without being penalized. Finally, for learning to occur children need to have their physical needs met. These pre-conditions for learning affect the choice of USAID program objectives.

#### **D. USAID PROGRAM OBJECTIVES**

Actual improvements in the overall quality of primary education will be extremely difficult to accomplish. In order to achieve progress towards the broad policy statements, USAID must identify the specific objectives that will contribute to achieving improved primary education. Some of these objectives are relatively easy to identify. For others, the relationship between objective and the stated goal is less clear and subject to some debate.

The following program objectives are fairly well understood by the GOU and the Mission, and their relationship to improvements in educational quality are direct and substantiable.

*Supportive GOU Education Policies* - One of the primary objectives of the program must be to assist the GOU in the development and implementation of national policies that will support Primary Education in a direct, material way. Policy initiatives that are principally statements of intent or that lack sufficient funding are of no appreciable benefit. The importance of this objective cannot be overemphasized; it is only through continuing GOU support that improvements in primary education may be sustained.

*English Literacy and Competency for all Pupils Completing Primary School* - The ability to read and communicate is the most fundamental measure of the success of primary education, and English is the language needed for advancement in the school system and in most aspects of the socio-economic system. These skills should be taught at levels appropriate to each grade such that even early leavers will retain some proficiency.

*Numerical Skills Learned at Each Grade* - The primary education system should teach the pupil basic numerical skills, at increasing levels of complexity. Regardless of instructional language, numerical skills are universally important. The curriculum should direct that primary school graduates can perform the four basic mathematical functions at an appropriate level.

Other aspects of education are less universally related to the goal of improving student learning, but determine the overall relevancy of the learning and hence its value as determined by parents and society.

*Relative Economic Outputs and Job Skills* - The curriculum of the primary school system should recognize the economic opportunities that are realistically available to Ugandans and help to prepare them accordingly.

*Instruction in Health, Nutrition and AIDS* - The primary school curriculum should include significant emphasis on practical knowledge of nutrition, health and AIDS education.

*Education in Social Justice and Citizenship* - The primary schools should strive to instill in pupils the moral values and societal responsibilities that will support the general development of Uganda.

The program goals and policy options, in conjunction with the specific initiatives, will drive the development of the program management structure. Each element is interrelated and USAID should consider this relationship when performing the detailed project design.

The overall program should be consistent with the Mission's Country Development Strategy. There may be Mission considerations that will need to be recognized in the program design such as "public image" and the greatest immediate impact for the donor's dollars.

The program implementation management structure should be consistent with the Mission's organizational structure and minimize the administrative burden on USAID/Uganda. The concept of program accountability according to USAID criteria will be factored into the evaluation of alternative strategies. Areas where this will be particularly important are procurement of commodities, funds control, documentation of expenditures, program audits, periodic reporting and technical progress consistent with program design as demonstrable in program evaluations.

## **E. EVALUATION OF EDUCATION PROGRAM**

Any program developed by USAID should, at the outset, consider its eventual evaluation. As a first step, this report provides base line data on a number of quantitative measures of the current primary education system, as well as data on expenditure levels by sources

(Appendix C). Comparing this information with similar data at the end of the program provides one way to measure effectiveness.

In addition, each option and initiative has its own potential outcome measure. For example:

*Teacher Training* - one can initially pick a small random sample of schools and identify the teachers. After the program, one could measure how many teachers have received USAID-funded services and how many remain within the primary educational system. Similarly one could examine PLE results for schools before and after a 5 year program. This latter measure could also be used in conjunction with any materials or textbook distribution.

*School Facilities* - one can select a sample of schools and develop checklists of the resources available; a checklist after supplying the school could then be compared with a checklist prepared at the end of the program. Are the facilities better than originally supplied? Or are they at the same, better, or worse level than when originally supplied with USAID-funded materials or furniture?

*Small Grant Competition* - one can determine the extent to which ideas and programs originally funded through this program have entered the educational system by becoming part of the operations of district Inspectorates and the Ministry of Education.

*Parental Support* - one could do a small public opinion poll now and in 5 years to determine whether parental support for schools has improved. One can also examine what has occurred with PTA fees over the time period. While one cannot directly associate increased parental support with USAID programs, the anticipated size of the USAID program has to be viewed as a contributing element.

The key point in an evaluation is having useful data from the period before program initiation. Therefore, regardless of the specific option or initiative chosen, USAID should collect relevant baseline data. Assuming a 5 year program it is proposed that an interim evaluation be conducted at the end of year 3 and a final evaluation at the project's closeout.

### III. UGANDAN PRIMARY EDUCATION

#### A. PROBLEMS IN EDUCATION

This chapter reviews the failures and weaknesses of primary education for Uganda as a whole and conveys the conditions that form a starting point for designing USAID's program.

**Caution is needed--the quality of basic educational data in Uganda is questionable. Such standard information as number of children attending school, number and distribution of teachers, and the number of schools varies by source. Information on teacher certification has massive gaps, no information is collected at a central location for total primary education expenditures, and the Ministry of Education admits that data quality is poor.**

*Attendance* - Approximately 2.5 million students attend Uganda government primary schools and another 90,000 attend private schools. The enrollment rate is between 60 and 75 percent (USAID, 1990; Nazareth, 1991) with approximately 30 percent of children coverage. The enrollment rate is virtually the same as in 1970 when Uganda was an educational leader in Africa. Today, Uganda finds itself among the lowest third of African countries.

Dropout rates are substantial. The cohort survival rate (CSR), as measured by the ratio of Primary Leaving Exam (PLE) registered students to P1 enrollments seven years earlier, is only 35 percent. That is, the chances of a current P7 student having begun his/her schooling seven years ago are only 1 in 3. The CSR is lower for girls than boys and lower in rural than urban areas--inequities that exist throughout the system.

Implementing GOU's goal of universal primary education will result in a significant increase in primary school enrolment. According to MOE projections, enrollments will more than double to between 5.26 and 5.47 million primary school students, and the CSR will increase to 42 percent by the year 2000. While the team believes these figures to be unrealistically high (because of assumptions about growth and transition rates), significant increases in enrollments would doubtless occur if free primary education were offered.

*Teachers* - To educate current students the system employs approximately 86,000 primary school teachers, of whom 60 percent are unqualified as reported by the Teacher Service Commission. Many teachers lack basic knowledge in the subject areas being taught and almost all teachers, whether qualified (Grade III) or licensed (unqualified), lack skills in basic teaching methodologies.

*Teacher Compensation* - To become a teacher in Uganda is relatively easy; to survive as a teacher is very difficult. The current compensation received is barely capable of

sustaining a single person; let alone providing a income for a family. By Ugandan standards, teachers are poorly paid.

Until July, 1991, primary teachers received approximately 4,000 Uganda Shillings (USHS) per month in salary from the GOU and between 500-5,000 USHS per month in allowances from the PTAs (Appendix C). In July the GOU began paying a 5,000 USHS per month allowance. Some teachers also receive PTA housing and many upper primary teachers supplement their incomes by coaching students for a fee.

To provide perspective, a living wage in Uganda is estimated at 20-50,000 USHS per month. Teachers are often absent from the classroom while tending to other income generating activities such as operating small shops, trading or gardening.

The system provides few pecuniary incentives for upgrading certification or retention. The resulting turnover rate is understandably high. While no precise teacher attrition statistics exist, interviews suggest probable rates of between 10 and 20 percent, in contrast to the EPRC estimates of 5 to 10 percent.

*Teacher Training* - Qualified teachers receive training through a system of primary teacher training colleges (TTC). From a high of 94 in 1989, the GOU has reduced the number of TTCs to 65 and are being pressured by the World Bank to further reduce the number to 34. The TTCs have poor facilities and provide low quality training. The dropout rate is approximately 50 percent. Of those completing two years of training many do not pass the qualifying examinations and therefore become licensed teachers.

Many who do successfully complete the program do not enter teaching or enter with the intent of quickly seeking upgrade to secondary school teacher where compensation is significantly better.

While everyone recognizes the problem of poorly trained teachers, most research studies have focused solely on turning licensed teachers into qualified teachers. Unfortunately, a majority of the licensed teachers lack the capacity to be upgraded to qualified teachers. This assessment is based upon the team's observations and upon ActionAid's recent teacher screening tests performed as part of a pilot teacher training program.

*Teacher Shortage* - The problem of the lack of teachers and low skill levels will only be exacerbated as the number of pupils increases, particularly in rural and outlying urban areas. The MOE estimates, using a low 5 percent attrition rate and increasing the national student teacher ratio from 31 to 40, that an additional 54,000 teachers will be required by the year 2000. The TTCs cannot come close to supplying qualified teachers to meet this anticipated demand. Even with slower growth in student enrollment, the lack of qualified teaching staff will persist for many years to come.

***School Facilities*** - Teachers and students come together each day to try to teach and learn. For many students this means sitting on the dirt floor, under very poor lighting, without ventilation (unless the classroom has no walls or roof). The facilities are generally worse in the lower grades. There are an estimated 8,000 schools. Most schools run one class each of grades P1 through P7.

***The Cupboard is Bare*** - A classroom typically contains a blackboard and nothing else. Students lack textbooks, readers and exercise books. The teachers lack teacher guides, supplemental teaching materials, and a desk and chair.

***Inadequate Number of Classrooms*** - According to MOE (1991), the student/classroom ratio is a high 54.7. "If a target ratio of 40 is taken, there is then a backlog of 20,900 classrooms to be built just to provide places for existing students..." (p. 31). It will take construction of another 5,000 to 7,000 new classrooms per year to respond to projected enrollment growth.

***Educational Approach*** - Even if the school facilities were made pristine and the cupboard filled, education would not improve appreciably. Teachers must first be trained in how to utilize textbooks and how to interact with students. The basic teaching technique is reciting and copying. Students repeat sentences spoken by their teacher and copy material from the blackboard into their exercise books. The emphasis is on rote memorization of factual material.

Teachers lack the skills to develop creative alternatives to the current approach. Furthermore, the dominating role the PLE plays in primary education is so pervasive that the exam (which is factually-oriented) supports the "chalk and talk" approach to teaching.

***Teaching Language*** - Uganda uses two different approaches in the language of instruction in primary grades. In rural areas students in grades P1-P3 are taught in a local language. Beginning in P4 the students migrate to English as the medium of instruction. In urban and certain rural areas, students commence English based instruction at P1 but teachers often lack sufficient English language proficiency to communicate lessons accurately. While the use of a local language in P1-P3 has a basis in educational pedagogy, the exclusive use of English for the PLE may disadvantage students who start in a local language.

***Parental Response*** - The public response to this situation of deteriorating education and increasing cost is not clear. In some areas, schools and teachers appear to be losing support. The support for schools seems to vary considerably by region and may be related to local community values. From field visits, it appears that support for education is strongest in the urban areas and Buganda region.

Some students are not attending school because of the inability of their parents to pay school fees. Others are not in school because other alternatives such as agriculture, fishing and

smuggling provide a better economic alternative. While considerable grumbling was heard in interviews and the press, the number of students has not declined appreciably; although the enrollment growth rate has dropped significantly since 1985 (primarily because of a reduction in average children attending school).

According to the World Bank (PAPSCA Staff Appraisal Report, 1990), efforts to keep school fees down have resulted in decreasing levels of quality and literacy. The same report indicates that school fees are becoming an increasing cause of school dropout.

Parental response and continuing support is of paramount importance in arresting the decline in primary education. Primary education is financed from the bottom up, with parents assuming approximately 50-90 percent of the cost, depending on the district, locale and wealth of the community (Appendix C). If parents turn against the system or are priced out of the system there is little the GOU can do in the short to midterm to rectify such a situation.

**Financing Primary Education** - Primary education is financed jointly by the parents, GOU and districts. Decentralization is the established method of operating and allocating funds for primary education. Education is poorly financed in Uganda when compared to other African nations. In part, this reflects the impact that structural adjustment and the accompanying deficit reduction have on government spending as Uganda attempts to move towards a balanced budget and a reduced debt burden.

Between 1980 and 1987, total government expenditures allocated to education (recurrent and capital) ranged from 10.4 to 15 percent. From 1987 until 1991, the share of government expenditures dropped to about 12 percent. Projected budgets (Appendix C) show a significant rise in 1991. Many Sub-Saharan countries allocate over 16 percent, and some have been raising expenditures to 23 or 24 percent (Ghana and Swaziland). In addition to the heavy debt burden faced by Uganda, defense spending competes with education for GOU funds.

Primary education in Uganda has been allocated a smaller share of the total education budget than any other Sub-Saharan Africa nation--16 percent compared to an average 42 percent (using 1983 data). Recent shifts in government priorities have raised that percentage significantly; however, until one can use audited actual expenditure data as a basis of comparison, the magnitude of the shift remains unclear. Actual expenditures can vary significantly from budgeted amounts. It is clear that the GOU has a long way to go until it mirrors the commitment to primary education that has been demonstrated in other parts of Africa.

**Money and Quality** - The impact of financing primary education by parents is that the wealth of the parent plays a key role in the quality of school their children attend. The distribution of school quality reflects income distribution. Schools with greater financial resources attract better qualified teachers, provide furniture and supply some instructional materials. Better

schools then attract more money and better teachers and the cycle of improvement for a few schools continues. Other schools follow the same cycle--**but in reverse**. Limited funding, poor facilities, unskilled teachers and low quality becoming a self-defeating cycle.

***Private Schools*** - In recent years alternative, low-cost private schools have begun to proliferate. These schools are characterized by government officials as sub-standard. Their existence and growth demonstrate that for certain segments of the population, the current cost of government schools is out of reach.

Previous research has basically ignored how to treat these schools. For example, IDA4 textbooks were only sent to government schools and government approved private schools. Since all schools are basically privately funded it may be important to develop a policy for treating and upgrading private schools as well as government schools.

***Managerial Capacity*** - A fundamental problem with the Ugandan educational system is its limited capacity, in human capital terms, to respond to the problems discussed above. The shortage of skilled teachers is matched by an equally critical shortage of personnel with managerial talents or training. A detailed discussion of this problem is provided in the critique of existing entities, Chapter 3.

***Misallocated, Misspent and Missing Resources*** - Primary education is not immune from incidence of corruption that exists in Uganda. The team was not concerned with auditing current operations nor looking for illegal activities. In attempting to understand 1) how programs operate, and 2) how to ensure that USAID assistance is received by intended beneficiaries, the team learned about funds spent improperly and diverted for private gain. Textbooks were sold. Motorcycles disappeared. Iron sheets evaporated.

As discussed in 3.1, the weaknesses in internal controls and accounting practices are widespread throughout in the primary education system.

***AIDS and Education*** - The tragic dimensions of the AIDS epidemic and its impact on education are just beginning to be felt. As increasing numbers of teachers die and primary age children are orphaned because of AIDS, the devastating effects of this disease will become clear.

According to the GOU, at least 1.5 million Ugandans are infected, of whom about 100,000 are under 15 years of age. Traditionally orphans become part of an extended family who assume responsibility for their school fees. The magnitude of the AIDS epidemic threatens this role of the extended family. The GOU has a policy to assist orphans, but even at current low incidence levels, funding is woefully inadequate. Who will pay the school fees in the future?

A more serious threat is the possible impact of AIDS on the supply of teachers. Many primary teachers are relatively young and the highest HIV prevalence rate is in the 20 to 24 age range for females and in the 25 to 34 age range for males. GOU estimates that as much as 12 percent to 13 percent of the adult population is currently HIV positive. Conservatively estimating that the same percentage applies to primary teachers, 12,000 of the 86,000 primary teachers could be removed from the education system in the next 7 to 10 years. This compares to the current input of qualified teachers of about 3,000 per year.

Perhaps the potentially greatest impact that AIDS will have on education is indirect. AIDS will place increasing demands on available resources--the education sector will face increased competition from the health sector for GOU and district funds. Household expenditures for health will increase creating additional pressure to restrain the growth in school fees. If the AIDS impact is so great as to result in a slowdown in economic growth, further impact will be felt in education.

## **B. EQUITY CONCERNS**

In addition to facing institutional-based problems USAID should recognize that these problems impact sub-populations in different ways. In this section the report briefly explores specific equity concerns.

*How, When, Where* - In any project such as the one USAID is hoping to implement, determining how aid investments are distributed--when, where, how, how much--can pose not only logistical problems but also concern about equity issues. There are already inherent inequities in the Ugandan system which might further exacerbate the unequal educational opportunity that many students have. Factors such as urban/rural location, gender, socio-economic status, language of instruction, religion and ethnicity need to be considered. Currently, some of the most disadvantaged students attending school in Uganda are those whose parents will only invest in illegal, private schooling for their children. USAID needs to consider how it will respond to the needs of this group of children.

A second issue that needs further study concerns opportunity cost, and the parental perception of the value of an education. A substantial number of children may have access denied because their parents are unable to pay the required school fees. With the proposed MOE objective to achieve free primary schooling by 2003 children whose parents are unable to pay will be able to attend. It is possible that a great number of the children are not in school because there are more profitable ways to earn a living than one can achieve through education. Areas that border Tanzania and Kenya provide lucrative opportunities in smuggling. Fishing and rice growing are also activities that draw students (particularly adolescent boys) out of the classroom.

Consequently, government initiatives to provide free primary schooling may not significantly influence primary school attendance for these children. Interviews with the district education officers demonstrated that few were taking an active role in determining why children in their districts were not in school or developing any substantial program to heighten awareness for the need of an education. Therefore, USAID may consider to undertake a study to determine the impact that opportunity cost plays on school attendance and develop a PR program to "talk school attendance."

**Gender** - Research on gender equity in both developed and developing countries has demonstrated that focusing attention on access issues tends to ignore the impact that interaction patterns and expectations--between teachers and students as well as interaction between students--have in the classroom.

Participation rates for girls is much lower in the sciences, math, and technical subjects, coursework that tends to lead to high status professions and career options. The caretaking role that women have in society is often reinforced in the classroom. Studies have shown that textbooks, particularly those written in developing countries, are strongly gender biased characterizing women as passive individuals who have a subordinate position in society. The administrative hierarchy that is usually evident at schools reinforces that men are in charge and give directions to women. In the classroom and out on the playground boys dominate time, space and materials.

Although there has been only a limited amount of observations made in classrooms at the primary level, there has been little evidence that gender patterns are significantly different in Uganda than the rest of Sub-Saharan Africa.

**Urban/Rural Disparities** - Rural schools are less endowed than urban schools. Since the current financing of education is dependent on parents' ability to pay it is not surprising that such disparities exist. However, no GOU program exists which attempts to ameliorate the situation.

**Geographic Disparities** - Significant geographical disparities exist in Uganda. The Northern region, which continues to be the site of civil disturbances, is considerably poorer and has a significantly lower enrollment rate than the rest of Uganda. Some of the geographic disparities in educational resources may be related to historical patterns of educational development. The Buganda region which played a lead administrative role in colonial times remains the most highly developed educationally.

**Summary** - Education sector assistance by USAID/Uganda will encounter numerous problems--inadequate resources, lack of skills, corruption and unsupportive policies. These problems result in a current education system that is deteriorating as measured by virtually every indices except quantity. However, many of the people interviewed are committed to change. There is a recognition by many Ugandans of the needs of the system. They are

willing to make tough decisions that are necessary to effect change. There are also many dedicated teachers who indicated that with the investment that USAID contemplates making, things could be improved markedly in the classroom.

## IV. ENTITIES IN PRIMARY EDUCATION

This chapter briefly identifies and critiques the principal entities and organizational levels that are involved in primary education. In order to provide the Mission with a manageable range of policy options and possible program initiatives, the team has briefly reviewed the entities that are currently involved in the educational system. These evaluations are not definitive; they are meant to be indicative of the strengths and weaknesses that the organizations face and the conditions an education development program would need to consider if involving the organizations. However, the team's assessment of the weaknesses of the systems throughout the ministries and down to schools, are supported by other work. Reports by both Serafaco Consultants Ltd. and a team from the Department of Manpower Planning and Economic Development, highlight significant weaknesses at all levels (Section 6.11). A more detailed analysis of the accounting systems is included in Appendix D.

### A. MINISTRIES

**Ministry of Education** - The Ministry of Education (MOE) is responsible for formulating education policy and drawing up training curricula and syllabi for primary and post primary education. There is a central Inspectorate within the MOE which has responsibility for monitoring the quality of education provided in the schools. In terms of primary education recurrent expenditures, the MOE is mainly concerned with the payment of teacher's salaries (and allowances) and fees for orphans, NRA children and the children of judges. These payments are made in the form of block checks to districts which are in turn disbursed by the District Education Officer. The estimates for 1991/92 indicates that around 16 billion Ushs (about 16 million U.S. dollars) will be spent on recurrent expenditures, almost three times the amount actually spent in the previous year.

Within the MOE, there is a Project Implementation Unit (PIU) which is responsible for managing capital development projects that are donor assisted. This unit has expatriate technical assistance and has managed the IDA projects. In particular, the unit has undertaken the procurement and distribution of textbooks and educational materials to schools in the primary education sector.

The overall impression of the administrative capability of MOE is low but there are some positive pockets of activity within the ministry. In contrast to the other sections within the ministry, the PIU is well administered. Funds for operating expenses are generally available, simply because the section projects expenditures and then submits requisitions for funds in time. The team was told that other departments often borrowed from the unit to fund their own operating expenses. The PIU has had a proven track record of success in allocating, purchasing and distributing textbooks. The accounting records are manual but are clearly

effective, as evidenced by the clean audit reports and management letters from externally appointed public auditors.

However, the PIU could improve. It has not established procedures to monitor and evaluate the utilization or longevity of the textbooks. Such questions as "Have they been used?" or "How have they survived in the system?" have not been addressed. Also, the presence of expatriates has not immunized the unit from abuse. Despite a directive from the Prime Minister, PIU vehicles have been occasionally seconded for private use by MOE personnel outside the PIU. Funds "borrowed" by other MOE departments have not always been repaid.

The Inspectorate within the MOE has suffered from poor leadership and direction and consequently has been largely ineffective in its role. Conceptually, this division seems to know what it should be doing but lacks the leadership, authority, training and logistical support to perform its role. However, positive signs are evident following a change in leadership and the support of external training initiatives. There is significant improvement to make this function institutionally effective.

Within the remainder of the MOE, the administrative capability is low. For example, the sections which administer the teacher's salaries and school fees are awash with poorly trained and unmotivated staff and are characterized by individuals who, like those in other ministries, are unoccupied. There is a scarcity of meaningful direction from above. This lack of effective supervision and management is characterized by the salaries section where old and new financial monitoring systems are in operation concurrently and where meaningless procedures are being performed at the expense of more useful work. Moreover, the systems lack controls over basic accountability, e.g., districts receive their monthly check regardless of whether or not previous funds have been accounted for. Also, the district salary checks are inaccurate because they are based upon employee registers from the 1989 census. The system of preparing and disbursing the checks is relatively well controlled and effective.

Seepage of funds occurs throughout the GOU ministries. The main difference with MOE salaries is that the abuses have been more widely publicized. While the focus has been on the disappearance of monies at the district level, head office staff have also been involved. The team did not investigate the many abuses it was told of, but there does appear to be the distinct probability that funds intended to pay for orphans' school fees often do not reach the intended recipients and salaries continue to be drawn in the name of teachers who are no longer employed.

**Ministry of Local Government** - The Ministry of Local Government (MLG) is the central government agency responsible for the delivery of primary education services. Operational delivery of these services is delegated to the district authorities and their role is discussed in more detail below. MLG essentially provides a high level funding and financial control function in respect of primary education services and receives policy directives from the

Ministry of Education on these issues. Financial control essentially revolves around the evaluation of district budgets of which a small proportion relates to education.

MLG also provides recurrent expenditure block grants to districts which are intended to fund the purchase of scholastic materials. For GOU, for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1992, the overall provision amounts to 9 billion USHS, (about 9 million U.S. dollars). This estimate is over ten times the amount actually provided; in the previous financial year. The grant is intended to fund scholastic materials such as lesson preparation books, school reports, school registers, administrative stationery and chalk.

Any funds left over are intended to purchase textbooks. Given the level of funding the purchase of textbooks is a purely academic point. Expenditure returns are provided by districts to enable MLG to monitor transactions globally. The MLG does not direct or monitor the district spending by school.

MLG may also provide funding for capital development of primary education facilities. In 1990/91 no such funding was provided; but in 1991/92, the estimates are equivalent to about 220,000 U.S. dollars. The overall thrust of the MLG is to devolve accountability to the district level. The MLG provides limited funding for the purchase of specified materials and construction.

The team observed that the MLG is suffering from many of the same problems as MOE. Therefore, the MLG is not in a promising position regarding material involvement in implementing a USAID funded program.

More specifically, the administrative capability is very low. Their current role in primary education is centered around the tri-annual calculation and distribution of a block grant which in administrative and accounting terms should be relatively easy. Even the MLG admits that its performance in administering the grant is poor. The failure to disburse the grant funds by the beginning of the term is indicative of poor forward planning. The MLG attributes the problem to the fact that it is still being provided with specific directives from the MOF and MOE on the overall level of funds required for the grant.

Not surprisingly, the confusion at high levels leads to misdirection at lower levels. The accounting staff had little concept of the control and monitoring procedures that were supposed to be performed on the education funds.

In terms of monitoring education at the districts, the MLG inspectors are equally inefficient. The MLG Inspectorate is understaffed, lacks the logistical support to perform its duties and, in the words of the Under Secretary of Finance, is "ineffective." There is no program of work and the inspectors serve no advisory or preventive role; they simply react to bad reports from the districts.

**Ministry of Finance** - The Ministry of Finance (MOF) performs the financial monitoring role over all GOU ministries. Each year the ministries submit their estimated expenditures for the following year. MOF evaluates the budget requests and an iterative process follows between the relevant departments to agree on the estimates. The final estimates are presented to Parliament for ratification.

The ministries directly responsible for the provision of primary education are influenced in the development of program budgets in an indirect manner. While the MOF exercises no direct management of primary education initiatives, the priorities of all ministries for all services must be balanced within the global budget.

As expenditures are incurred by all the ministries, the MOF monitors spending against agreed budgets. At the end of the year, the financial statements are prepared and audited by the Comptroller and Auditor General. It is not the role of the MOF to become involved in the detailed policy formulation and implementation of the responsible ministries. The MOF is not a project manager and implementer, it is a global controller of funds.

It appears that MOF is experiencing difficulties in fulfilling its roles. The MOF could not produce a comparison of actual expenditures to budgets for the primary education for the last few years. The MOF does not have the organizational capacity or responsibility for the detailed management of funds, such as specific donor monies for primary education or the tracking of expenditures by districts and schools. In essence, it is fully occupied trying to do its own job and is not interested in being involved in project implementation.

**Ministry of Planning and Economic Development** - In some respects, the Ministry of Planning and Economic Development works at the same level as the MOF. This ministry evaluates the development estimates submitted by the other ministries and places emphasis on the physical infrastructure. MPED has a global policy planning role but no implementation role.

**Ministry of Public Service and Cabinet Affairs** - This ministry is responsible for the Uganda civil service and the employment of Ugandans by the government. The involvement of the MPSCA in primary education is limited to detecting ghost teachers and other abuses of GOU funds through personnel related frauds.

**Overall Conclusion** - The overall conclusion that can be drawn about the GOU ministries is that the administrative capability is low, especially in the area of financial management and control. Both financial and operational data are unreliable despite attempts to address these issues. The MOE statistical unit is attempting to compile basic data on primary education service provision through censuses, but the fact remains that there are no systems in place to routinely gather and update this information. The blame does not entirely rest with central government, because the statistical capability is clearly lacking at the lower levels.

## **B. DISTRICTS**

While the MLG and the MOE are managed separately at the ministry level, their functions converge at the local government tier. Currently, the political leadership of the district is controlled by the District Administrator (DA), while the administrative leader is the District Executive Secretary (DES). GOU announced possible reforms at the time of writing this report that may shift responsibility to the RC5 Chairman. The District Education Officer (DEO) is responsible for implementing and administering primary education policy. However, the implication of this organizational structure is that the DEO is accountable to officers who may have quite different priorities, and educational issues may be influenced by outside factors.

For funding primary education, the district provides the focal point for managing, collecting and disbursing resources. The funds provided centrally from the MLG and the MOE are managed by the DEO. While the allocation of some of the central government funds are supposedly predestined by central government (teachers salaries, orphan's fees), there is scope for local discretion with other funding (development funds, MLG grants).

Revenue is also locally generated, the main source being the Graduated Personal Tax. This tax is collected to fund the activities of local government and around 5 percent is usually devoted to education. Local budgets are determined by the District Finance Committee for recurrent expenditures and by the District Development Committee for capital expenditures. The use of these funds varies between districts depending upon the level of available money, but generally the education budget is used to pay for district staff salaries, the District Inspectorate's expenses, music and sports activities and bursaries (scholarships). The budgets are low and the actual level of funding is even lower.

Some districts have other forms of revenue generation for the primary education sector. For example, a local education tax is collected and special funds may be set up for building construction and rehabilitation. Currently, there are four pilot districts which are administering the Textbook Revolving Fund and are collecting money for the future purchase of textbooks.

In support of the DEO, there is a District Inspectorate charged with the responsibility of inspecting schools. The role of the inspectors is to visit the schools and assess the quality of teaching, provide teacher training, assess the administrative capability and review the facilities.

Each district has a District Education Committee (DEC) which manages the primary education issues, such as school mapping and funding. Below the DEC, there are equivalent committees at county and sub-county levels each of which has representation on the more senior committee.

The two dominant financial systems, the MLG grant and MOE teacher's salaries, are largely the same throughout the districts and therefore the inherent weaknesses are common. Variations in procedures do exist, particularly in the procurement and storage of scholastic materials. The most significant variable is the capability of staff operating the systems. Districts were visited where the staff were keeping records neatly and up-to-date. Other districts were quite the opposite. Where fraud has been discovered, it is often accompanied by the failure to follow established procedures and failure of staff to adequately perform their roles. There is a fundamental lack of awareness of the function of internal controls. Procedures generally incorporate internal controls, such as establishing separate bank accounts with senior signatories, but the accounting staff fail to consider the ramifications when controls are violated. An example of this is teacher salary returns which are meant to prove receipt of payment by the teacher, but which have the same signatures and handwriting against many different names. Such returns are accepted without question.

More generally, the management of funds at the district level is surrounded by a political environment which is thick with conflicting priorities. The propensity for diversion of funds for other uses is high. Without attempting any audit procedures, evidence was found in at least three of the districts visited that funds had been diverted from school materials to other purposes. This should be recalled when considering the placement of USAID funds at this level.

The IDA project to establish a revolving textbook fund is being operated at some districts. This is a good example of placing responsibility for donor initiatives at this level. As the case study reveals, this is being poorly managed and demonstrates the limited capability of district staff to manage financial systems. Little comfort can be derived from the local audit function which polices the systems at this level. Disregarding the challenges of auditing any new systems, their methodologies are outdated, their technical skills are generally low and their coverage of existing systems is poor.

The District Inspectorate is not operating effectively. These officers are quite capable and, with more training, could be made effective. The level of motivation is varied and there is a tendency to apply their efforts to organizing district sporting and music activities. They state that the crux of the problem lies with the absence of logistical support. They simply do not have the means or funds to physically travel to the schools. Usually, the team will try to visit about 25 percent of the schools in the district once a year. The actual results can be much worse. In one district visited, there is only one inspector and he visited 10 of 234 schools within the last year.

There is a plethora of committees, described earlier in the report, which report to the District Education Committee. These committees are essentially political bodies. The management of funds through these structures would, given the number of bodies involved, be impossibly bureaucratic and would leave the allocation process open to manipulation. They lack the formal structure or experience or administrative capability to manage project funds.

### **C. SCHOOLS AND PTAs**

At the school level there are School Management Committees. It is to these committees that the Parent Teachers Associations present estimates for approval on the level of fees that should be charged. The PTAs also engage in revenue generating activities to benefit the school and are in theory the representative body of the parents.

There are no established structures to coordinate the management of the PTAs. These are essentially volunteer bodies which are not accountable to any level of government. The existence of PTAs is widespread, but it is not comprehensive throughout the country. The sheer volume of PTAs would make the administrative task of managing and controlling or monitoring USAID funds enormous.

Within the school the headteacher is the administrative manager whose activities range from teaching to collecting and banking school fees. Headteachers are involved in the collection of funds from the district for the payment of teachers' salaries and the collection of scholastic materials from the district stores.

At the school level, there is a wide range of administrative capability. The wealthier schools are able to employ bursars whereas the majority of schools rely on the abilities of the headteacher. Interviews with the headteachers and examination of school records indicated that the likelihood of successful funds management at this level is extremely low. Many headteachers have limited language and numeric skills. Therefore, the introduction of adequate funds management skills or, as the Serafaco report suggested, bookkeeping skills, would require a quantum leap in technical ability at this level.

Before dismissing these organizations entirely, it is worth briefly reviewing their practical experience with funds management. In terms of disbursing the salaries of teachers, some headteachers have been involved in the fraudulent activity of ghost teachers. In some instances the funds have been stolen. Some PTAs diverted funds collected for the Textbook Revolving Fund. Similarly, some headteachers involved in the revolving fund have also stolen monies. Just as serious but much harder to demonstrate, a great deal of expected revenue has not been collected and responsibility for collection remains with both these parties.

### **D. SEMI-AUTONOMOUS BODIES**

**National Curriculum Development Center** - The National Curriculum Development Center (NCDC) develops primary school syllabi and writes textbooks and materials. Curriculum development is performed using subject matter panels convened by the NCDC. These panels are composed of staff from the Inspectorate and the Uganda National Examination Board.

Work developed by the NCDC is approved by the Inspectorate. The NCDC is also involved in selecting publishers for the publishing of NCDC-developed textbooks.

The NCDC organizes orientation meetings with teachers to present and discuss new syllabi. These meetings are held at the regional and district level.

The NCDC has limited capacity to develop new curriculum to meet the GOU goal of increased problem solving and practical skills. As with other educational institutions within Uganda, it has limited staff skilled in conceptualizing and developing strategies necessary for a reformation in Uganda primary school curriculum.

The EPRC recognized the limited capacity of the NCDC, as currently formulated, to redesign the curriculum. The NCDC is in "dire need of revitalization" (p.52). The EPRC proposed the addition of qualified staff in several areas and an increased capacity to conduct research and evaluation in the area of curriculum development. One of the projects contemplated for IDA5 funding is the strengthening of the NCDC.

*Uganda National Examination Board* - Educational evaluation is the responsibility of the Uganda National Examination Board (UNEB). Like the NCDC and the Inspectorate, this is a semi-autonomous body reporting directly to the Permanent Secretary. Its main activities are developing, printing, distributing and marking examinations and conducting validity and reliability studies.

The UNEB administers two examinations directly relevant to primary education. The first is the Primary Leaving Examination (PLE). The PLE is the sole criteria for selecting students for secondary school and is therefore the de facto national curriculum. The UNEB also administers the Examination for Primary Teachers. This examination is given at the end of the two year TTC program.

The UNEB, like the NCDC, currently lacks the necessary skills to revise its examinations to reflect new content areas and new approaches to student testing. The UNEB is a conservative institution. This is common for national testing bodies, which see their role as codification of the system and not reforming the system. While advances have been made in recent years the PLE still tests only four subject areas and mainly factual information. There is no provision for the testing of practical skills, moral values or socialization.

In order to undertake a rewriting of the PLE, the UNEB requires technical assistance in several areas. First, additional training is needed in question design and construction. Second, upgrading of the research capacity of the UNEB is needed in order to implement a program of reliability and validity testing. Third, content training is required to incorporate new content areas into the PLE. The UNEB is hesitant to become involved in continuing assessment.

**Teacher Services Commission** - The Teacher Services Commission (TSC) is charged with the responsibility of recruiting, disciplining and promoting teachers and headteachers. They only deal with qualified teachers and are dependent on the MOE's limited data base of teachers for their information. The Commission is appointed by the President and members serve 4 year terms. They play no role in teacher preparation or evaluation.

The Teacher Service Commission is currently irrelevant. The EPRC recommended that it be reconfigured as the Education Service Commission and have its role reviewed and expanded to include educational administrators and to implement district-level commissions to assist the Commission. The study team sees little reason for continuing the Commission either in its current or revised form. As long as District Education Officers do most of the hiring locally (especially for licensed teachers) the Teacher Service Commission responsibilities are not necessary, especially since they do not assign teachers to districts.

## **E. DONORS**

Donors are supporting a wide range of educational programs. The donors' support to primary education is discussed in this section.

**IDA** - The World Bank has been involved in Ugandan education for over two decades. Their current involvement includes the IDA4 project which emphasizes the purchase and distribution of textbooks for schools not covered by a similar IDA3 activity. Included in IDA4, is institutional support for the Inspectorate, NCDC, UNEB and the PIU. A recent activity funded by IDA4 has been a series of 17 pre-investment studies as a prelude to IDA5.

IDA5 is intended to provide support for a wide range of adjustment and investment strategies, in contrast to IDA3 and IDA4 which were "emergency assistance." The major features of IDA5, as currently drafted, are:

- Rehabilitation and construction of schools;
- Development of a management information system;
- Curriculum reform in P1-P4;
- New textbooks for P1-P4;
- Circulating libraries;
- Construction of UNEB building;
- Strengthening TTCs and upgrading teachers;

- Examination reform and continuous assessment; and,
- Strengthening the Education Planning Unit.

The current projected credit is for \$55 million (down from \$97 million in September 1991), commencing in late 1992.

In addition to IDA5 the World Bank is considering providing support for education through the Northern Uganda Redevelopment Project (NURP). Up to \$15 million in credits may be available for reconstruction, extension of the MITEP teacher training program to the 10 northern districts and rehabilitation of technical institutes. Most of the credit is to be spent in construction.

The World Bank has overly ambitious plans for Uganda. The 17 pre-investment studies and recent preliminary design documents accurately describe the enormous task that is required to provide quality education in Uganda. It appears that the World Bank is not sufficiently concerned about the ability of Uganda to achieve the projects the World Bank envisions and to sustain them. For example, the World Bank plans for the upgrading of all licensed teachers to Grade III within eight years. While this is a noble objective, it is unrealistic. ActionAid determined that 58 percent of the teachers it tested were viewed as not capable of being upgraded without prior basic training.

**PAPSCA** - IDA and DANIDA are funding four Projects for the Alleviation of Poverty and the Social Costs of Adjustment directly related to education. The largest program (\$12 million) is directed at rehabilitation and supply of primary schools in 12 districts. This project is slow in starting and hopes to rehabilitate 4,200 classroom by 1994.

A second PAPSCA initiative provides school fees for AIDS orphans (\$3.2 million). Another initiative, the Assistance to War Widows (\$1.5 million) includes components for non-formal education in health related matters. DANIDA is also funding (\$4.5 million) a teacher training program in special education, establishing training facilities for the disabled at the Institute for Technical Education Kyambogo (ITEK), and conducting a national needs assessment survey.

PAPSCA has had problems getting started. During 1990/91 only 24 percent of planned expenditures occurred. The project first decided that rehabilitation was not feasible. This caused delays as did interactions with districts and problems with bureaucratic procedures (MPED, 1991, p.143). PAPSCA is now being administered by the PIU.

**African Development Bank** - As part of its effort to strengthen the MOE Planning and Statistics Unit, ADB has provided a planner, statistician and financial expert as well as fellowships.

**United Nations** - UNICEF has been involved in developing a health education syllabus for primary schools and through the School Health Education Project (SHEP) has funded the training of 7,000 primary school teachers. SHEP is administered by a self-contained unit within MOE. The program has recently completed an interim evaluation. The evaluation found distressing results. Not only was the health knowledge of different beneficiaries low, but the school inspectors "whose responsibilities include monitoring and evaluating the project, have the lowest level of health knowledge of health facilitator" (MOE/MOH/UNICEF, 1991, iv). Teachers had similar low levels of health knowledge even after receiving training. In addition, UNICEF has also financed an AIDS Awareness Program for secondary schools.

UNDP, UNESCO and UNICEF have supported a wide range of activities to upgrade teacher colleges and curriculum in areas of community-centered activities such as crop production, home economics, construction, arts and crafts and tailoring. These activities were originally carried out by the Basic Education for Integrated Rural Development (BEIRD) and more recently revitalized under the name Basic Education for National Development (BEND). The project, housed at the MOE, was in a preparatory phase in 1990/91.

UNDP, in conjunction with IDA credits, is also conducting the Establishment Staffing Control Project (ESCP) which is surveying all teachers in an attempt to eliminate ghost teachers and ghost schools. This project is almost complete and has identified tens of thousands of ghost teachers recorded in the districts' listings of primary school teachers.

**ODA** - The majority of ODA's activities have been at the secondary and tertiary level. However, they have recently funded ActionAid to design and implement a pilot teacher upgrading training program called MITEP. Because of the potential relevance of MITEP for USAID activities, this project is discussed further in Chapter 6 Program Initiatives.

## **F. NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS**

A number of international non-governmental organizations (NGOs) are currently operating at the primary education level. NGOs will continue to proliferate and the study team has probably missed some that are involved at the primary education level. The Ford Foundation is assisting in forming a consortium of NGOs to foster coordination.

NGOs provide a useful function implementing programs. In considering their use, USAID should give attention to determining managerial capacity and willingness to expand operations.

**ActionAid** - ActionAid through ODA and child sponsorship is involved in providing assistance with school fees, conducting the MITEP project and supporting in-service training of 200 science teachers. ActionAid is community based in its orientation and has been active in selected districts.

This NGO is implementing the MITEP pilot. They appear to have developed a good design and have involved experts in distance learning in preparing the implementing structures at schools and the TTC. ActionAid has been involved in community-based development in Uganda for some time and appears to be a well-run organization; but they are not very large in relation to the size program USAID is contemplating.

**British Council** - The British Council is a NGO operating with ODA and other donor funding. It is involved in a wide range of training of public administrators and pre-service reforms at NTC and plans to begin providing in-service teacher training. The British Council is also involved with the Language Teaching Resource Center at Makerre which is developing English language curriculum for primary schools.

The British Council has 15 staff members in Uganda primarily devoted to training and fellowship administration. Their expertise in education in Uganda is at the NTC and secondary level. They have experience in doing teacher training sessions. Like ActionAid, they are not a large organization.

**Harold MacMillan Trust** - The Trust is funding the development of revised primary school curriculum at Makerre University.

**Experiment in International Living** - Currently involved in USAID funded AIDS awareness activities in training trainers.

**Save the Children** - Operates child sponsorship and orphan schools in Luwero District.

**World Vision** - This NGO supports community-based projects involving a number of sectors including infrastructure development, health, education and water. It currently operates in some, but not all, districts.

**Interaid** - Via child sponsorship, provides assistance to the Uganda School for the Deaf.

## V. PROGRAM OPTIONS AND INITIATIVES

### A. POLICY OPTIONS

The education development program contemplated by USAID will be comprised of several interdependent elements that are all necessary for improved student learning. The program is likely to include policy reforms, program support and non-project assistance.

The current condition of the education system is partly the result of government policies that operate to the detriment of the system. The development programs under consideration must be accompanied by, and in some cases preceded by, supporting policy reforms. The new GOU policies are necessary not only for achieving improvements in education; they are instrumental to continuation of the improvement after the project is completed. Sustainable improvements will not occur unless the GOU continues to reinforce the changes in the way primary education is delivered.

The following policy options target those areas where government policy could be reformed to directly support the improvement of primary education.

*Primary Education Budgetary Expenditures* - Establish a national policy to stabilize the level of budgetary expenditures for education, measured in real terms. The high domestic inflation rate has led to the pervasive erosion in the value of government support of education. This has been particularly true for primary education. If possible, the amount of funds adjusted for inflation should be increased annually to begin the recovery from the effects of prior years' inflation.

The nominal increase in the level of funding should be devoted exclusively to instructional activities such as teacher compensation, teacher training, school fees and the school inspectorate function. The policy would avoid automatic increases in the administrative and indirect expenditures of the Ministry of Education.

*District Level Expenditures* - Establish a national policy setting a minimum percentage of the annual district budget to be spent on primary education. Each district shall decide how this amount shall be raised, since a variety of district level tax revenue programs are already in effect. Again, the additional funds should be utilized for instructional activities and could be used to reduce the rate of increase in parent contributions.

*Maintenance of Effort* - The GOU should develop a policy to fund primary education at constant levels as determined on a per pupil basis. The amount of spending, in real terms, would create a pupil norm that would be the minimum level of government support. This policy is designed to counteract potential adverse impacts of government initiatives to increase the absolute number of pupils attending grades P-1 through P-7. The application

of the pupil norm could also address regional and urban/rural disparities, possibly through equalization formulas.

The implementation of this policy would require the creation of a reasonably accurate national Basic Education Database (BED) that would include information on the universe of primary schools, student populations, teacher qualifications, TTCs, etc.

*Restructuring Teacher Compensation* - Revise the teacher salary structure to provide a significant differential between qualification levels. The current structure provides no material reward for teachers who upgrade their skills.

*Consolidation of GOU Primary Education Funding* - The administration of primary school funds should be consolidated within the ministry responsible for education policy. The current practice of funding primary education through both the Ministry of Education (MOE) and the Ministry of Local Government (MLG) creates various administrative and logistic problems. Consolidation of funds administration to the MOE could result in direct improvements at the existing funding levels.

If it is not practical to consolidate the administration of funding, the GOU should develop a mechanism for coordinating the primary education support of the two Ministries. The principal tool for such coordination would be the utilization of a common BED to determine the distribution of funds.

*Orphans and Free Education* - The current policy regarding free school fees for orphans should be reevaluated and then implemented. The established GOU policy provides for MOE to pay the full "gazetted" school fee amount for orphans and children of the National Resistance Army and judges. The gazetted amount is substantially less than the amount of school fees that are actually charged by government schools. Even though GOU budgets annual funding for this item, very few orphans receive this assistance. Given the dramatic projections of the number of children to be orphaned by AIDS in the near term, a reassessment of the intended beneficiaries is justified. Once the policy is addressed, funding should be set at levels that are reflective of actual school fees. Administration procedures should be revised to make the program fair and equitable.

*Restructuring of MOE* - The GOU should undertake to restructure the MOE to improve the effectiveness of the organization. The MOE is faced with such difficult problems that the organization is largely ineffective. Particular units within the Ministry should be identified as crucial to primary education and efforts made to selectively strengthen them. The responsibilities and authority of these key departments should be expanded corresponding to the role envisioned for them. Examples would include:

Planning Unit - Enlarge the unit to perform planing, research and evaluation for long-term education policy, and provide guidance to the primary education system.

Inspectorate - Enlarge the unit and establish line authority over curriculum, teacher training, teaching methods and examinations.

Statistical Unit within the Planning Unit - Devote additional resources and support the unit with MOE policy so that it may develop and maintain a usable BED.

*Language of Instruction* - The GOU should develop a policy that establishes the parameters for instructing in local languages. The dialect and duration of non-English instruction is currently decided at a local level. The schools with the least instruction in English are disadvantaged when competing for limited placements in the secondary school system.

GOU is considering adopting Kiswahili as the national language, and requiring that it be used for classroom instruction. The implementation of such a policy would only further reduce the quality and value of education in Uganda. There would be virtually no economic benefit in such a change, and the political ramifications are equally as serious. Even if such a language program were adopted, it is doubtful that pupils would achieve proficiency given the overall condition of the education system and the lack of teacher training in Kiswahili. The GOU should strongly oppose efforts to institute Kiswahili as part of the national curriculum. USAID and other donors would vigorously oppose such a GOU initiative and development programs nationwide might be adversely affected.

There are other policy options that would be desirable and beneficial, but which are not defined by discrete actions that are easily identified. The team includes these items for further consideration, but it is unclear how they could be adopted without being reduced to rhetoric.

*Support Gender Equity* - The GOU should develop policies to support gender equity and remove institutional biases, especially in hiring, upgrading and promoting of primary teachers. The low number of female headteachers, Teacher Training Colleges (TTC) principals and District Education Officers (DEO) does not reflect the large number of women in the profession. The GOU should foster qualified women teachers as role models in primary education, especially in the higher levels of P-5 to P-7.

*Teacher Incentives* - GOU salary and allowances should provide for incentive that:

- Provide supplemental compensation for teachers while attending in-service training;
- Retain qualified teachers in primary schools;
- Increase the number of qualified teachers in lower primary grades (P-1 to P-4); and
- Increase the number of qualified teachers in rural areas.

Non-monetary forms of compensation should be considered such as childcare for teacher-parents with young children. Bonding of teachers who receive incentives could be considered to help assure that the anticipated benefits are realized by the education system.

## **B. PROGRAM INITIATIVES**

The policy options set the stage for the individual initiatives that USAID may develop into program activities. The initiatives identified by the team as having a reasonable chance of success can be summed into four areas:

*Teacher Training* - comprised of training in the use of textbooks, instruction in basic teaching methodologies and teacher upgrading.

*School Resources* - primarily in textbooks, furniture and institutional strengthening.

*Teacher Incentives* - specifically training stipends and bicycles.

*Improved Leadership* - including selective institutional strengthening and small grants competition.

It is anticipated that USAID will undertake more than one initiative and utilize one or more of the implementation strategies discussed in this section. The study team feels that a multi-delivery, multi-tiered approach to supporting the primary education sector will produce the most positive impact. Figure 1 on page 35 shows the major initiatives by strategy.

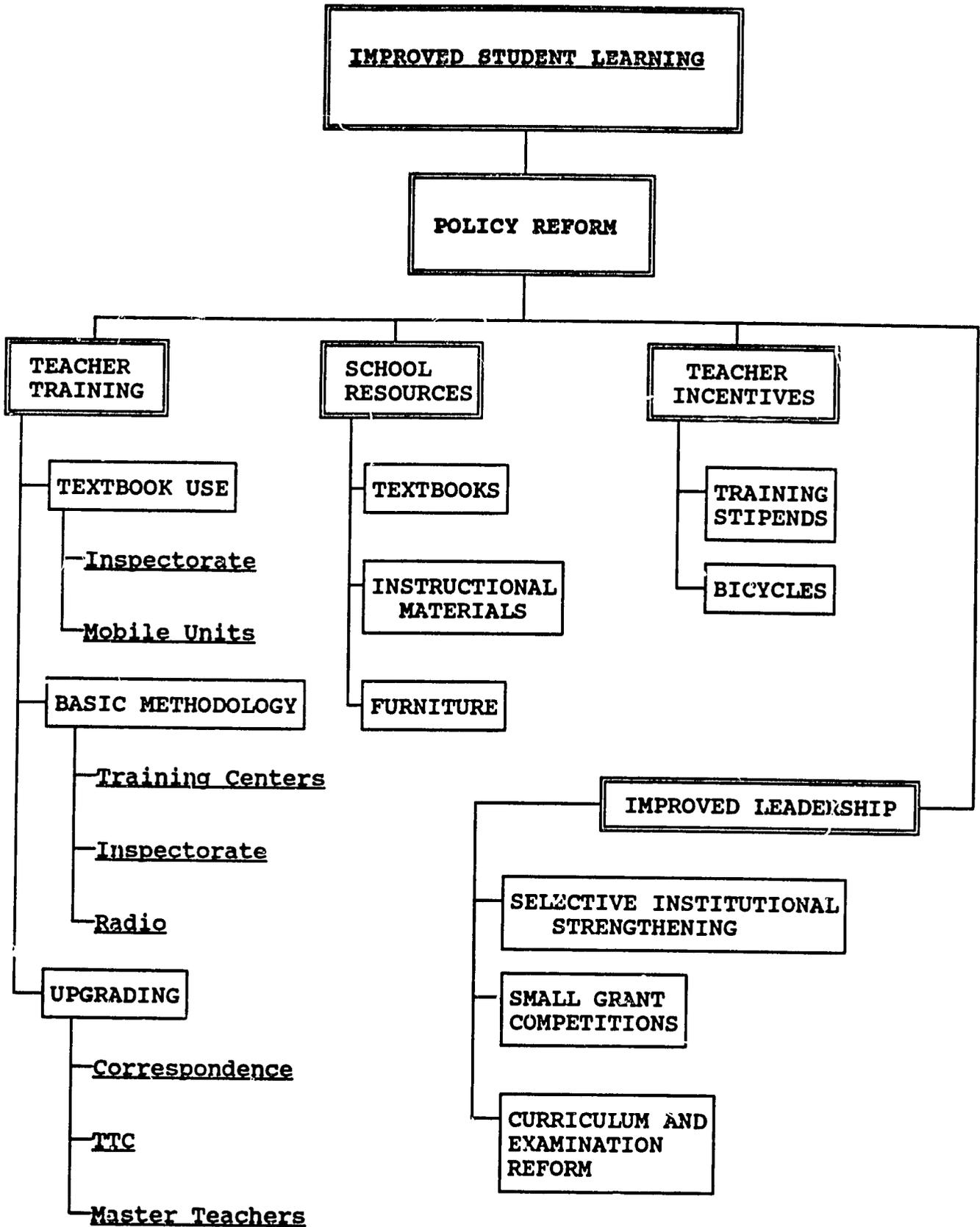
## **C. TEACHER TRAINING**

**Problem** - For any long-term changes to occur in the classroom, teacher training and upgrading is crucial. There are not enough inspectors to effectively evaluate the schools and assist the less capable teachers. Nor are there enough teachers to adequately staff the schools. Because of this, there is the tendency to allow even unsuccessful TTC candidates, individuals who are woefully underqualified, to enter the classroom as a primary level teacher.

The study team identified three distinct teacher training needs:

- Short term training in the use of textbooks and other instructional materials;
- Basic training in teaching methodologies and teacher/pupil interaction; and,
- Upgrading in content knowledge and teaching skills to achieve certification.

**FIGURE 1**



Seven initiatives for teacher training were considered by the team. These include:

- Training trainers using the Inspectorate;
- Use of Mobile Training Units;
- Correspondence learning through expansion of the MITEP program;
- Radio learning;
- Senior/master teachers;
- Teacher training centers/demonstration schools; and,
- Strengthening Teacher Training Colleges.

For a teacher training program to be effective, it is important to remember that no single initiative will be a panacea for the system. Very likely, there will need to be a varied approach or a multi-tiered program that responds to the degrees of need and capabilities of teachers within the system.

A second point that needs to be taken into consideration is that for any upgrading to be successful, financial incentives will have to be offered in order to allow teachers to attend without reducing their meager family income. This point is explored more fully in section 5.

***General Discussion on Teacher Training Initiatives*** - Of the 86,000 primary teachers, estimates are that about 25,000 are women and the proportion is growing as the teaching profession becomes increasingly unattractive. Women generally have the dual obligations of childcare and domestic responsibilities and have less flexibility and time to engage in upgrading. As more women enter the system, staff development becomes problematic.

Using licensure or certification as a criteria for determining what must be done to improve the quality of teaching in the classroom may not be effective because of the range of abilities that teachers in the classroom have. In general, Grade III teachers appear to be only minimally competent and need not only pedagogical upgrading but instruction in basic skills such as numeric and English language as well.

Consequently, consideration will need to be given to what degree in-service training will be undertaken. USAID may want to focus their attention on a massive program assisting teachers in the utilization and implementation of the textbooks that are provided and only provide very selective training options for the most needy teachers. Since more highly qualified teachers often move to urban locations, where housing and PTA allocations are

better, it would be safe to say that if a selective program of intensive teacher training were to be chosen, rural teachers would be in greatest need of this training.

Initiatives available to USAID in teacher training are described below.

### **1. Inspectorate**

The Inspectorate could be used as the implementing agent for a training of trainers pyramid model. USAID could provide technical assistance and financial resources to the Inspectorate to undertake either textbook training or basic instruction. The Central Inspectorate would instruct district inspectors who, in turn, would instruct headteachers and/or selected primary school teachers within their counties.

Teachers need to be taught to use the book holistically, reinforcing not only specific content but also writing, reading and speaking skills. Teachers should be taught how to:

- Relate material in the textbooks to the daily life experiences of the children and other relevant content areas;
- Use all parts of the books including text, pictures, charts, appendices, glossaries, etc.; and,
- Determine what children think they know before, during and after instruction with the book.

*Implementation Issues* - The use of the Inspectorate to train trainers requires some initial strengthening of the Inspectorate. The assistance could involve increased human resources, technical knowledge and logistical support. Increased staffing should be achieved by obtaining the MOE's commitment to enhance and fund recruitment. This approach would have less project management implications and would be more sustainable than USAID paying for project technical staff over the life of the project.

Training District Inspectors might be effectively achieved by running courses from the MOE with the assistance of expatriate technical expertise to design, administer and conduct the courses. The number of inspectors to be trained makes this a viable approach and fairly simple to administer. Monitoring and control of resources can be centralized. Training will require foreign exchange inputs to pay for the short term technical assistants.

Providing logistical support to the ministry and District Inspectorate units will primarily involve vehicles and office equipment and supplies. The most feasible approach is to administer this centrally. Consideration of the number and type of vehicles to be purchased and where they should be placed needs to be resolved. Constraints imposed by USAID purchasing regulations need be identified.

## **2. Mobile Teaching Units**

Mobile teacher training units would be another approach that USAID could use in staff development. Mobile units can be relatively effective for short-term programs such as textbook training sessions. Currently, the Science Training and Equipment Technology Unit (STEPU) uses a mobile unit for the maintenance and repair of science equipment and short-term training in the equipment. These services are provided on a cost sharing basis and have been quite successful. The directors of STEPUP are extremely pleased with the results of the mobile unit but reinforce that the training component has been the least successful. It is their opinion is that on-the-job training is not successful, particularly because of low retention rates. They have moved to centralized staff development training sessions.

STEPU's work has been focused on secondary level science teachers where the staff are generally better qualified. STEPUP has had negative experiences using on-the-job training and mobile units that spend a relatively short amount of time at specific locations. Adopting this approach at the primary level where teachers are less qualified and lacking in basic skills is even less likely to succeed.

*Implementation Issues* - Use of mobile units for long-term training requires an inordinate amount of time to upgrade large numbers of teachers unless many units are established to spread across a district. Given the current lack of adequately trained personnel in the educational system, wide use of mobile units would probably leave staffing gaps in the feeder educational institutions where personnel would probably be selected for the units.

The establishment of Mobile Teacher Units (MTU) will also require investment in assets such as vehicles and equipment. Control procedures will need to be created to protect such valuable assets against abuse.

## **3. Correspondence Program**

Another option for teacher training would be to develop a distance (or correspondence program) of teacher upgrading. Currently, a pilot teacher training project using distance learning is being implemented. The project is called MITEP and it is being piloted in Mubende and Kiboga districts by ActionAid. Originally, the project was designed to provide licensed teachers with basic academic training and Grade III certification. However, the pilot was retrenched to only cover upgrading because of limited resource availability. ActionAid tested 2300 teachers and found 900 trainable. The remainder demonstrated a "staggering range of inability." These 900 teachers begin the two-year program in January, 1992.

At present, ITEK is preparing training modules for each discipline. A total of 4 modules, each with 7 units, is being written for each discipline. Each unit has an assignment that is sent to the TTC. An extensive support system is being implemented to encourage participants to remain in the program (fortnightly seminars and school-level supervisors).

In addition to home study, the program has semi-annual two week stays at the TTC. These will occur during holidays and teachers will receive per diem. Although the program does not envision a formal role for the District Inspectorates, they will assist in coordination and tutor trainers.

In addition to teacher training for a Grade III certification, the program also has a loan program for teachers to develop their own projects. ActionAid refused to fund this part of the project and now it is dependent on the local community.

The Northern Uganda Redevelopment Project (IDA-funded), if it goes forward, intends to extend the MITEP project to 10 northern districts without waiting for the program to be tested. Consequently, if 12 districts are already using the project within a year, this approach to upgrading to Grade III certification may become the de facto prototype for teacher upgrading.

**Implementation Issues** - MITEP/ActionAid is running a community based program to provide multi-sectoral (such as health, agriculture, education) support. It would clearly be of limited value to reinvent the wheel and design a similar program. It would probably be more cost-effective for USAID to place funds with ActionAid to expand this initiative.

Institutionally, the agency is relatively well developed and has computerized accounting systems managed by a qualified expatriate accountant. However, ActionAid is very targeted in geographical terms and the program is not yet launched. Therefore, its success cannot be evaluated. A certain degree of capacity building will be necessary to extend the program elsewhere. For example, staff will need to be recruited and trained and program materials will need to be acquired. The design work has essentially been completed and may act as a prototype. Training in USAID financial requirements would need to be provided since the organization is more familiar with ODA requirements.

#### **4. Radio Modules**

Modules for radio-based teacher training could be used to train teachers (in listening sessions before class) and students and teachers through learning-while-doing sessions. USAID could provide training for module developers and financial support for producing training modules. Currently, the GOU does not charge the MOE for airtime. USAID could possibly support the purchase of additional airtime.

Further study needs to be undertaken to determine how distance training using radio modules might be implemented. Radio programs could be particularly attractive for teachers in remote areas who would have more difficulty attending other types of teacher training. Radio offers the advantage that it can be an on-going program that provides learning-while-doing during classroom instruction (like educational T.V.). Furthermore, the use of radio eases the staffing crunch that will be problematic for other teacher training initiatives.

An educational radio unit was established at MOE in 1964. It operates 1 1/2 hours a day four days a week on Radio Uganda. Currently, 30 minutes a day are focused at primary instruction. A further 30 minutes a day broadcasts programs for the TTCs. Eight lesson modules are developed each term by a seven member team that operates at the MOE. Teachers in the field are chosen to implement the program on a radio or TV broadcast. Since the radio unit at MOE has no broadcasting or recording equipment all recording is done at Radio Uganda.

Since 1982, no evaluation has been conducted on the effectiveness of the radio unit. The assistant director indicated that feedback filters in which is generally positive. But he indicated that they have no real idea of how useful their programs are to teachers in the classroom. Furthermore, they were unable to estimate what kind of an audience they are reaching. They indicated that it was doubtful that many primary schools in rural areas currently implement the radio broadcasts into their program because of the shortage of radio receivers. Another problem that exacerbates the use of radio is that they do not have an effective method of getting the broadcast time tables to schools.

The director was quite optimistic that more broadcast time could be available. Earlier this year a consultant was hired to develop a proposal on expanding the use of radio in the classroom. A high-ranking government official was a member of the writing team who indicated that the government would make a commitment to MOE for more radio time. Despite these assurances it is unlikely that any significant amount of time would be devoted to educational radio (or TV) since Radio Uganda operates on only one shortwave station.

**Implementation Issues** - Similar considerations apply to this initiative as described for the teaching centers. Radios will need to be procured, programs developed and technical assistance probably required. If this option is pursued and it is intended that schools are supplied with radios, then a number of allocation, security and distribution issues also have to be resolved. Prior to procurement, the schools which are to receive radios need to be identified. Logistically, this may be a difficult task because the number of schools already with radios and/or electricity is not known. The cost and availability of batteries could be a limiting factor in the remote and poorest regions.

Distribution and security of radios presents difficulties because of their transportability, intrinsic value and marketability.

##### **5. Training Centers/Demonstration Schools**

A possible initiative is to support school-based teacher training centers. These could be in the form of demonstration schools in which child-centered teacher-student interaction and teaching strategies are being implemented. These schools should not be over-supplied or utilize high-tech equipment. Instead, they should reflect the average learning situation and classroom environment found in most Ugandan primary schools after USAID textbooks and

instructional materials have been distributed. Videotapes of these classrooms could be used in teacher workshops showing how teachers: 1) need to interact in the classroom; 2) use the textbooks being provided; 3) talk to the children; 4) employ higher order thinking skills; 5) nurture children; and, 6) effectively discipline students.

One of the advantages to demonstration schools is that poorly trained teachers, who might be resistant and dubious to new teaching methods, are more likely to accept new instructional techniques if they can see them being implemented in classrooms similar to their own with pupils like their own. Demonstration lessons on videotape will be an effective tool in breaking the cycle of "observed apprenticeship" in which teachers use childhood memories of their own classroom experiences as the model for their classroom instruction and interaction. In an education system like Uganda that has been deteriorating, this modality of teaching reduces what happens in the classroom to the lowest common denominator and it is important to provide input that can influence the cycle.

An advantage to teacher training centers is that teachers have long-term access to resource materials that are badly needed. These centers serve as professional hubs where teachers have the opportunity to share ideas and materials. Individuals at the Inspectorate involved in staff development are available to demonstrate lessons, serve as resource teachers and mediate between the teachers in the field and the district educational administration.

Identifying effective teachers who are currently in the classroom and making videotapes of them as they teach could be an activity undertaken by the centers. These videotapes used in conjunction with other staff development options could serve as a springboard to discussions about child-centered schooling, the MOE curricular reforms and improved instructional techniques.

A program funded by UNDP and implemented by UNESCO, BEND (Basic Education for National Development), is scheduled to begin work at 36 primary schools and 6 TTCs in 1992. Although this program currently focuses on the development of practical skills (i.e., home economics, agricultural, apprenticeships) there is the possibility that it could be effectively utilized in the development of demonstration schools.

**Implementation Issues** - Teacher Training Centers would be based at two or three locations. The initial work will involve selection of the centers which will require an appraisal of the resources, both human and material, currently available. Short term technical assistance might be required to make the centers operational, design courses and provide training.

The centers will require equipment such as televisions, videotape recorders and supporting instructional materials. The procurement and accounting arrangements will need to mirror those described above and foreign exchange would be required to purchase the necessary materials from abroad.

## **6. Master/Senior Teachers**

Still another possibility which can be very effective is the use of master or senior teachers. An advantage of master teacher training options is that it is an ongoing program with continuous evaluation and remediation. Furthermore, it provides for career staging and possibly for increased salary schedules in a profession that offers little upwards mobility and salary enhancement. However, to be successful it is dependent on a base of well-qualified teachers. It is doubtful that there are enough experienced, qualified teachers who are doing an effective job in the classroom to introduce a model like this at least without other forms of teacher upgrading.

## **7. Upgrading TTCs**

A final option would be to concentrate efforts on upgrading the TTC. It is unlikely that without substantial investments in institutional strengthening, increased staffing and additional GOU resource allocations to the TTCs, there will be a noticeable impact at the primary level classroom. Clearly, serious consideration should be given to the kinds of inputs that need to be made in order to guarantee that future primary school teachers will not be lacking in basic skills and educational training. However, it is possible that this assistance could be accomplished more effectively if TTCs were simultaneously the focus of both pre-service and in-service training.

## **D. SCHOOL RESOURCES**

### **1. Textbook Production and Distribution**

**Problem** - Teacher training, as important as it is, is not a panacea to the problems in the classroom. It is highly significant, but unless accompanied by other inputs including textbooks and instructional materials, change will be slow in coming.

IDA3 and IDA4 were highly successful in distributing textbooks to individual schools. The success largely stopped there. Any positive impact textbooks had in the classroom depended on: 1) headteachers directing the use of books in the classroom; and, 2) teachers' knowledge of how to use textbooks effectively.

IDA failed to recognize and respond to these needs. There are dramatic differences in the way the IDA textbooks are being used. Classrooms have been observed in which the textbooks are passed out among the children and the children are allowed to freely interact with the texts. Although the books are beginning to show a great deal of wear, it is evident that the students are benefitting from the books. In other schools the books are locked away from both teachers and pupils.

Part of the PIU's program included a training module on how to care for textbooks which may have exacerbated the general tendency by teachers in Uganda to lock away the books in order to avoid the wear and tear of normal use.

**General Discussion of Textbook Initiative** - Further study is needed in the choice of textbooks that are produced and distributed. Although the content of science and social studies (being considered by USAID) couples nicely with MOE curricular reforms, it may be that books in math and English language instruction would have a greater impact in the classroom. There are several reasons for recommending reconsideration. First, during interviews with educational personnel, the team was consistently told that the greatest textbook need was for readers and language books. Second, because of the observed weaknesses in the teachers' own skills in these areas, more textbooks in the classroom would lessen the impact of the teachers' lack of skills.

Instructional time in the government-established curriculum makes math and English and/or language books attractive to pursue. Currently, a significantly greater amount of time is devoted to these content areas on a weekly basis.

Another consideration is at what levels in the primary system should inputs be made? For the ultimate objective of universal literacy, focusing the inputs at the P1-P4 level would be most cost-effective. This is also the level at which the greatest number of poorly qualified teachers would be found. However, it was observed that especially in the rural areas the level of instruction at the higher levels (P5-P7) was inadequate. Therefore, in order to maintain the type of instruction and cognitive development that would be established in the lower grades a certain amount of inputs would be advisable in P5-P7.

**Textbooks Initiative** - USAID could finance the purchase of textbooks to significantly improve the current textbook/pupil ratios. Earlier work by USAID (USAID, 1991c) gives potential cost estimates. The study team did not undertake to update those estimates since they are based on a less targeted purchase of textbooks than that discussed above.

**Implementation Issues** - The first issue to address with textbooks is to consider the options for producing them. Three options will be evaluated in this section: domestic production; regional production; and, overseas importation.

**Domestic Production** - Producing the textbooks locally is undoubtedly the option most favored politically. The Minister for Education and Sports stated in his initial discussion with the team that he would strongly favor this option. Pursuing this option would have economic side effects in that it could potentially stimulate employment both directly, in the production process and indirectly, in subsidiary industries such as material supplies. If the capability was successfully developed then this option would inherently have a degree of sustainability. Finally, it is arguable that the local capability would be more cognitive of, and reactive to, local needs in terms of style and content.

There are a number of disadvantages associated with the option of domestic production. The most fundamental problem is that the technical and managerial capability is unlikely to be present and may require significant investment in both technology and human resources. Prima facie, the current local capability seems to be underdeveloped. A few local commercial publishers (e.g., Uganda Bookshops) and printers are active in Uganda, but these local companies contend with shortages of foreign exchange, high import taxes on raw materials and a lack of credit to rehabilitate plants. NCDC has a very small printing capability which is mainly used to manufacture syllabuses.

Discussions with Susan Scull-Carvalho, who worked for five years with USAID on a similar project in Lesotho, indicated that she considered the establishment of the capability in that country as problematic. In her opinion, the Instructional Material Resource Center had the technology but management was ineffective. The center was run by inexperienced civil servants who lacked the necessary motivation and business skills to make the center work.

There are business considerations which may limit the establishment of such a center. For the capability to be sustainable, the issues of funding annual running costs and ensuring the availability of suppliers have to be resolved. These issues alone may be sufficient to disregard this option. Undoubtedly, to initiate this option would require a significant investment of resources and time. Consequently, there would be limited impact in the quality of education within the first two to three years of the project.

For this option, management of the project requires a number of technical specialists necessitating a significant investment. The printing and publishing premises would have to be acquired and the design of the workshop would need to be completed. This process would need to be integrated with an assessment of the appropriate technology required. Upon completion of the premises, further technical assistance will be required to administer the tendering and procurement arrangements because of the technical nature of the appropriate plant. Administrative arrangements will need to be established on a short-term basis to implement these procedures. The contractual arrangements for servicing the plant and obtaining spare parts, many from abroad, will also need to be resolved. Therefore, there may need to be a continued commitment in hard currency and some degree of local training to ensure that this process runs smoothly and is sustainable. A training component for technical skills to operate the plant and to ensure the unit is managed effectively would be needed.

Before this option can be dismissed, some focused research using specialists in printing and publishing in Africa should be made. The Scull-Carvalho firm in Nairobi, Kenya, may be one source of assistance. For a nominal charge, she can provide specialized technical consultants to evaluate the current capability in Uganda.

**Regional Production** - The initial attraction in this option is that the capacity is almost certainly available in neighboring Kenya. This option has similar economic side effects although the benefits are placed in Kenya, not Uganda. Geographically, the production

capacity is closer. There would be greater administrative scope through site visits. Such initiatives may contribute to improved relations between the two countries. The production of textbooks in the region may increase the ability to produce books which relate to the African culture.

A significant disadvantage of this option is that the relations between Uganda and Kenya are strained and such an initiative is probably politically unacceptable. Even if these problems were dismissed, there is no guarantee that relations would remain cordial enough to safeguard the agreement. Overall, this option gives significantly less control to the GOU over the process than if the books were produced in Uganda.

***Overseas Importation*** - The clear advantage of this option is that it has been successfully done. Quality and capability to meet demand is guaranteed because the technical and management capacity is proven. The great majority of books for Ugandan schools are written by Ugandan authors and printed outside the country. Publishers are mainly British and Kenyan and printing is often carried out in low cost manufacturing centers. In light of this, the provision of textbooks within the classroom would be far quicker and less risky than the option of establishing a domestic production capacity. The impact on education would be far more immediate.

To implement this option, the administrative capability would have to be established to safeguard USAID funds when acquiring the textbooks. This requires the introduction of appropriate procurement and distribution procedures. A particular advantage of this option is that the institutional capacity already exists within the PIU. Therefore, even if this unit was not used to manage the process, it's experience could be drawn upon. These considerations are further discussed below.

***Procurement and Distribution*** - The procurement and distribution of textbooks can only be performed effectively at a centralized level. A central unit will establish the educational needs of the schools to determine how many and which books it should buy. To arrive at this decision, close liaison with the appropriate Ugandan education bodies such as the NCDC and Inspectorate is a necessity. Accordingly, the unit will require educational expertise to provide the appropriate advice.

Following agreement on what should be bought, an assessment of volume will be required. Detailed analysis is needed to determine how many and where the books should go. If all districts are to benefit, then predetermined criteria will need to be established. Taking the analysis down to a further level the schools will need to be identified and categorized according to preset criteria. Decisions on the number of books to be provided per pupil and the types of books will need to be made. All these factors need to be resolved before procurement and distribution arrangements, such as identifying suppliers, specifying order requirements and identifying delivery locations can be made.

The procedures, controls and administrative requirements for procurement of goods and services under grant agreements are outlined in the A.I.D. Handbooks. However the project is managed, a prerequisite is that the administrators become familiar with the requirements laid down in these regulations.

Currently, the MOE has the existing capacity to meet these needs through the PIU, though some training in USAID procurement regulations is needed. The PIU has already gone through the process described above in implementing the IDA initiatives to purchase and distribute textbooks to primary schools. The unit is an integral part of the ministry although there is in-house technical expatriate assistance and trained local staff who are remunerated outside the MOE salary schedules. To ignore this unit and its successes would be illogical.

One important aspect of the distribution process is the local monitoring of the delivery arrangements to ensure that consignments ultimately reach individual schools. To achieve this, the ability to draw upon the staff resources and experiences within the PIU will be an important element of the successful distribution of textbooks. Textbooks have been delivered by the PIU in the recent past and this effects the current needs of some schools. Without close coordination there is a danger that textbooks on certain subjects are delivered to schools whose needs have changed as a result of the books already provided by IDA.

The advantages associated with the PIU option become the disadvantages of alternatives in that the existing experience and capability is not being exploited and the process has to be reinvented. There are no viable alternatives, such as other aid organizations, which can match the experience and capability of the PIU in this area. However, there are some benefits which can be derived from other alternatives. If USAID were to manage the project directly, then there would be immediate understanding of the USAID procedural and accounting requirements. If PIU were to be used, then there would be a degree of training necessary to get the staff up to speed, although this is arguably an easier task than establishing the PIU procedures in a new organization.

Greater comfort might be derived from direct hands-on management of the initiative although this can probably still be achieved by placing a technical assistant within the PIU. Another potential benefit is that a project run independently from the MOE will be less prone to political influences. The disadvantage is that securing the cooperation of staff at the district level may be more difficult without the official involvement of the MOE.

There are some disadvantages with using the PIU and lessons to be learned from the experience of the unit. Probably the main weakness of the unit is the limited monitoring and follow-up procedures to assess the usage and retention of books. Therefore, such procedures will need to be established. To attempt to carry out this monitoring using resources from the center is unrealistic without staffing and logistical support, which in itself will require the commitment of significant resources. Consequently, a degree of local assistance will need to be solicited either through the DEO and the Inspectorate or by establishing a reporting system

from the schools. The latter system will require extensive work to design and implement and is reliant upon the ability and honesty of the schools to carry out self monitoring and evaluation. This is probably an unrealistic option. A mixture of centralized and district monitoring is probably the best alternative recognizing the limitations of the current Inspectorate and the need to provide support and training.

*Nature of the Donation* - In addition to the considerations described above there is the issue of whether the books should be distributed for free or sold or rented to generate revenue to replace old textbooks. The primary argument in favor of a straightforward gift is that the system is so under resourced that it cannot afford to purchase the books. Parents and schools are already operating below the breadline and this additional financial burden will be hard to carry. Those most in need of assistance will be those that cannot afford to buy the books. The argument in support of selling the books is that this will provide sustainability to the initiative and will increase the propensity for self-reliance. The theory is that once USAID assistance is gone, the provision of textbooks will continue. The team is dubious of such assumptions.

As mentioned earlier in this report, IDA has established a pilot project to create a textbook revolving fund. If USAID were to follow this route, then the administrative arrangements would require the establishment of a unit to manage the funds. Procedures would require that funds are collected and receipted at the school level and paid directly into a special interest bearing bank account to purchase additional textbooks. The principles for contribution from the parents and government need to be established and an advertising campaign to increase the awareness of the parents on the purpose of the fund undertaken. The lessons learned from the IDA pilot initiative have to be assimilated and acted upon. There is need to improve the financial awareness and record keeping of the officers designated to manage the project at the district level. There are some problems with this option as the local currency collections are subject to significant risk of abuse.

If this option was to be pursued, it would be a burden instituting a separate USAID fund. Setting aside the duplication of administrative effort and procedures, the parents would understandably react against making two contributions for the same purpose (paying to each the IDA and USAID fund). The most efficient option would be to integrate the initiative into the Textbook Supply Unit in the PIU at the MOE. If the option is to provide a straight gift, then there are no other considerations in addition to those options considered earlier.

Finally, the point of delivery needs to be discussed. If books are imported they could be delivered in bulk direct to Kampala. There is little merit in pursuing this option because it would create more logistical problems in storing the books and then distributing them to districts and schools. The risk of theft and abuse would be great. Mass storage of materials in a central location requires the establishment of stores and distribution procedures, which means investing time and effort in what is essentially a temporary function. Districts and schools certainly do not have the logistical support to collect goods from the capital. Direct

delivery to schools is also unrealistic as the large trucks which transport the loads from Mombasa will spend weeks in a district attempting to locate the schools on roads which may not be accessible by such vehicles. Once again the IDA method appears to be the most realistic. Books were sealed up and packaged by schools abroad and delivered direct to districts for the schools to collect.

## 2. Instructional Materials

**Problem** - During visits in the field, the team observed a wide-range of physical plants. Schools varied from well-constructed, colorfully painted, cement buildings with metal roofs and excellent ventilation and lighting to crumbling and decaying wattle and daub thatched buildings with poor ventilation and no windows. Without exception, even the better constructed schools lacked the most basic supplies. The blackboard remains the medium of information dissemination, and in some schools portable blackboards were shared among classrooms. There were no erasers and teachers used scraps of paper or their hands to remove writing on the board--both very ineffective means of clearing the blackboards. In only one school were any kinds of resource materials available and this was an elite boarding school where many government officials and wealthy entrepreneurs sent their children. Generally there were no charts, posters, paper, pencils, math materials and manipulatives in classrooms. Teachers had nothing to assist them in lesson development.

**General Discussion on Instructional Materials** - Clearly, investments in instructional materials should be given priority. Four kinds of investments should be considered.

One input would be to provide pedagogy books and activity books that teachers could use in their lesson development. Although there are some hands-on materials that could be found locally and used in the classroom, teachers lack the creative know-how to find and improvise materials. This would need to be addressed in any in-service program. Books that demonstrate how local materials can be utilized in classroom instruction could be very effective.

Second, resource materials including maps, charts, blocks, puzzles, globes, clocks, math rods and kits, science equipment, dictionaries and encyclopedias should be distributed on a per school basis.

A third group of instructional materials includes student workbooks, exercise books and pencils. Although parents are expected to provide exercise books and pencils, nearly 50 percent of the children in the schools we visited lacked these school supplies.

Finally, extra-curricular materials including musical instruments, sports equipment, art supplies, agricultural tools and seeds should be considered for distribution. Although most

of the materials in this last group are not essential for cognitive development, without exception, inspectors and teachers included these items on their list of materials needed.

**Initiatives** - USAID could finance the purchase and distribution of instructional materials. For illustrative purposes providing each school with instructional materials of \$500 would cost \$4 million.

**Implementation Issues** - Instructional materials tend to go hand in hand with the provision of textbooks. Therefore the considerations detailed above regarding production and distribution apply equally to the provision of these items.

### 3. Classroom Furniture

**Problem** - If quality learning is to take place, schools must be a secure, safe and comfortable environment. Many of the schools observed were not comfortable and some were unsafe. Many children sit on dirt floors, jagged rocks or unstable benches or group desks. At Kitante Primary School, considered one of the best endowed schools, classes with over 100 children per classroom were observed with pupils sitting two to a chair. In another classroom at Kitante, 28 students completed their schoolwork tightly lined up at cupboards along the windows. As unsatisfactory as these arrangements might be, they were much better than what a large percentage of children attending primary school in Uganda face each day. Providing stable, well-constructed seating arrangements for children would dramatically improve the conditions for learning, and may foster increased parental and community support.

**General Discussion on Furniture Initiative** - The priority of many districts is to rehabilitate the buildings and supply basic furniture for the children to sit at. A few districts have established (e.g., Jinja and Mbale) special funds to build up the stock of furniture throughout the schools. There are no donor aided initiatives for a country-wide provision of furniture, although the first IDA project, 1973, included the provision of furniture in the secondary education sector.

The relative costs of importing school furniture versus domestic production is not known and will need to be evaluated. However, the likelihood is that imported will be far more expensive once transportation costs are included, although the quality may be better. It may be possible to import only the metal components and have the wood and assembly supplied locally. Probably the most realistic option would be to produce the furniture domestically. This will have the wider economic benefits of stimulating local industry and employment.

**Implementation Issues** - In many cases the skills necessary to produce furniture are localized and most districts have established procurement and tendering procedures. Local currency funds could be placed in local bank accounts specifically for the purpose of acquiring furniture. To manage the funds, designated officers would have control over the accounts and the DEOs at district level would determine local needs. However, the main problem with this

method of delivery is that the local capability to meet the scale of production may be lacking in areas. Attempts to establish a local capacity by ActionAid in a specific locality failed, although this was mainly due to the fact that the work was given to teachers and not local entrepreneurs.

Alternatively, to achieve economies of scale through bulk purchasing and to benefit from established procurement procedures, the Central Tender Board could be used to evaluate suppliers and procure the furniture centrally. This would place activities that are historically at risk of abuse, under centralized control and should make the management of these funds easier. It would be administratively easier than monitoring 38 districts who operate relatively unsupervised. A mid-way alternative would be to document centrally the procedures that districts must follow, train local staff and monitor expenditures through an imprest system.

Centralized organizations are more likely to be able to meet the production needs. While the contracts could be spread among producers, the main supplier is the Prison Industries enterprise which produces furniture for the government and parastatals. This enterprise has three workshops in Kampala and others in Jinja, Mbale and Tororo.

A final alternative that could be considered is to place funds directly with NGOs, many of whom carry out work on the rehabilitation of primary schools as a part of a multi-sectoral community based program. For example, ActionAid and World Vision both are engaged in community activities which include the purchase of furniture for schools. World Vision has about 60 projects in 15 districts, so the coverage of this organization would, in contrast to ActionAid, be quite wide. It would appear that World Vision has the organizational structure in place both centrally and locally, as well as the experience in such an initiative, to manage this type of assistance. Some training will be required to ensure that the officers involved are cognizant of USAID accounting and fund management requirements. Additionally, World Vision has its own Strategic Plan which is based upon managing its current initiatives. This will need to be evaluated to ensure that the current administration can manage the inflow of extra funds.

## **E. TEACHER INCENTIVES**

### **1. Teacher and Other Stipends**

**Problem** - There is no question that most teachers live in deplorable conditions and must work hard to survive. Low salary and poor working conditions fail to attract more capable individuals into the teaching profession. Furthermore, those qualified teachers who are able to find more lucrative employment elsewhere do not stay in teaching. Urban migration to where PTA's are able to provide better housing and higher allocations undermines the quality of teaching in the rural areas.

**General Discussion on Teacher Incentives** - PTA contributions and allocations to teachers vary a great deal between the districts as well as within the districts when considering urban/rural living situations. The team was told that PTA's in the Buganda area of Uganda are much more generous and active than PTA's in other parts of the country. Visits in Masindi, Luwero, Hoima, Mbale, Tororo and Iganga seem to confirm that this might be true. Few teachers received in-kind contributions and approximately 50 percent of the teachers who were interviewed were not provided with PTA housing or given a housing supplement, and what was provided tended to be quite poor.

Although the urban housing is also quite poor, urban teachers are more likely to have cement dwellings and possibly electricity. PTA financial allocations in the urban areas could be as much as 5,000 shillings more than in the rural areas. Parents in the urban areas are more likely to pay additional fees for coaching, which can amount to as much as 2000 shillings a week per student.

Discussions with parents suggest that they are unwilling to contribute more than they currently pay for their children's schooling. Parents and teachers alike both thought that the central government should take a more active role in financing primary school costs, increasing teachers' salaries and improving teachers' living conditions. There is the distinct possibility that as teachers' salaries are increased through central government allocations parents will resist any increases in PTA contributions and might even demand that parental cost-sharing be lowered.

Because it is unlikely that PTA allocations will make any substantive difference in the income that teachers have and that MOE increases may not keep pace with the inflation, several options should be considered to provide incentives for teachers to enter the teaching profession and make a commitment to the job.

**Teacher Incentive Initiative** - USAID could finance training stipends, hardship allowances (in return for bonding), and child care allowances and/or purchase bicycles.

*Training Stipends* - As mentioned in the discussion on teacher training, providing financial incentives for teachers willing to take part in upgrading should be considered. These incentives could include a stipend (like SHEP per diems) or bonuses to teachers who complete training modules. Provisions for women with children who are too young to be left at home will have to be made to insure that they are not inadvertently discriminated against when teacher upgrading is being considered.

*Hardship Allowances* - Since rural areas appear to have great difficulty attracting and keeping qualified teachers, giving hardship allowances to teachers who make a commitment to rural teaching posts might make a significant impact on the attrition rates there. The unavailability of suitable housing poses a problem in many small rural villages.

*Bicycles* - Providing bicycles to teachers willing to work in more remote schools where housing isn't available and bike in from some distance might be a viable option that responds to the unique needs of rural schools.

*Childcare* - There is a changing profile of the individual who becomes a primary level school teacher. As increasing numbers of less-qualified women enter the profession, satisfying childcare obligations become increasingly important. Salaries are so low, and childcare relatively expensive, that women teachers with babies are inclined to bring them into the classroom. The babies distract the students and the teacher must divide her attention between her own child and her students. The situation is equally bad for the pupils as the infant. Establishing childcare allowances might ease this situation particularly if there were some accompanying GOU or MOE policy changes that provided for more generous maternity leave for women.

*Implementation Issues* - In considering the option of teacher incentives, three principal considerations need to be borne in mind. First, the current systems that the GOU employs to pay teachers are poorly controlled. To channel USAID funds through these systems would place the monies at high risk. The MOE just doesn't know the number of teachers who should be paid. Second, the level of funding provided for the period may not be sustainable by GOU after the project is finished and this could be demotivating for teachers who become accustomed to extra benefits. There is also the potential negative effect that resentment and demotivation is experienced by colleagues who do not benefit. Third, the sheer volume of teachers limits the extent to which USAID funds may be used for incentives. If all teachers were to receive \$100 in additional benefits, it would require approximately \$8,600,000 per year.

Incentives need to be targeted, with specific criteria for participation and payment contingent on specified conditions. Furthermore, it will need to be made clear from the outset that the benefits accrued will only be short term. Overall, these initiatives carry a high financial risk and a potentially low direct benefit unless they are to be used to achieve short-term objectives such as redirecting resources into poorer areas.

Given the limitations described above, the procedures for evaluating potential recipients would have to be established centrally and training given to the implementers to ensure the consistent allocation of allowances. With the limitations inherent in financial management described below, this would mean developing standards centrally and providing training to individuals at district level.

For initiatives such as hardship allowances, childcare and training stipends, it would not be feasible to manage and disburse funds from a central point directly to recipients unless each teacher had a bank account or hordes of teachers descended upon Kampala. The majority of teachers are unlikely to have their own bank accounts. Such procedures would only be manageable at the district level and would logically be administered by the staff involved in

the payment of salaries. This in itself would require a degree of training to enable the officers involved to administer the process. New forms will be required and a new accounting system will be needed. Prior to implementation, the system would need to be designed and training provided. Both activities would delay implementation. Given the weak control environment, there need to be procedures established to centrally monitor the disbursement of funds. This would include establishing reporting procedures from the designated district officers and managing funds through an imprest system.

Another alternative would be to limit assistance to new teachers who complete training at the TTCs. This would provide additional incentives to encourage teachers to become qualified and could be contingent upon their agreement to teach primary education in certain areas for a specified period. The payees would be easier to identify if the TTC Principal and the DEO had to certify applications for evaluation centrally before payment is made. A register of payees could be centrally maintained and their movements tracked. This information would be of value in the post-program evaluation. The process of payment could mirror the principles outlined in the paragraph above. While the issue of targeting assistance and controlling funds is simplified, this option could cause resentment with teachers who are already working in hardship areas and who are not eligible for the new initiative.

Consideration of the bicycle issue is little different from the other teacher's incentives. The main supplier of bicycles is Uganda Motors in Kampala, which deals with all government agencies. This company imports bicycles from India and the current cost (October, 1991) is about \$50 per bicycle. If payment is made in local currency, the company will have to apply for foreign exchange and this administrative burden would make the process slower and less certain. Therefore, if this option is pursued, payment should be from a foreign currency account. Separate cash book records and asset registers may need to be established if the funds are not maintained by the Mission or a U.S.-based procurement agent.

The bicycle initiative could perhaps be taken a step further and a nominal fee charged for the purchase of the vehicles. The procedures could mirror those of the textbook revolving fund described earlier. Given the price of the bicycles in relation to the earnings of the teacher, it would be unrealistic to expect the revenues to replace the bicycles but the funds could be utilized for purposes specified by USAID. In this way, the USAID funds would provide additional benefits.

Items like bicycles will be highly attractive and subject to misuse and diversion. A number of complex administrative arrangements will have to be resolved before the bicycles are procured. Decisions will need to be made on who should be the recipients. For tracking and control purposes the individuals should be registered. Details of the individuals, supporting certifications from senior officials locally and their signatures should be obtained to verify against documentation that is completed when the bicycles are actually received. Such registers can be maintained locally and centrally to enhance control. The complexity of the control system must reflect the relatively low dollar value, high volume, of transactions.

Once the bicycles are distributed to the authorized recipients, there is no reasonable way to control or monitor them. The emphasis must be on delivering the bikes to responsible teachers.

Delivery of the bicycles would be targeted at District level for similar reasons outlined above for the textbook initiative. If the option is pursued where a nominal fee is charged, then the revenues could be collected at the point where the vehicles are handed over to the teachers. As for the textbooks, the monies could be banked locally for transfer to a central account.

## 2. Teacher Loans

**Problem** - Many of the problems associated with the quality of the teaching in primary schools are caused by salaries below basic subsistence levels, the conflicting demands of supplemental income generating activities and unavailability of adequate housing. Earlier studies suggested that the poor living conditions of the primary school teachers could be improved through a teacher loan program. It was anticipated that the funds lent would be used primarily to purchase housing and small tracts of farmland for self-sufficiency agriculture.

**General Discussion on Teacher Loans** - The team considered this potential program initiative and has observed serious obstacles to its successful implementation.

*The Concept is Basically Unsuitable* - There are serious doubts that a home/farmland loan program would be useful to many teachers. Teachers may rotate to various primary schools at the initiative of the DEO, the needs of the schools and the preferences of the teacher. Owning housing in such circumstances would be an additional burden. Housing and land may be too expensive or simply unavailable for purchase. Land in some districts is not desirable to own due to climate or security. Housing is now provided by many PTAs who would not replace housing with shillings if teachers own their homes.

*The Concept of Loans is Inappropriate* - Teachers are suffering from compensation that is at or below basic subsistence levels. Many simply would not have any money for repayments.

*The Economy Adversely Affects Loan Programs* - Loan programs are faced with a great number of problems that are inherent in the current economic condition of Uganda; with inflation at over 30 percent, commercial interest rates at about 37 percent, and no long-term loan repayment periods.

*A Loan Program Would not be Sustainable* - The great likelihood of abuse and the many factors operating against the successful repayment of the loans would likely result in the dissipation of the loan capital in a short period of time. It is unlikely that much of the funding would remain to support a revolving credit arrangement.

*The Amount of Available Funds Would Necessitate Preferential Treatment - Assuming there are 80,000 teachers, one quarter of which would qualify and that loans would average about \$500, the total loan principal needed is \$10,000,000.*

It is reasonable to project that such a program would result in abuse of funds, unsatisfactory loan administration by the banks, a high default rate, dissatisfaction on the part of GOU and teachers, few and/or inappropriate housing purchased. It is the opinion of the team that this option should not be considered any further.

## **F. IMPROVED LEADERSHIP**

### **1. School-level Instructional Grant Competition**

**Problem** - The current system to improve primary education depends on solutions coming from the top--Ministry of Education, District Education Officer and District Inspectorate, and donors. The role of teachers and parents as educational innovators has no impact on the system. Public support and awareness of the needs for improving primary education are limited.

**Initiative** - USAID could finance and administer a small grant program to increase input from parents and teachers and, simultaneously directing experiment with school-based approaches for improving primary education.

**Implementation Issues** - Small grants to individual or a group of schools, awarded on the basis of written proposals can generate innovative, grass root approaches for increasing student learning. A program could be implemented that required participating schools to develop proposals to:

- Implement textbooks;
- Improve testing of students;
- Demonstrate ways to introduce problem solving;
- Upgrade teachers within a school setting;
- Increase retention; and,
- Involve parents in student learning.

It is envisioned that a grant would be in the \$500-1000 range. The program could develop a newsletter to disseminate information on exemplary programs to all primary schools and

could work to replicate successful programs. A component of a small grant competition could be selection and public recognition for a small group of "award winning projects." This concept is similar to the "Flags Program" administered by the U.S. Department of Education to recognize outstanding progress in American public schools.

It is recognized that the administrative costs for such a program, relative to the amount spent on awards, is large. However, the payoff in terms of promoting primary education, demonstrating USAID's role in improving Ugandan primary education, and stimulating thinking at the delivery service level makes such a program potentially appealing.

USAID could either operate the program itself, provide a grant to the inspectorate or use a contractor (perhaps one who was also responsible, for long-term technical assistance, should that be a part of the program). Regardless of who was responsible, they would promote the competition, organize proposal review (perhaps using the inspectorate, teachers and parents as reviewers), administer grants, monitor implementation, arrange dissemination, write a newsletter and arrange award ceremonies.

## **2. Curriculum and Examination Reform**

***Problem*** - For long-term amelioration of classroom instruction and student learning, changes will have to be made in the government defined curriculum and PLE. Although MOE curricular reforms have yet to be approved at the parliamentary level, it is the team's understanding that the MOE is committed to changing from a rote memorization system to one that encourages creative problem solving and higher order thinking.

***General Discussion of Curriculum and Examination Reform*** - Although there are well-qualified individuals working in the areas of planning, curriculum and examinations, in general there is not enough local expertise to respond to the desired changes. This is particularly true in the area of examination development. Key personnel need training in psychometrics in order to develop reliable and valid testing procedures.

At the moment, several districts are using promotional tests at the end of P-6. If these tests are being used as an evaluative measure both for the system and the child, the tests can become very valuable tools. However, their purpose may serve as sorting devices blocking children at an earlier stage than the PLE from higher education. More study is needed to determine how exam results are used. If it is found that the tests are basically a sorting mechanism, in as much as USAID supports the MOE initiative for a move to free primary schooling for all children, these promotional tests might serve to undermine this initiative. Therefore, if research indicates that the promotional tests are used to determine which children may continue on to P-7, it might be advisable to discourage their use on terms of equity concerns.

***Curriculum/Examination Reform Initiative*** - USAID could provide technical assistance to the UNEB and NCDC. If this were done, one possibility would be to bring out various experts from the U.S. or U.K. who could offer seminars on test-making procedures to specialists working in the various departments. The team concludes that attempting to make a "frontal assault" on curriculum or examination reform is premature given a USAID program with a 3-5 year time frame.

It should be noted that any teacher training initiatives are, in and of themselves, a form of curricular reform because of intended changes in teacher behavior, i.e., increased student/teacher interaction, higher order skills and questioning procedures.

### **3. Fundamental Institutional Strengthening**

***Problem*** - The team has considered a development program initiative to strengthen the institutions that are responsible for primary education--principally the Ministry of Education UNEB, NCDC, and Inspectorate. The rationale is that by improving the management and administration of the education system, the system would then be capable of effecting its own resuscitation.

***General Discussion of Institutional Strengthening*** - The problems of the educational system are so all pervasive as to indicate that fundamental institutional strengthening would require a massive effort with limited positive results. Nothing short of a total restructuring would achieve widespread, sustainable improvement. There are several factors that lead the team to conclude that this would not be an appropriate approach for USAID at this time.

As discussed in Chapter 4, there are fundamental problems in the ministries and district governments. At the ministerial level, the state of decay is so far advanced as to render the organization barely functional from the aspect of providing education services. The causal factors are many, including lack of clear direction, an ineffective bureaucracy, inability to discipline or motivate staff, insufficient funds, incidence of corruption and an unresponsive organizational structure. At the district level, the problems are more likely to be conflicting priorities, mismanagement, diversion of funds and cases of fraud.

Given the magnitude of problems, it is unrealistic to assume that anything short of a complete ministerial reorganization would have any meaningful prospects for ultimately improving the quality of the education provided to pupils. At the District level, the changes would not be so drastic, but there are 38 districts spread over a very large area. The magnitude of a district level effort would be so large as to absorb the vast majority of the resources USAID contemplates devoting to this program. The time frame to effectively strengthen these institutions would absorb much of the intended implementation period.

Even if USAID were to obligate the funds necessary to undertake such an effort, there are other considerations that might render the restructuring ineffective. The GOU has not

demonstrated the resolve to accept the drastic and fundamental actions necessary to correct the underlying problems. For example, this restructuring would certainly involve actions that would be extremely controversial. The elimination of unqualified, non-performing and corrupt government employees would doubtless become embroiled in national politics.

Of a much greater feasibility is the selective strengthening of individual departments or functions to improve their specific effectiveness. While the targeted units would still experience some frustration by the inability to derive performance from the rest of the system, they should be able to perform the functions located wholly within their domain.

Recognizing the scarcity of donor resources as measured by the scope of the problems, it is prudent to engage in selective development initiatives that have good chances of resulting in tangible improvements in the education delivery at the individual school level.

One option that is available to USAID is to provide general strengthening of the planning unit at MOE. Technical advisors in staff development, curriculum and testing could be provided to work under the direction of the planning unit. Furthermore, an educational policy analyst with expertise in research and evaluation and a technical advisor who could develop the data base system in the MOE could collaborate with the director of the planning unit. This approach would be particularly attractive since it provides the opportunity to establish a planning unit that could develop linkages between the district level inspectorate and the departments of planning, curriculum and examinations. Clearly, for any long-term change in curriculum and the PLF this coupling is essential.

Furthermore, as USAID selected options that it wanted to pursue, expatriate staff could be hired on contracts to direct the specific initiatives. All of these initiatives could then be supervised by the planning unit, insuring that each intervention builds on the work of the other.

If USAID wants to make long-term, sustainable change, some kind of centralized intervention is needed. During interviews with individuals involved in current projects, one common theme was the high risk of needless overlapping without some sort of centralized control tower. USAID investments could fulfill this need.

Although there appears to be some resistance to the employment of expatriate staff at MOE, it is unlikely that any kind of intervention can be achieved without the services of selected technical advisors because of the shortage of qualified human capital in the Ugandan educational sector.

#### **4. Central Initiatives To Strengthening Financial Systems**

**Problem** - The financial reporting and control systems of the MOE and MLG do not ensure that funds reach teachers and classrooms. The information reported from the schools to the Ministries is so incomplete, inaccurate and late as to be almost meaningless.

**General Discussion on Strengthening Financial Systems** - There is no financial monitoring system which can collect and draw together the sources of funding and levels of expenditure committed to the primary education sector. Notwithstanding the lack of financial capability of the officers operating the system, the lion's share of funding is provided by agencies outside the direct control of the ministries, that is, the parents. The precise figures on the contribution of parents are not known and the current systems make no provision to gather this information. To address this issue, a team from the MPED was commissioned to establish a formal Financial Tracking System. The report was produced in November, 1990, and nothing has since happened. An officer within the MPED explained that the exercise was done in a rush as a contingency for World Bank funding. The speculative recommendations, such as training headteachers in bookkeeping (where many are barely numerate), seems to support this view. Funds may have been released to implement the system but were not applied to this purpose.

Taking a more micro view of the financial systems, external consultants were employed (Serafaco Consultants Ltd.) by MOE to design a standardized accounting system for primary schools in Uganda. The final report was issued in January, 1991. The systems that were designed were not implemented; they were regarded as too complex. The report gives findings and an independent opinion on the systems existing at all levels. In short, the findings concluded that at the district:

- There is inadequate supporting documentation;
- Recording is incomplete;
- Double entry book keeping is not comprehensive; and,
- Controls are very weak.

The Serafaco study also examined the existing conditions at the school level and concluded that:

- Documentation of transactions is poor;
- Incomplete books of account are kept; and,
- Financial reporting is incomplete.

In addition, the report concluded that district staffs were not committed to implementing a new system (low motivation), headteachers have no accounting knowledge and the shortage of funds precludes the ability to administratively sustain the system (stationery, files, cabinets). Finally, the conclusion was that the local internal audit function is largely ineffective for detecting or preventing abuses.

**Initiative** - Establish a uniform financial and accounting system at the school and district level. Strengthen the Ministry financial and control systems and integrate the two systems.

**Implementation of the Initiative** - The team feels that establishing working financial controls within the existing education system is not feasible in the short to medium term. The extent of deterioration in the control environment is so great as to preclude any reasonable chance of success without complete overhaul, massive retraining and extensive monitoring. It certainly is not possible before the anticipated start of USAID project initiatives that would be reliant on the system, e.g., teacher training and incentives.

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## **VI. PROGRAM IMPLEMENTATION**

### **A. IMPLEMENTATION MANAGEMENT STRUCTURE**

The discussion of the project management structures is based upon rather broad concepts of the form of the project implementation. Correspondingly, the team has portrayed this as a series of possible structures, and the salient factors affecting each alternative. Only those initiatives that the team concludes are appropriate to the circumstances and have a reasonable chance of being successfully implemented are considered.

Recognizing the extensive problems in the educational system, it is likely that in order to create an immediate impact across a broad base of education activities the program may involve several initiatives. Likely candidates for consideration by the Mission include:

- Selectively strengthening units within the MOE, such as the planning unit and the Inspectorate;
- Supporting the coordination activities between MOE and MLG, especially the development of a common Basic Education Database (BED);
- Selectively strengthening other GOU education organizations such as UNEB and NCDC;
- Activities to development teacher skills in using textbooks and other teaching materials;
- Provision of textbooks and educational materials and using the services of the MOE Project Implementation Unit (PIU) for procurement and logisticS; and,
- Other activities at the district level such as strengthening the District Inspectorate, local teacher training, providing resources and funding.

Whichever initiatives are pursued there are a number of management and financial requirements which underlie the successful project management. The team feels that it is probable that the program will require two levels of management structure.

*Central Unit* - A central function would provide overall management, control and reporting of the technical and financial aspects of the project and could perform consolidated procurement of commodities (textbooks, materials, furniture).

**Local Level** - A local level function would provide the immediate supervision and implementation support for resource distribution, information management, coordination and community relations.

How the two levels work together is dependent on the program organization, which in turn is determined by the program goals and objectives. The rationale for this approach is discussed in the following paragraphs.

**Central Unit** - Regardless of the combination of initiatives ultimately selected by the Mission, it appears that there is a strong need for central coordination of initiatives. The coordination effort will need to operate on several different levels, between individual initiatives, between this program and other education development programs, and between the program activities and the Mission and MOE. There are many different education development programs in process in Uganda. They are financed by a variety of donors and target various areas of the education system. Redundancy and conflicts should be strenuously avoided.

This unit might also have a monitoring function responsible for evaluating, advising and monitoring the activities at the local level.

The team believes that successful central coordination will require a significant effort and that skills in various disciplines and at different levels of expertise will be needed. This can be best achieved by the creation of a program management unit. The composition and location of the unit will be dependent on many different factors--the policy options agreed by USAID and GOU, the specific program initiatives selected and the time and funding constraints.

Although it cannot be predicted what the ultimate roles and responsibilities of the unit will be, certain key elements are fundamental and would be required under the most likely scenarios. The program management unit would be expected to:

- Coordinate program activities;
- Perform information collection and dissemination;
- Provide technical leadership;
- Control financial resources;
- Supervise/monitor performance at the local level; and,

Report technical and financial performance.

In order to fulfill these broad objectives, the unit would need manpower and financial resources corresponding to its specific responsibilities. The unit would likely be comprised of:

- Team leader with technical and project management skills;
- Financial controller/accountant who will control and monitor the program funds;
- Staff with education system experience to monitor, inspect and support the development activities;
- Depending upon the exact role of the unit, a small accounting staff may also be required to support the financial controller;
- To the extent necessary, project support staff such as secretary, clerical and administrative staff (drivers, messengers, cleaners); and,
- Vehicles, office space, office equipment, supplies and funds for operating expenses.

There are several realistic options for where the unit would be located, both physically and in terms of overall program design. The team does not make any recommendation other than to outline the following alternatives of all the possibilities that are realistically feasible.

*Locate the Unit Within USAID* - One of the most organizationally simple approaches would be for the Mission to retain responsibility for the management of the program. The benefits are that the Mission will have direct access to information and project management, and to the extent that the Mission administrative and accounting systems are used, there may be direct cost savings. The disadvantage is that the Mission may not be able to devote or hire sufficient staff, the project unit may be less responsive and the unit may become enmeshed in politically based disagreements.

*Locate the Unit in a GOU Ministry* - The most logical candidate is the Ministry of Education. The unit would have direct access to the MOE activities that will be crucial to its attempt to influence policy, gather information and strengthen the Ministry. The chances of a sustainable improvement are highest under this option. This arrangement may be the most politically desirable from the perspective of the GOU. However, there are serious problems with this approach; the Ministry has such massive problems that the unit's performance would probably be minimized. The threat of corruption will be much greater and the unit may become less responsive to the needs of USAID.

*Locate the Unit at a NGO or PVO* - This approach essentially says that the best place for the unit is outside the governmental structure, but still inside the educational system as a whole. The chief benefit of this strategy is that the unit is no longer subject to potential conflicting directives from the Mission and MOE. To the extent that initiatives involve

the use of other NGO organizations, the communications may be more direct and effective. The disadvantage is the possible alienation of the MOE and subsequent lack of cooperation. The program will still be at risk of corruption or mismanagement since the NGOs have their own problems. Additionally the selected organization may not be in a position to satisfy USAID grant provisions. Most NGO's operations in Uganda would not be able to absorb the program without significant institutional strengthening.

*Make the Unit Independent of Other Organizations* - This option sets the unit up as an independent implementing organization. The unit would be least susceptible to corruption, and could respond to the needs of the Mission and any NGO implementing organizations. This strategy would require a completely new administrative structure. The unit might not receive the expected levels of cooperation as it is not associated with any of the established organizations in the education system. Lack of MOE cooperation is a distinct possibility. This is particularly important for initiatives that require MOE resources, as when teacher training is performed by TTC instructors or MOE Inspectorate. Also, sustainable improvements are not likely under this strategy unless they arise out of the individual initiatives.

Despite the team's inclination to the contrary, the option to not formulate a program management unit must remain for the Mission to consider. Benefits are that program funds are not consumed by a management structure created solely for the operation of the program. The disadvantages are that coordinating the program will likely suffer. The Mission will need to absorb much of the daily management and communication activities. Overall direction and effectiveness may be adversely affected by the lack of a central resource to coordinate, approve, monitor and report on program activities.

*Local Level* - The organizational effectiveness at the district level ranges from moderate to abysmal. Most individuals have little motivation to perform their jobs. The individuals at this level are subjected to manipulations from superior and external forces which they are powerless to resist. In order to achieve the results that the program envisions, the grass roots implementation and monitoring must be performed by individuals who are at least marginally free of these influences. This presumes the identification of people or organizations who will identify with the goals of the program.

The local level implementation of the program would likely be responsible to:

- Establish "champions" at this level who will be responsible for technical performance;
- Assign responsibility for accountability to individuals who are entrusted with program resources;
- Facilitate information collection and dissemination; and,
- Perform a "reality check" on directions coming down from the central level.

The unreliability of existing local management would indicate that a large degree of control from the central function would be necessary. This would probably take the form of periodic visits by the central monitoring unit to:

- Verify technical compliance with program directions;
- Create team building and consensus development;
- Review accounting records and internal controls; and,
- Perform other supportive and inspection roles as appropriate.

The team has not recommended the location of the local level function. Such decisions will be driven by the decisions made in program design regarding goals, objectives, initiatives and central unit. There are only a few realistic alternatives--the District Inspectorate, the District Executive Secretaries, the District Education Officers, NGOs, PTAs, or schools.

## **B. SUSTAINABILITY**

The team has considered the degree to which the education development program will create sustainable improvements in the Uganda primary education system. A sustainable development is one where the GOU has the ability to retain and continue improvements after USAID funding has been expended and the program has been completed.

Many factors operate to limit the chances that the education development program will have a sustainable impact on the Uganda primary education system as a whole. While USAID is contemplating a sizable investment over a three to five year period, this effort is being undertaken in an educational system with significant problems. The state of the Uganda economy and the reports of corruption and mismanagement make widespread sustainability unlikely. There are certain exceptions to this evaluation.

*Maintain Primary Education Expenditure Levels* - Should the GOU adopt real growth in expenditures and maintenance of effort proposals there is a reasonable chance that these policies will be continued after USAID assistance is terminated.

*Arrest Decline of the System* - The Uganda education system is in decline and if the policy options and program initiatives are implemented, the arrest of the decline should be sustainable.

*MOE Planning Unit* - The capacity building of the planning unit may be sustainable if supported by new MOE policies, if MOE funding is continued and if MOE allows it the latitude to perform its function.

*MOE Inspectorate Unit* - The capacity building of the inspectorate department may be sustainable if supported by MOE policies, if MOE funding is continued and if MOE allows it the authority to perform its increased functions.

*Improvements in the Most Disadvantaged Regions* - The level of education quality is very low outside the urban centers and outside the peri-urban areas of relatively affluent districts. If the teacher pay levels are restructured and adequate teacher training is provided, the program may leave some improvement in these lesser developed educational areas. Given the low level of learning being achieved, even a minimal improvement would be appreciable.

*Textbooks and Instructional Material Survival* - The textbooks and materials provided by USAID will probably be available in some schools ten years from now.

*Classroom Furniture* - The classroom furniture supplied by USAID will exist for a generation if not longer.

## **APPENDICES**

## **APPENDIX A**

## LIST OF INTERVIEWEES

NAME	TITLE/PLACE
<b><u>Ministry of Education</u></b>	
Amanya Bushoga	Minister of Education
Tom Ogwol	Permanent Secretary
Cyprian Batala	Planning Director
Mr. Engole	Under Secretary of Finance
Mr. Abura	Principle Accountant
Mr. Makabayi	Chief Executive Officer
Mr. Wagubala	Finance Liaison Officer
Mr. Matovu	Chief Executive Officer
Ms. Simisambu	Accountant for Planning
Mr. Walakira	Senior Accountant
Mr. Omuku Lwasa	Accountant Teacher Salaries
Mr. Mpangire	Senior Executive Officer
Mr. Olongu	Internal Audit
Mr. Mugwanyu	Higher Executive Officer
Mr. Mpoza	Accountant IDA
Mr. Onyongo	Senior Accountant TSC
Mr. Obayi	Senior Accountant Orphans
Mrs. Katakura	Cash Office Supervisor
Mr. Omonuk	Accountant Teacher Salaries
Mr. Kayongo	Higher Executive Officer
Shay O'Byrne	Technical Assistant PIU
Sam Onek	Associate Commisioner Primary
Charles Akoya	Education Development Officer
Victor Byabamazima	Acting Director PIU
Kathy Gaudet	Project Director PIU
Filomena Nshangano	Secretary Teacher Service Commission
Dan Sentama	Director NCDC
Dr. Okohiah	Project Director
Charles Agwaii	Associate Commissioner Teacher Training
Outeke Charles	Producer/Director ERTV
Gladys Nuwanga	ERTV
Margaret Adwele-Ogen	Program Officer Teacher Training
Mary Ower	Project Coordinator, School Health Education Project

**NAME****PLACE/TITLE****Ministry of Education - continued**

Jim Farrell	Advisor to Inspectorate
Barbara Junge	Technical Advisor BEND
David Ongom	UNEB
Leo Okol	UNEB
Dr. Cele	UNEB
Dr. Serugga	ITEK
E. Twinonwgisha	Project Manager STEPUP
Howard Exton-Smith	Business Advisor STEPUP

**Other Interviewees**

Deputy Teacher	Kitante Road Primary School
Charles Mpango	RC5 member Mpigi
Cooper Odaet	Makerre University
Nealy Tanchanko	Ministry of Public Service and Cabinet Affairs

**World Bank**

Seung Choi	Resident Representative
Unnamed	Two IMC/IMF Consultants
Joe Scarce	Consultant World Bank NURP

**USAID Mission Staff**

Keith Sherper  
Steve Ryner  
Holly Wise  
Shirley Erves  
Robin Phillips  
Betsy Ann Olsen

**NAME****PLACE/TITLE****Ministry of Local Government**

Mr. Rucogoza  
Mr. Kararuka  
Mr. Buatre

Commissioner for Urban Affairs  
Under Secretary of Finance  
Senior Accountant

**Ministry of Planning and  
Economic Development**

Steve Thomas

Senior Economist

**Ministry of Finance**

Lawrence Banyoya  
Mr. Chris Kasami

Education Officer  
National Budget

**Commercial Enterprises**

Mr. Ochola  
Mr. Ntarwete  
Susan Scull-Carvalho

Prison Industries  
Uganda Motors  
Jacaranda Designs Nairobi

**NGOs**

Ms. Carlson  
Chris Conrad  
Mr. Farrell  
Penny Twinomujumi  
Mr. Bundi-Bugyo  
Ian Smith  
William Salmond  
Stan Moss

CARE  
CARE  
World Food Program  
Action Aid  
World Vision  
Director Action Aid  
Director Experiment in  
Director British Council,  
International Living

## **Districts**

Interviews were conducted with government officials, teachers, parents and pupils in the following districts:

Hoima  
Luwero  
Mbale  
Rakai

Iganga  
Masaka  
Mpigi  
Tororo

Jinja  
Masindi  
Mukono  
Kampala

## **APPENDIX B**

# INTERVIEW PROTOCOL

## Questionnaire for Inspectorate

Name: \_\_\_\_\_  
Years of experience teaching? Headteacher? Inspectorate? Qualifications?

1. How many of there are you in the district inspectorate?
2. How many schools do you have in this district to evaluate? (Are there any that you have not seen since you've been here?)
3. How many teachers do you have to evaluate?
4. During the past year how many schools were you able to visit individually? As a team evaluation?
5. What kinds of things would you need to enable you to do your job better?
6. When you can't visit schools, what kind of work do you do here in the office?
7. In general, what is the level of teaching that you see in the schools? (Try to ferret out any correlation between gender, level of qualifications, PTA allocations, rural/urban, etc.)
8. What are the most serious problems that you have observed in the teachers (personal, level of teaching, etc.)?
9. What do you consider to be the five greatest needs of the schools in your district?
10. What are the things that you think needs to be done to improve teacher morale?
11. How do you know there are no ghost teachers in your district?
12. What percentage of children of primary school age do you estimate are in school in your district? What are the reasons that you suspect why children don't come to school?
13. What kinds of punishments have you seen teachers use in the schools you evaluate?

14. What procedures do you follow when you have identified a teacher who is doing an inadequate job? How much time elapses before you can do a second evaluation? What happens if after several months the teacher just doesn't improve?
15. What is your opinion of the IDA 3 and 4 textbooks and materials?
16. Describe your job description according to what you are actually able to do now. Describe your job description according to what you think it should be given you have the materials, supplies, transportation, etc. that you might need.
17. List materials and supplies that you think is needed in schools.

## Questionnaire for Headteacher

Name: \_\_\_\_\_

School: \_\_\_\_\_

Village: \_\_\_\_\_

Years of experience: Teaching \_\_\_\_ Headteacher \_\_\_\_

Number of pupils: girls \_\_\_\_ boys \_\_\_\_

P1

P2

P3

P4

P5

P6

P7

Number of teachers: M/F Grade level \_\_\_\_ Qualifications \_\_\_\_

Salaries and allocations of teachers (cash and in kind allocations)

School fees/term/child (Any other monies parents must pay?)

1. How many of the teachers that you have now were here two years ago?
2. How many of your teachers here now do you expect to have here two years from now?
3. What happens to students in your school who are unable to pay their school fees?
4. What percentage of your students have to drop out at the end of terms II/III because they cannot pay the fees? (Pursue for gender implications.)
5. What are your five greatest needs for improving this school? List according to priority.
6. In general, what is the level of teaching that you have in your school?
7. Describe the kinds of punishment that are used in your school? What are the kinds that you encourage teachers to use?
8. What are the procedures that you follow when you have a teacher who is not doing an adequate job?
9. How do you decide which students get to use the textbooks?

10. What kinds of teaching materials are supplied to your school from the district DEO?
11. Do you have any orphans in your school? Have you received any monies from the district for their schools fees? When did you send in the paperwork?
12. What do you think of the IDA 3 and 4 books and supplies? (Ask to be shown books and which are favorite and less liked books and why.)
13. How often do your teachers use these books? How often do the students have them at their desks?
14. How much of a problem is truancy or absenteeism in your school? As which more--boys or girls--reasons parent give.
15. What percentage of children in your school area do you estimate are not going to school?
16. Get a list of the kinds of food eaten in the headteachers home--how often do you have beef, chicken, goat, fish, pig, eggs, cheese, milk, bread?
17. How much do you spend on kerosene/week and how much do you buy?
18. Describe the house you live in to me. (i.e., cement walls and floors or wattle and daub with mud floors, thatch, tile or iron roof, kitchen facilities, bathroom facilities, who shares latrine, distance to nearest water, how many bedrooms, sitting room, electricity, garden.) Is garden space provided with your home? Do you own or rent out (additional) garden space? If so, how much does it cost to rent or buy a garden plot?
19. How many of each of these do you own: pigs, goats, chickens, ducks, cows?
20. How much do you charge for coaching? How many students do you coach a week?
21. How many hours a day do you work in your family's gardens?
22. How many hours a day do you plan for your classes and correct students' work?
23. What time do you go to bed at night? What time do you get up in the morning?
24. How many children do you have? What are their ages/sex?

25. If your expenses were paid to go to a teacher's workshop to help you improve your teaching (not necessarily an upgrade in credentials) would you have the time to attend? One week? Two weeks? One month? Do you think your teachers would have the time to attend?
26. Does your PTA give you any kind of medical insurance?
27. What kinds of supplies do you collect from the district? (Frequency, amount, monies, etc.)
28. Give me a list of materials that you would like to have for your school.
29. What other sources of income does your family have besides your salary and PTA allocations?
30. Is there anything that you'd like to tell me about your school or your living conditions?
31. Is there anything that you'd like to ask me?

## District Statistical Data

1. Determine the following statistics for the primary sector.
  - number of schools
  - number of teachers
  - number of qualified teachers
  - number of students/pupils
  
2. Determine the following expenditure details.
  - annual teacher salaries contribution from MOE
  - annual MLG 50% contribution
  - annual school 50% contribution
  - annual contribution of orphan/NRA fees from MOE
  
3. Determine the following in respect to the District Budget.
  - amount of funds on education
  - percentage of district budget spent on education
  - breakdown of items district education budget is spent on e.g. salaries of district staff, travel/subsistence, costs special funds (improve district education office block), teacher training

## District Education Officer

1. What is the role of the District Education Officer?
2. Obtain overview of the District.
  - geography and inherent problems
  - population
  - population of primary age pupils/proportion at school
  - problems peculiar to district (e.g., Mukono has islands, northern people nomadic.)
3. Obtain views on the IDA project.
  - number of schools supplied
  - logistical problems encountered
  - appropriateness of textbooks, materials, etc.
  - how it could have been improved
4. Determine issues related to salaries contribution of MOE.
  - are cheques from MOE being delivered
  - logistics of collection of cheques from DEO
  - whether MOE cheque is sufficient to pay salaries of all teachers (i.e., if cheque is less or more than number of all teachers, what happens to balance)
  - incidence of ghost teachers and initiatives taken
5. Determine issues relating to 50 percent government contribution.
  - what in practice is the money spent on
  - how do schools get their amount entitled in terms of scholastic materials (e.g., do distant schools under-collect and nearby ones over-collect)
6. Determine what bank accounts are held (e.g., school fees and salaries) and who are the signatures to the accounts?
7. Obtain DEO's view of the priorities of the needs of the Districts whether funds are most needed.
  - building/rehabilitation
  - textbooks
  - teacher training
  - other

## **APPENDIX C**

**TABLE C-1****ANALYSIS OF DIRECT CENTRAL GOVERNMENT SPENDING  
ON THE PRIMARY EDUCATION SECTOR 1989-1992**

<b>DESCRIPTION</b>	<b>1989/90 USH million Actual</b>	<b>1990/91 USH million Actual</b>	<b>1991/92 USH million Estimate</b>
<b>MINISTRY OF EDUCATION</b>			
Teachers Salaries	3507	3883	6291
Allowances	87	87	5843
Handicapped Schools	82	15	88
Teacher Training (TTC Grants)	1381	1335	2939
Orphans and free education	143	305	1281
Rehabilitation of Colleges	45	29	204
Fourth IDA and Textbook Pilot Project	123	70	429
<b>MINISTRY OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT</b>			
School Fees Contribution Grant	1886	787	9000
Capital Expenditure	600	0	208
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>7854</b>	<b>6511</b>	<b>26283</b>

**TABLE C-2**

**GOVERNMENT SALARY STRUCTURE FOR PRIMARY  
SCHOOL TEACHERS (DATA AS OF OCTOBER 1991)**

<b>GRADE</b>	<b>SCALE</b>	<b>HIGHEST (USH)</b>	<b>LOWEST (USH)</b>
HEADTEACHER	U3	236532	229188
QUALIFIED TEACHER	U4	222636	198984
QUALIFIED TEACHER	U5	199680	187284
QUALIFIED TEACHER	U6	182892	179184
QUALIFIED TEACHER	U7	120180	115164
UNQUALIFIED / NEWL QUALIFIED TEACHERS	U8	112008	107640

**TABLE C-3****ESTIMATE OF ANNUAL CONTRIBUTION PER PUPIL  
(DATA AS OF OCTOBER 1991)**

<b>CONTRIBUTOR</b>	<b>HIGHEST (USH)</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>LOWEST (USH)</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>AVERAGE (USH)</b>	<b>%</b>
<b>PARENTS</b>	<b>165500</b>	<b>92%</b>	<b>1500</b>	<b>13%</b>	<b>10589</b>	<b>50%</b>
<b>LOCAL GOVERNMENT</b>	<b>4097</b>	<b>2%</b>	<b>140</b>	<b>1%</b>	<b>528</b>	<b>2%</b>
<b>MIN. OF EDUCATION</b>	<b>6577</b>	<b>4%</b>	<b>6577</b>	<b>56%</b>	<b>6577</b>	<b>31%</b>
<b>MIN. OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT</b>	<b>3600</b>	<b>2%</b>	<b>3600</b>	<b>30%</b>	<b>3600</b>	<b>17%</b>
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>179774</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>11817</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>21294</b>	<b>100%</b>

**TABLE C-4****ESTIMATE RANGE OF TEACHERS' REMUNERATION  
(DATA AS OF OCTOBER 1991)**

<b>CONTRIBUTOR</b>	<b>HIGHEST (USH/YR)</b>	<b>LOWEST (USH/YR)</b>
<b>GOVERNMENT SALARY</b>	<b>236532</b>	<b>107640</b>
<b>PTA SALARY</b>	<b>360000</b>	<b>5000</b>
<b>COACHING FEE</b>	<b>36000</b>	<b>0</b>
<b>HOUSING</b>	<b>60000</b>	<b>0</b>
<b>MEDICAL</b>	<b>24000</b>	<b>0</b>
<b>FOOD</b>	<b>24000</b>	<b>0</b>
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>740532</b>	<b>113640</b>

## **APPENDIX D**

# **FINANCIAL MANAGEMENT SYSTEMS FOR PRIMARY EDUCATION SERVICES IN UGANDA**

## **A. INTRODUCTION**

There are a number of organizations involved in the management and provision of funding for the Primary Education Sector in Uganda. The largest single domestic contributor is the parent who pays schools fees and provides other assistance, both directly in cash and in kind and indirectly through the local taxation system. Ironically, the scale of funding by the parent is not known. It is estimated, by the Ministry of Education, that approximately 90% of domestic funding is provided by the parent. Our own estimation is that the parental contribution can vary enormously, but that it can be as high as 92% (Appendix C).

This paper establishes the roles of the key contributors to primary education. The nature of funding they provide and the systems employed are also analyzed. Following this outline, the existing systems are critiqued taking into consideration their ability to successfully manage and control funds. Finally, an outline of the requirements for the accounting systems is provided.

## **B. EXISTING ROLES, FUNCTIONS AND SYSTEMS**

### **1. Overview of the Central Government Role**

The Ministry of Finance (MOF) is responsible for the overall financial management and control of the Ministries of the Government of Uganda. Initially this role involves evaluating estimates of expenditure prepared by the ministries to derive an agreed budget which is supportive of achieving government policies and priorities. These budgets are called votes because they represent the ceiling of expenditure voted by parliament to be devoted for defined programs. As expenditure is authorized, the Ministry of Finance examines payments through the Comptroller and Auditor General's office and prints checks for approved payments. Each ministry provides monthly expenditure returns and quarterly accountability statements which monitor actual expenditure against approved votes. Financial Statements are submitted annually by the end of September and are audited by the office of the Comptroller and Auditor General.

For development expenditure, the Ministry of Planning and Economic Development (MPED) evaluates estimates submitted by the ministries. Our understanding is that there is a certain degree of dispute between MPED and MOF over the precise responsibility of each. In respect of both recurrent and development funding, the key ministries responsible for Primary Education programs are the Ministry of Local Government (MLG) and the Ministry of Education (MOE).

## **2. Ministry of Local Government (MLG)**

Following the Local Administration Acts of 1964 and 1967, the responsibility for provision of primary education services was transferred to districts through a block 50% School Fees Contribution Grant. The size of the grant is determined by multiplying the number of pupils by the official (gazetted) school fee per pupil. The MLG provides 50% of the amount calculated but the gazetted fee bears little relation to the actual school fees paid by parents. The 1991/2 estimates appear to be more realistic and the contribution per pupil (P1-P3) has been increased from about 85 Ushs to 2,500 Ushs. Once the amounts per district have been determined, MLG will raise a payment voucher for the MOF to examine and raise a cheque. The cheque is then disbursed to the District Education Officer in a special school fees account at the district.

The 1991/2 estimates also provide for about 208 Ushs million for capital development. This is being targeted at eleven of the nineteen districts in the south of the country on the basis that the World Bank is focusing its assistance in the northern region. The eleven districts which MLG considers the least developed will receive a grant of 15 Ushs million each to rehabilitate three schools in each district identified by the District Development Committees. Building materials will be purchased through the Central Tender Board including iron sheets, nails and cement. MLG is assuming that other materials such as bricks, timber and stones will be purchased by the local community. Of the remaining 43 Ushs million in the budget, five selected districts will each receive 6 Ushs million for special education facilities. A further 13 Ushs million will be retained as a contingency for unforeseen events.

## **3. Ministry of Education (MOE)**

The MOE is responsible for the formulation of education policy which (in theory) determines the provision of primary education services administered by the MLG. Direct financial assistance is provided to the primary education sector by paying teachers salaries, school fees for special groups of individuals and specific donor assisted projects.

Teachers salaries are based on pay scales determined by the MOE. Only qualified teachers can progress up the pay scale. In the past, districts would provide requisitions for money based upon the number of teachers and respective pay scales. This requisition would be examined at the Head Office and a check would be prepared for the district. Currently, the payment is based upon a census of teachers which was carried out by the Ministry of Public Services and Cabinet Affairs (MPSCA) in 1989. Head office now sends a check based on census printouts. Payment vouchers are prepared by the Head Office and are examined by the Internal Audit Department and the office of the Comptroller and Auditor General. Upon receipt of the checks the cashier at Head Office verifies the amounts to the vouchers and the checks are signed by the Principal Accountant, the Under Secretary of Finance and the Permanent Secretary for amounts over 100,000 Ushs. Vouchers and check counterfoils are filed at Head Office and the cashier delivers the check to UCB in Kampala

for transfer to the local district salaries account under the charge of the District Education Officer.

To account for the funds the districts provide copies of the cash accounts to head office showing amounts received and amounts paid to schools. They also provide bank statements for the head office to reconcile balances. Additionally, districts provide a return for each school detailing the amounts paid to each teacher with the teacher's signature as proof of receipt of the amount paid.

MOE also pays school fees on behalf of orphans and children of NRA soldiers and judges. Standard application forms are completed and certified by an array of local officials such as Resistance Council Chairmen, District Administrators, Head Teachers and District Education Officers. The forms are forwarded to head office where rates are calculated and payment vouchers prepared. The approval and check preparation process mirrors the procedures for teachers salaries except the check is physically collected by the District Education Officer or a representative to be banked in the school fees account.

Within the MOE there is a unit called the Project Implementation Unit (PIU) which is responsible for administering donor aided programs. This unit was established for the IDA project which was involved in the provision of text books. The PIU compiled and categorized a list of schools that were to be assisted and administered the procurement of textbooks. The textbooks were packaged abroad and sent directly to districts via Mombasa. Staff were heavily involved in overseeing the distribution process at districts. Contracts for textbooks were awarded on the basis of international competitive bidding in accordance with World Bank guidelines for procurement. Contracts for other items were awarded on the basis of local competitive bidding procedures deemed satisfactory to the World Bank. The PIU has a hard currency account at Grindlays Kampala and pay for all items by check. The salaries, subsistence and operating expenses of the unit are funded by the Government of Uganda. Local staff employed in the Finance and Administration section of the unit are supervised and trained by an expatriate technical assistant. The accounting system is a simple manual expenditure monitoring (impresting) system which keeps separate records for different funding agencies.

#### **4. Districts**

The managerial functions of MLG and MOE converge at the District level. While the District Education Officer (DEO) is responsible for implementation of educational policy the holder of this post is accountable to the District Executive Secretary (DES) (who is the top local government official) and ultimately to the District Administrator (DA) (who is the political head). Currently, the GOU is considering abolishing the DA function and redefining this role under the RC5 Chairman. Whatever internal changes result, the DEO will continue to be subject to influences outside the education sector.

The district provides the focal point for managing the collection and disbursement of resources to the primary education sector. Funding from the MLG and MOE is provided in the form of composite checks which are banked on accounts held at the district. Elements of the school fees such as the counterpart MLG grant contribution and other contributions specific to the district are collected and banked by headteachers on district accounts.

Also locally generated revenue such as graduated personal tax is collected by districts to fund the overall district budget of which a small proportion is allocated to education to pay for administrative expenses and specific activities. If the district is fortunate enough to receive central government grants for development expenditure in education, the DEO provides advice to headquarters on how and where the funds should be applied.

Once funds are collected from the various sources the district is responsible for disbursing funds to schools. However, some allocations are more or less predetermined (eg. teachers salaries) while others are more discretionary (building funds, scholastic materials).

Teachers salaries from MOE and the 50% school fee contribution from MLG are the two dominant financial systems at the district level. Both these systems are standard throughout the districts in that the same procedures and documentation are used. Although slight variances can exist in authorizing procedures, the significant variable revolves around the quality and motivation of the staff operating the system who determine how effectively the system is administered. Districts maintain distinct systems for these two processes which includes maintaining a separate bank account for each. Generally, the District Treasurer (DT), DES and DEO are signatories to the school fees account and the DEO and DES are signatories to the salaries account. If a district has a specific initiative which involves collecting funds from parents via school fees, then the likelihood is that a separate bank account will be established.

In respect of locally generated revenue such as Graduated Personal Tax, the level of funds allocated to education is generally around 5% of the total budget. Heads of Departments (including the DEO) submit budgets which are approved by the District Finance Committee or, for capital expenditure, by the District Development Committee. Once budgets have been approved locally and by the MLG there is no guarantee that the level of funding indicated will actually be provided. This depends upon the level of revenue actually collected and any changes in the priorities of the district.

## **5. Schools and PTA's**

Below district level, schools and PTA's are responsible for collection and disbursement of funds. Given that there are several thousand such organizations, it is unrealistic to form a comprehensive opinion without an extensive and detailed survey. However, there are a number of general observations which can be made.

There is tremendous variation in the administrative and financial capability of these institutions. While the wealthier schools are able to employ bursars to manage and control funds, the majority rely upon the financial management skills of the headmaster. Judging by the capability of the headteachers that were interviewed, there is a limited degree of language, numeracy and bookkeeping skills. PTAs are essentially private voluntary organizations which in practice are not accountable to districts. Instances were noted where PTA's have diverted funds intended to be collected by the district (to purchase textbooks). More generally PTA's set up illegal schools and employ teachers without the approval of the DEO.

The volume of institutions, absence of accountability and wide variations in administrative capability precludes the possibility of safely placing USAID funds in the safe custody of these organizations.

## **C. CRITIQUE OF THE EXISTING SYSTEMS**

### **1. Ministry of Local Government**

In managerial terms the main policy objective of the MLG is to decentralize power to the district level. This objective raises the question of the value of using USAID funds to strengthen an institution which is geared towards devolving accountability. However, the management capability of the MLG was assessed for its capability to administer the 50% school fees contribution grant which represents almost all its resourcing of the primary education sector.

In theory the provision of block grants to districts should be a relatively simple system to monitor and control. In practice the system appears to be in disarray and financial monitoring is weak. At the time of the study there appeared to be no clear policy on how the money should be disbursed in respect of timing and frequency. Overall there was disagreement, between the MOE and MLG, on precisely how much should be devoted to the primary education sector. Also the formulae for calculating the allocation of funding to districts was based on the 1989 census data of pupils updated by an estimate of expected growth. Although the school term had already commenced the issue of how much funding and its timing was unresolved. Therefore, the senior accountant in charge of the system lacked direction on what should be done. As these fundamental issues remained unresolved the disbursement of funding was increasingly becoming untimely. In respect of previous disbursements, the system for monitoring the grants did not seem to be operating effectively. Many districts had not provided returns to account for money previously disbursed, the records for monitoring expenditures were non-existent and there was an absence of structured follow-up procedures for districts which had not submitted returns.

MLG has a central inspectorate responsible for monitoring the performance of districts. The establishment of ten staff had three vacancies. In the opinion of the Commissioner of

Urban Affairs, the sections lacked logistical support (eg. vehicles) to perform their duties. There was no systematic program of work and visits were initiated by reacting to bad reports received from the districts rather than adopting a proactive role to strengthen systems and prevent problems. In the opinion of the Under Secretary of Finance, the inspectorate is ineffective.

## **2. Ministry of Education**

**Teachers Salaries** - The immediate impression of the teachers salaries section is poor. Staff within the section appeared to be unoccupied. Most were either engaged in private conversation, reading the paper or sleeping. Filing facilities were poor with piles of folders strewn across the office. Following an interview with the supervisor it became clear that both the old and new systems were being operated. In the past, districts sent requisitions outlining the number of teachers in the schools to support the salaries cheque required. Currently, teachers are paid automatically on the basis of the number of teachers registered in the 1989 civil service census. Nevertheless, some districts were still sending requisitions which were being examined by the section. This work now serves no effective purpose and the supervisor could give no justification why he was performing this work. The fact that salaries checks are based on a census in 1989 inevitably results in inaccurate payments since teachers will have left or joined the service since this time.

The main system of control relies upon the examination of documentation supplied by districts. Districts are required to submit the monthly cash books and bank statements for the section to reconcile. The accountant estimated that 75% of the documents are in error. Notwithstanding the logistical control difficulties in reconciling records of remote locations, the returns provided were not up to date and there was little evidence of systematic monitoring and follow-up procedures. The whole exercise is of questionable value when districts effectively continue to receive checks despite failing to account for previous funds in a timely manner.

Districts also provide returns where teachers have signed for salaries received. This exercise is limited in value. The headquarters in Kampala is too remote to carry out any effective examination especially without procedures to verify the existence of teachers (at least on a sample basis). It was clear from the returns provided that the signatures often had similar handwriting and were not signed by the appropriate individual. This phenomena and its control implications clearly had not been considered by the supervisor of the section.

**Orphans Fees** - The overall impression of the section responsible for administering orphans fees mirrored that of the Primary Teachers Salaries Section. The system for establishing payees appeared to be relatively convincing whereby standard application forms were prepared and then certified by numerous levels of staff locally and centrally.

The monitoring and control systems are cumbersome and ineffective. Once applications were submitted, payments were made each year for the pupil. Lists are submitted each year to ensure the payments continue. However, there is an absence of an effective tracking system to cross-check lists submitted against application forms originally provided. The section supervisor maintained that checks were performed but indicated that this can take up to three months for a single district. It is therefore possible that false names could be submitted without detection. There are no procedures to verify that the intended recipients actually receive the fees. Without an audit it is not possible to assess the effectiveness of the systems. During our interviews of headteachers at districts, we were told that although applications had been submitted many years ago, fees had not been received.

***Project Implementation Unit (PIU)*** - The impression of the PIU compared favorably with other sections within the ministries. Staff were clearly occupied, were present early in the morning and appeared to be more motivated. This is probably attributable to a number of factors including better pay, the provision of training and effective supervision. Even the office environment itself was more conducive to business. There is technical support (eg. computers), files are neatly kept and the decor is of a higher standard. In contrast to many other sections in the ministry the unit undertakes effective forward planning. Budgets and requisitions for funds are prepared in good time hence resources are available when required. We were told that other sections and departments often borrowed funds because of the untimely administration of their own procedures.

To control transactions, the unit operates a manual expenditure monitoring system with separate records for African Development Bank and World Bank Funds. The system appears to be operating effectively as evidenced by the clean audit report and absence of management letters from the local commercial audits.

The consequences of being an integral part of the MOE inevitably means that the PIU is subject to internal political influences. For example, PIU vehicles have been "seconded" for non PIU business despite a directive from the Prime Minister that this should not happen. We were told that before the existence of the unit, project funds were diverted. Although the work of the PIU received a positive evaluation, the main weakness would appear to be the lack of follow up after delivery of the textbooks to assess the degree to which they had been retained and used by the schools.

### **3. Districts**

At districts, the system surrounding the MLG grants appear to provide a reasonable degree of control. An analyzed cash book is maintained and a ledger for each school is kept to record contributions of funds and issues of scholastic materials. Furthermore, the bank account can only be accessed through the signature of three senior officers. However, the crux of the issue rests with the capability of the staff operating the system, and this varied significantly between districts. For example, at one district visited records were well kept but at another the ledgers were outdated. At another district, the accountant was absent, no

explanation was given, and the records were locked away. Examination of older documentation revealed that the records were poorly kept. Additionally once such funds become under the control of the district local political influences can come to bear. At three districts visited, we found clear evidence that funds were diverted from their intended use of purchasing scholastic materials. While the procedures for procurement and storage of these materials appeared satisfactory at one district we were told by the DEO that two adjoining districts lacked formalized systems.

Storage facilities for scholastic materials were equally variable. At one district the store room is far too small (4ft by 15ft) to perform a useful function and half the limited space is taken by ink which has not been used for five years. In another district the stores used to hold the IDA textbook deliveries were filthy and vermin infested. In contrast, the store at another district is neatly kept and well organized.

The MLG grant for teachers' salaries is standard throughout the districts but administration was equally variable. The main weakness of the system appeared to be the lack of physical verification of teachers even on a sample basis. The lack of logistical support precluded such an exercise although the opportunity to verify staff to records during school inspection visits was generally not conducted. Reconciliation of the cash accounts to the bank statements was left for head office to perform. Frauds relating to ghost teachers seem undetected because of the inherent weakness in the system and the failure to operate standard procedures effectively. For example, the fraud in Masaka occurred because the control procedure of the DES's co-signature on checks was not implemented. Secondly, salaries were paid in cash. Both these practices deviated from the standard system and inherently carried a higher control risk.

During March and April, 1991, the MOE paid teachers in 10 districts through physical attendance and verification at the district headquarters. The results revealed the weaknesses inherent in the system. The exercise highlighted the following problems (besides such problems as inebriated teachers):

- new teachers draw salaries in the names of teachers who have left;
- teachers complained of unpaid allowances and under payments;
- delays are experienced in submitting salaries checks from the DEO's office;
- many teachers do not have proof of identity;
- many trained teachers have no registration number which results in incorrect salary scales and increments, and;
- teachers were employed without DEO approval.

A brief review of the method and approach of the internal audit function provides little assurance that the systems are adequately policed. Even when operating effectively, the work of internal audit is intended to cover the whole district and there is no guarantee that the activities of the education department will be examined in depth.

We also examined the administration of the IDA textbook revolving fund in some depth at one district. This provided a good example of a scenario where a district is managing donor activity. The distribution of books seems to have generally been effective to the extent that most of them had reached the schools. However, the record keeping and management of asset is poor. There is no stock record for the textbooks, some of which still remain at the district and there is no record of delivery to schools. Also, there is no policy to determine the amounts that should be collected before the books are released and, generally, there is a significant under collection of funds. No procedures are established for debt collection.

## **D. ACCOUNTING SYSTEM REQUIREMENTS**

### **1. Existing Systems**

The critique of the existing management structures within the ministries and at districts demonstrates that the management of USAID Funds through these structures would carry a high risk. Even the current systems, with which the ministries are familiar, are not operating effectively. Some districts appear to be operating their own systems reasonably well; given the introduction of new systems and the variation in local capability the expectations of success are low. Overall, the task of institutionally strengthening the existing financial management and accounting systems is significant.

### **2. Future Systems**

Chapter 6 of the main report outlines one suggestion for the overall management structure of the proposed USAID program. This structure envisages both a centrally managed and locally managed element. In all probability the local management will be situated at the district level. With this in mind the proposed outline of the accounting system is described.

**Management Reporting** - Preparation of the financial statements and budgets would be best placed at the center to monitor and control the districts and to manage centrally administered initiatives. For example, the procurement of textbooks is most likely to be best placed at the center. With the requirement for subsidiary ledgers (such as a cashbook, purchase ledger and asset record), a general ledger will be needed to summarize and control the supporting financial records. A computerized general ledger would be desirable which can automatically produce financial statements in pre-determined formats and can provide cost center reports showing variances of actual to budgeted expenditures. The introduction of such a package will be dependant on the quality of staff employed in the central unit. The skills required to set up and operate a computerized package are currently beyond the

existing staff in the ministries. This may be possible if the unit employs an experienced and qualified accountant. Failing this basic requirement, the systems employed should be manual, but the same principles for a general ledger apply.

The existence of units at district level indicates the need for a general ledger coding structure which can identify districts as cost centers. Coding of expenses should, as a minimum, be sufficient to meet the needs of the USAID grant line items. For adequate financial control, the expenses will need to be defined in greater depth. The expense coding should be consistent for all the districts.

**Subsidiary ledgers** - The establishment of subsidiary ledgers and records will be driven by the type of initiatives selected by USAID. However the broad assumptions are that items will be bought domestically and from abroad, that some items will be high value and have a useful life exceeding one year and that, cash transactions will occur. Additionally, some initiatives may involve the sale of goods (eg. textbooks and bicycles). To account for these transactions the system is likely to require the following subsidiary ledgers:

- purchase ledger;
- sales ledger;
- cash book;
- asset record;
- stores ledger;
- imprest ledger; and,
- petty cash.

Whether all these ledgers are necessary depends on the initiatives selected for the program. For example, a sales ledger will not be required if the options involving the sale of items, such as textbooks, are not pursued. As indicated above, the issue of whether some of these ledgers are computerized will be dependent on the staffing of the central unit. If certain computerized ledgers are introduced, then greater speed and accuracy of information will result from automatic integration with the general ledger.

The initiatives of the program will probably require the establishment of both foreign currency and local currency bank accounts. For example, textbooks and bicycles may be purchased from abroad but furniture may be purchased locally. If these options are pursued, then separate cash book records will need to be established. The standard controls surrounding these procedures will need to be introduced. These will include, limited access to bank accounts through senior authorized signatories and monthly reconciliations of bank statements.

**Procurement** - USAID procurement standards require the need for open and free competition between acceptable suppliers. Therefore the procurement procedures will need to be documented to allow for appropriate tendering and ordering of goods and services. To support these procedures, a tendering committee will need to be set up and ordering

systems introduced. Segregation of duties between ordering, receipt and payment of goods, is a pre-requisite of sound control. While tendering and ordering can be controlled centrally the receipt of goods is more likely to be managed locally, especially if the IDA model is followed where textbooks are delivered directly to districts. So, the receipt of goods, including the matching of orders and delivery notes and verification on that the appropriate quality and quantity of goods are received, will need to be managed by designated officers at the district level. The implication of this model is that stock control procedures will also be performed at the district level. As the procedures are only temporary, for example textbooks will be forwarded onto schools, simple manual records may only be necessary. Returns on stock will be sent to the central unit.

***District Systems*** - As indicated above the districts will inevitably have a role in the control of items purchased. Some initiatives may also require the management of funds locally. Given the limitations that districts have in managerial capability and control, this aspect of the system would be best managed through impresting procedures. The level of funds required by the districts would be determined by the central unit and a periodic imprest provided. Further funds would not be released from the center until the previous imprest has been accounted for. To manage and control imprests provided by the center, districts would require their own separate bank accounts and associated cash book records. Appropriate controls, as described above will need to be introduced.

Centrally, the imprest system will require imprest accounts which separately identify each district. Procedures for determining the level of imprest, monitoring returns and accounting for the transactions will need to be established.

Districts may also need to set up asset records for high value items which have a useful life exceeding one year. These records will need to describe the location, probably by school if bicycles are purchased and treated as an asset. However, USAID regulations may not treat bicycles as of sufficiently high value to merit capitalization. If such records are established locally, then returns can be sent to the central unit for the necessary accounting routines, such as depreciation calculations.

## **APPENDIX E**

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