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UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

AGENCY FOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

(USAID)

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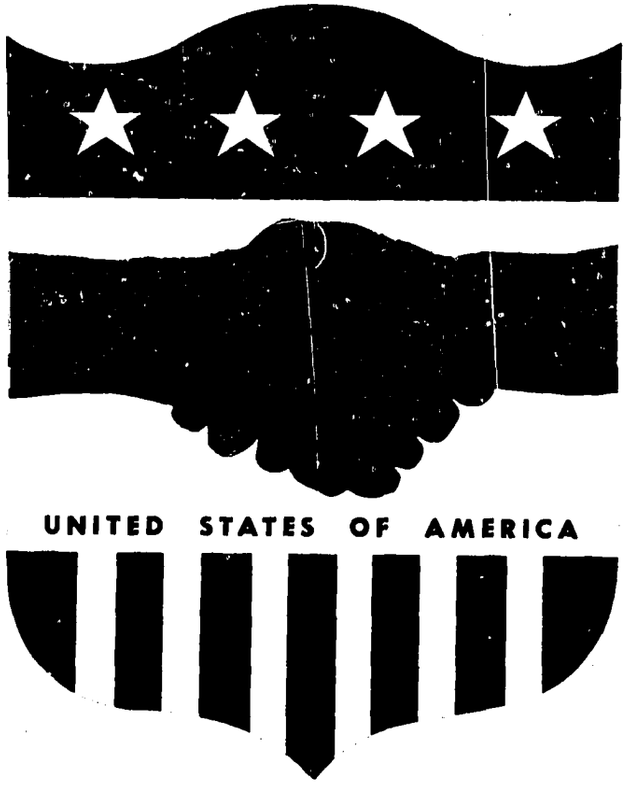
GIRLS' PERSISTENCE AND TEACHER INCENTIVES IN PRIMARY EDUCATION IN UGANDA



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GIRLS' PERSISTENCE AND TEACHER INCENTIVES IN PRIMARY EDUCATION IN UGANDA

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

To provide background information on incentives needed to retain primary school teachers in the teaching profession, and to encourage persistence of students, especially girls, through the course of primary education, field research was undertaken in ten districts of Uganda. Primary schools were randomly selected from Ministry of Education records, and visited by the consultant, the REDSO WID advisor, and/or locally recruited research assistants. At each school basic information was obtained about the school itself. Three teachers were interviewed at each school, and with the assistance of the staff five or more recent dropouts were identified and arrangements were made to visit the dropouts and their families at home. Dropouts were defined as pupils who had left school before completing Primary Grade 7, preferably within the past year.

Useful information was obtained for 49 schools, 144 teachers, and 237 dropouts from the ten districts. Most of the schools do not have enough classrooms and many existing classes are built from impermanent materials. All lack desks, science equipment, sports equipment, sufficient textbooks, and are missing other furniture, equipment and supplies. By and large the teaching staffs are predominantly male and inadequately trained.

The teachers themselves vary substantially in experience, commitment, and output. Trained teachers, particularly women, spend more time in the classroom teaching a larger number of subjects than younger, untrained teachers, a number of whom teach at more than one school. Reported salaries from official sources total less than Ushs.20,000 per month. Most teachers have two or three other sources of income apart from teaching, mainly from agriculture but also from teaching-related activities such as coaching pupils or teaching in several schools. About 40 percent of the teachers do not wish to remain in primary teaching. The main disincentive is the low salary. One of the reasons some of the teachers intend to remain in primary teaching is not dedication but the sense that age and/or training have closed out other options. Teachers would be much encouraged by a living wage that is paid promptly, and by the provision of housing at the school. In-service training is an attractive option for those who intend to stay in the primary teaching profession.

The dropouts and their families come from varied socio-economic and ethnic backgrounds. Both the dropouts and their parents gave lack of money for payment of school fees as the principal proximate cause of the child leaving school. However, demographic and socio-economic data and informants' comments demonstrate that an absolute lack of money is not necessarily the sole or even the primary reason. Parental reluctance, need for the child's labor, lack of interest, pregnancy and marriage, gender bias, and the lack of linkage between primary education and income-generating potential all have a role to play.

Both girls and boys are affected by economic and cultural factors leading to dropout. Foster children and war and AIDS orphans of both sexes also drop out in disproportionate numbers.

On the basis of the data collected, the following general recommendations and suggestions can be made:

Incentives for teachers must link improvement in the terms and conditions of service, including salary increments, to upgrading of qualifications and improvements in performance.

Increased specialization in subject teaching for primary school teachers would reduce the extent to which they teach subjects they dislike or in which they are not competent, and would reduce the excessive burden imposed on older female teachers.

The focus in assistance to teachers should be on providing skills to untrained teachers, recognition by meaningful salary differentials between trained and untrained teachers, and on women teachers, who are poorly represented in the administrative ranks and whose workloads are excessive.

Provision of incentives for pupils to complete the full primary course must include male as well as female pupils.

The interest of the community in education must be assessed and mobilized, and the value of educating girls should be emphasized.

Counselling and assessment skills should be imparted to some teachers, especially senior women teachers, in the course of inservice training, so that repetition, failure, and lack of interest as causes of dropout can be reduced.

Sex and AIDS education need to be introduced into the primary curriculum in the lower grades, in an effort to reduce the extent to which pregnancy causes girls to drop out, and also to increase AIDS awareness in the teenage population.

Streaming and accelerated learning for older pupils should be considered.

School lunch programs are an important potential incentive to regular attendance and retention which should be explored, and are also a possible strategy for payment of fees in kind or in labor rather than in cash.

Income-generating activities including agricultural production, brick and tile production, and skilled trades such as sewing, carpentry, and metalwork, are important potential sources of reducing the overall costs of education to the community and increasing the relevance of primary education to the future lives and livelihoods of pupils which are worthy of consideration.

GIRLS' PERSISTENCE AND TEACHER INCENTIVES IN PRIMARY EDUCATION IN UGANDA

A. Background

I came to Uganda at the request of the Uganda AID Mission to conduct research as background to the preparation of the final project document for USAID assistance to primary education in Uganda. As put forward in the PAIP, this project will have five components:

--teacher and management training;

--provision of instructional materials;

--grants to schools;

--incentives for teachers;

--encouragement to girls to persist in and complete the full course of primary education.

Preliminary work done by the PAIP team suggested that available information on factors causing girls to drop out of primary school prior to completion and appropriate incentives for teachers was inadequate as a basis for full program development. The suggestion was made by the PAIP team, embodied in the social analysis, that further work be done to illuminate these issues. A strategy of holding focus group discussions in ten districts, supplemented by review of the pertinent literature and discussions with key informants in NGOs, and other knowledgeable individuals, was proposed for obtaining data on both special assistance to girls and motivation of teachers.

B. Objectives:

As initially proposed, the objectives of the consultancy were to provide information to assist in answering the following questions:

1. How to raise levels of girls' persistence in primary school;
2. How to motivate teachers and retain them in the teaching profession.

These objectives remained unchanged during the course of the consultancy.

C. Data Collection Design:

On the basis of my previous experience with focus groups in Kenya and also because I do not speak any Ugandan languages the idea of using focus groups as the principal or only data collection method was not very attractive. Accordingly, I proposed the following alternative data collection strategy, based on methods employed by GTZ in Kenya to study schoolgirl pregnancy.

1. Review of pertinent literature, discussions with other donors and NGOs active in the education sector, drafting of data collection instruments and pretesting in two to three schools in or near Kampala.

2. Recruitment of local consultants/data collectors fluent in the principal languages spoken in Uganda.

3. The ten Districts proposed for the IMISS inputs as of January 1992, which are remarkably diverse in key characteristics pertinent to program objectives (dropout rates, PLE failure rates, proportion of teachers who are trained, proportion of female teachers, gross enrollment ratio, persistence of female students, ethnicity) would form the basis for sampling. In case of time, personnel, financial, and/or travel constraints, however, up to three of the districts could be dropped. Conversely if resources permitted additional districts could be randomly selected for inclusion, or substituted for districts to which travel is difficult.

3. The Ministry of Education would be requested to provide their most up-to-date lists of full primary schools (those which have P1 through P7 classes) for the target districts (Arua, Bushenyi, Hoima, Kabarole, Kitgum, Lira, Luwero, Masaka, Soroti, Tororo).
4. Ten schools would be randomly selected from these lists for each district, to provide a "pool" from which five schools would ultimately be sampled.

5. With the assistance of the Ministry, most importantly the District Education Officers and Inspectors, the headteachers of the selected schools would be asked to compile lists of female and male students who dropped out during the course of the 1991 school year or who failed to return to school for the 1992 year (assuming that the academic year begins in January and ends in

November or December). If the headteacher reported that there had been no dropouts, or if s/he proved unable to identify them, the school would be dropped from the pool.

6. For each of the first five randomly-selected schools in each District which was able to provide a list of dropouts, seven or eight female dropouts and two to three male dropouts would be randomly selected for follow-up to their homes for interview, with the objective of obtaining five interviews per school. Interviews with girls who have dropped out would be more intensively sought, but in some districts (especially Masaka and Luweero) it would be instructive to get some comparative information from boys who have dropped out as well. Dropouts and their family members would be asked to provide specific information on the reason(s) why the children quit school, and would also be asked to state what kind(s) of incentives would be needed to keep the pupils in school. Other socio-economic, demographic, and cultural data on the households would also be obtained.

7. Three teachers would also be randomly selected for interview from each of the sampled schools, to obtain explicit information on problems and constraints they face, and potential remedies. This would be supplemented by socio-economic inquiry as well.

8. A group discussion would also be organized at each school,

bringing together teachers, parents, students and local officials to provide context and anecdotal information.

9. As each district has one or more teacher training colleges, time permitting, one TTC in each district would be visited in order to obtain the views of trainees and staff on appropriate incentives for teachers.

10. It was recognized that this approach would cause some disruption of routine since the assistance of teachers and community members would be needed to locate the homes and conduct the interviews, but the entire process would require only one day per school. The interviewer was to arrive at the school early in the morning, begin with the dropout interviews, return to the school early to mid-afternoon to interview the teachers, and end the day with a group meeting/discussion.

11. Each district would therefore require five full working days, which totals to ten person-weeks of effort for all the ten districts. This would yield 250 dropout interviews, 150 teacher interviews, and 50 group discussions, in addition to the information obtained from TTCs, the MOE at District and National level, other donors and NGOs, and library sources.

This proposed strategy required some modification in view of constraints and realities encountered in Uganda.

--the Ministry of Education was unable to provide lists of schools for many of the districts. Due to a long-term power failure in the data management section of the Ministry, printouts could be provided only for districts in alphabetical order from Kumi through Tororo, so information on schools for many of the selected districts simply was not available. This problem was addressed in two ways; some districts were substituted for others with similar ethnic and educational characteristics, and research assistants were instructed in methods of random sampling in order to select schools in the preferred districts using data available at District Education Offices. The ten districts in which research was ultimately done are: Gulu, Kabarole, Lira, Luweero, Masaka, Masindi, Mpigi, Nebbi, Rukungiri, and Tororo. On the advice of the permanent secretary in the Ministry of Education, the predominantly Ateso and Karimojong districts (Soroti, Kumi, Pallisa, Kotido, and Moroto) were deliberately excluded from consideration because of conditions of civil unrest. One team of interviewers travelled to Kitgum District but found the majority of schools closed and abandoned due to an outbreak of meningitis. As time was growing short, nearby Mpigi District was substituted at the last minute.

--Pretesting of the questionnaires demonstrated that a team approach to data collection was more realistic than an individual one. Four research assistants were recruited from among twenty applicants who submitted their CVs through the Makerere Institute

of Social Research. All of the selected candidates had completed BA degrees and had some previous research experience. Two of the assistants are from northern Uganda and speak Langi, Acholi and/or Lugbara as well as English. The other two are from Central and Western Uganda and fluent in Luganda, Lunyoro, Lunkole, and closely-related languages from those parts of the country. Wanjiku Muhato, REDSO WID Advisor, and I also assisted in the data collection in one district each (Luweero and Tororo respectively); all the data collection was done by teams of two in each district, with the exception of Mpigi, where all four of the Ugandan research assistants participated. All of the schools were visited on the first day, interviews with teachers carried out, and the assistance of headteachers and local RC leaders sought in the identification of dropouts. The dropouts and their families were notified by school and local officials that the researchers would return on a subsequent day to meet with them in their homes. This strategy proved to be very effective; three working days thus sufficed for each district.

--Focus-group discussions were given low priority. Both parents and teachers proved very willing to talk openly in one-on-one situations. The two group discussions which I attempted to hold in Tororo quickly became dominated by the concerns of an articulate minority and my inability to speak Adhola or Samia naturally prevented me from giving any direction to the discussion. Meeting parents and teachers individually with

guarantees of confidentiality, with no outsiders present and with the interview conducted in the local language was, under the circumstances, the best way to get reliable information. I might add that I deliberately chose to work in Tororo because I believed that my fluency in Kiswahili might be useful there. This proved to be the case; I was able to conduct a number of interviews in Swahili without the constraint and misunderstanding that often attends the use of interpreters. Unfortunately knowledge of Swahili is not sufficiently widespread there to permit group discussions to be held in that medium. Several of the research assistants also made an effort to organize group meetings and discussions as an adjunct to the formal questionnaires and provided detailed notes on the discussions. The information thus obtained is included in the analysis.

--A questionnaire designed to obtain data on each of the schools as an institution was added, the information to be obtained from the headteacher or his/her deputy. In this way information on the teaching establishment, student body, facilities and constraints was provided, and the results are discussed a subsequent section.

--I also designed a questionnaire which I used to obtain information from three teacher-training colleges (Busikho, Tororo; Luteete, Luweero; Kabukunge, Masaka). I was particularly interested in trying to find out why the trainees had opted to join a TTC and what expectations they had about a teaching

career. Unfortunately I was unable to do so, because at the time of my visits, all trainees were out for teaching practice prio: to their examinations, and only skeleton staffs were present on the college premises. Nonetheless, interviews with available staff and tours of the facilities provided useful information discussed in a subsequent section.

C. Characteristics of the Sampled Districts

As previously noted, some modification of the districts selected for sampling was necessitated by the Ministry of Education's inability to supply lists of schools for many of those districts initially identified for inclusion in the study. In addition, those data which the Ministry does have available must be viewed with caution and skepticism. National educational statistics are incomplete, and data sets which analyze the same information using different parameters often provide totally divergent and irreconcilable results. As de Coninck notes, "...one of the many victims of Uganda's violent and disruptive history has been its economic and statistical data-base" (1991:4).

Of the districts sampled, one is located in Eastern Uganda (Tororo); three in the North (Nebbi, Lira, and Gulu); two in the Central region (Luweero and Mpigi); and the remainder in the West (Masindi, Kabarole, Masaka and Rukungiri). Both existing information from various sources (detailed below) and the results

of the fieldwork carried out in each district show considerable diversity in the socio-economic and educational characteristics of the districts. Tororo and the northern districts display much lower standards of living, and of productive and investment capacity, than the others. According to the National Household Budget Survey 1989/90, average monthly household consumption expenditure is lowest in the north, at an average of Ushs 22,652 per month, and highest in Central, at shs 41,334 per month (these figures are for urban and rural areas combined, appropriate since the schools and households sampled are a mixture of rural and urban). Availability of high-potential agricultural land, whether on ownership or leasehold basis, and ownership of livestock are also more extensive in the central and western districts than in the east or north (cf. de Coninck 1991). Data on agricultural production, livestock holdings, house construction materials, ownership of consumer durables, and sources of household income collected during the dropout interviews show great variation in the circumstances of individual households from district to district. Conditions are the poorest in Nebbi, Gulu and Lira, where insecurity due to rebel activity has affected many households. Livestock have been stolen, homes and possessions destroyed, and families displaced and forced to live in temporary housing. Only five to ten percent of the domestic dwellings inventoried are fully permanent, ownership of consumer durables is virtually nil, and sources of income are primarily agricultural. Both food crops

and fully commercial crops such as cotton are produced, but it is noteworthy that almost all of the crops grown here require high labor inputs and earn low producer prices (cotton, for example, brings Ushs 340/kg and payment is often delayed six months or more by the co-operative). The main sources of salaried employment are teaching and other government jobs.

Surprisingly, despite the numerous opportunities for substantial income generation occasioned by the proximity of the Kenyan border and the "magendo" economic activities that abound, material conditions in Tororo are very similar to those identified in the north. Only one fully permanent house was found out of more than sixty domestic buildings, agriculture is labor-intensive and again dominated by crops with low producer prices, and investment in land and durables is low. There is more access to salaried work in institutions other than the civil service, however, and many commodities, particularly maize, can be sold over the border. Considerable direct evidence of smuggling was observed, particularly in Busia Sub-county where the bush is riddled with bicycle trails and sacks of maize were seen heading east. Considerable domestic and commercial building is being undertaken in the trading centres and clearly some people are benefitting from the underground economy in a big way.

Moving west and south, indicators of better socio-economic status are more evident. Masaka and Kabarole Districts present the

greatest picture of prosperity, in that over 90% of the residential buildings inventoried are fully permanent (cement floor, brick, stone, or cement walls, corrugated iron or tile roofing), livestock holdings are substantial, soils are good and high-value crops such as matooke, and readily-marketed fruits and vegetables are produced. Sources of income for the individual households are numerous and diverse. This general picture holds true for Rukungiri as well, where several cattle herds in excess of ten animals were found, set up as modern milk-production units. In Mpigi, the role of agriculture seems to be overshadowed by the importance of trade. In several cases respondents were difficult to find; due to the relatively minor role of agriculture, they were not around the home farming or processing food, but elsewhere engaged in commercial activities. Masindi is anomalous; the northern part of the district is dominated by immigrants from Nebbi and even Zaire, and more closely resembles conditions in Nebbi, while the southern area, bordering Bunyoro, shares its characteristics with that area.

In sum, the sort of economic diversity exhibited by these districts would seem to be a good cross-section of the country (with the exception of the pastoral areas in Karimoja and Teso, to which we did not have access). The representation of different Ugandan ethnic groups is also broad, encompassing Lugbara, Madi, Acholi and Lango from the north, Samia and Adhola from the east, and Baganda, Banyankole, Batooro, Banyoro, and

Bakiga in the central, southern, and western districts. Again the pastoralists (Karimojong and Ateso) could not be included due to circumstances beyond our control. However, there is considerable recent good-quality ethnographic work emphasizing socio-economic change available for the Teso, from which inferences could be drawn; although there is no up-to-date work from Karamoja, comparable data do exist for other pastoral populations with similar cultural institutions, (such as the Turkana and Pokot of Kenya).

Statistics provided by the Ministry of Education give an idea of district variability in terms of critical indicators of educational achievement. The results of my adventures with the data provided by the ministry are presented in the form of tables, below.

Table I. Enrollment by district/class/gender, 1990

District		P1	P2	P3	P4	P5	P6	P7	Total
Gulu	M	10532	7568	6383	5358	4502	3446	2987	40776
	F	7985	5111	3918	2966	2241	1702	1080	25003
	T	18517	12679	10301	8324	6743	5148	4067	65779
	% F	43	40	38	36	33	33	27	38
Kabarole	M	13506	9419	8329	6650	5076	4085	3449	49514
	F	10806	8153	7251	5470	4104	3292	2494	41570
	T	24312	17572	15580	12120	9180	7377	5943	91084
	% F	44	46	46	45	45	45	42	45
Lira	M	10487	9349	8506	7103	6815	6464	6134	54858
	F	8542	6531	5267	3654	3621	2729	1915	32259
	T	19027	15880	13773	10757	10436	9193	8049	87117
	% F	45	41	38	35	35	30	24	37
Luweero	M	7584	6180	5452	4665	3569	2683	1875	31008

	F	7456	6272	5312	4872	3607	2623	1582	30724
	T	15040	12452	10764	9537	7176	5306	3457	61732
	% F	49	50	49	51	50	49	46	50
Masaka	M	5930	5358	4988	4576	3839	3176	2338	30205
	F	6090	5578	5462	4868	4382	3593	2593	32566
	T	12020	10936	10450	9444	8221	6769	4931	62771
	% F	50	51	52	52	53	53	52	52
Masindi	M	4854	3885	3732	2985	2206	1831	1599	21092
	F	4302	3303	3034	2435	1963	1511	1105	17643
	T	9156	7188	6766	5420	4169	3342	2704	38735
	% F	47	46	45	45	47	45	41	45
Mpigi	M	12181	9348	9577	7958	6446	4999	3957	54466
	F	12644	10089	10435	8805	7606	6290	4754	60623
	T	24725	19437	20012	16763	14052	11289	8711	115089
	% F	51	52	52	52	54	56	55	53
Nebbi	M	9317	5967	4932	3945	3152	2551	2353	32217
	F	6753	3870	3096	2227	1400	1073	763	19182
	T	16070	9837	8028	6172	4552	3624	3116	51399
	% F	42	39	38	36	30	29	24	37
Rukungiri	M	6718	5590	4875	4208	3122	2754	2623	29890
	F	6381	5296	4633	3777	2850	2364	1789	27090
	T	13099	10886	9508	7985	5972	5118	4412	56980
	% F	48	48	48	47	47	46	40	47
Tororo	M	17922	13159	12703	10922	9040	7564	6701	78011
	F	14643	10502	9945	8282	6859	5305	3864	59400
	T	32565	23661	22648	19204	15899	12869	10565	137411
	% F	45	44	44	43	43	41	36	43

The data presented in Table 1 above can be used, cautiously, to draw some conclusions about the proportion of female students by class level, the relative decline in the proportion of girls in the progression P1 to P7, and the proportion of students, both male and female, who drop out from one year to the next. (I attempted to use 1989 and 1990 figures to establish "real" dropout rates, for example the difference in enrollment between P1 in 1989 and P2 in 1990 would be a more precise indicator of the percentage of students who do leave after P1, but the two sets of figures are so completely at odds with one another that this approach was unworkable; e.g., for some districts, more students were enrolled in P2 in 1990 than there had been in P1 in 1989).

This Table shows that the proportion of female students in the district's primary school population varies from a high of 53% in Mpigi to a low of 37% in Lira and Nebbi. In almost all districts girls' representation in the student body declines steadily from P1 to P7, reaching a low of just 24% of all pupils in P7 in Lira and Nebbi, but remaining at over 50% in Masaka, and Mpigi. In total in the ten districts, girls make up 46% of pupils in P1, but the proportion has gone down to 39% by P7. If these data can be taken as an approximate indicator of the proportion of students who drop out before completing the primary cycle, then just 30% of the P1 intake, male and female, makes it through to P7. If only girls are considered, the primary cycle completion

rate is around 27% of initial intake.

The following tables present other pertinent statistical information on education at the district level.

Table 2. PLE failures and first division passes, 1988

District	Candidates	First Div.	% 1st div.	% failing
Gulu	3249	313	9.6	13
Kabarole	4453	571	12.8	5
Lira	4839	255	5.3	25
Luweero	2282	305	13.4	11
Masaka	4145	480	11.6	12
Masindi	1907	377	19.8	7
Mpigi	8717	1769	20.3	8
Nebbi	2698	204	7.6	17
Rukungiri	4954	142	2.9	27
Tororo	9419	333	3.5	21

The PLE, or primary leaving examination, is the most significant event in the primary student's life, and one for which he or she is prepared throughout his or her experiences in the primary classroom. The level at which this examination is passed (first, second, third or fourth division) determines whether the pupil will find a place in secondary school, and the quality of the school to which admission will be earned. Therefore both the failure rate, which in the districts in question varies from a low of 5% to a high of 27%, as well as the proportion of students who pass in the first division, is the best guideline that parents and pupils have under current conditions for assessing the quality of the education that children receive. Using these existing criteria Rukungiri would undoubtedly be regarded by

Ugandans as the worst district, and Masindi and Mpigi the best, in which to receive primary education.

Although such indicators would be of much less concern to Ugandan parents than to donors, the ten sampled districts vary considerably in other indicators of school quality and access as well, including gross enrollment ratio (GER), proportion of teachers who have not received formal training (UT tchr), proportion of teachers who are women (Fem tchrs; has some bearing on retention and motivation of female students) and the proportion of teachers who are provided with accomodation by the school (Tchrs houses), which reduces their rent expenses and travel time.

Table 3. Additional education indicators

District	GER	UT tchrs	Fem tchrs	Tchrs houses
Gulu	.74	22	26	26
Kabarole	.61	52	33	n/a
Lira	.91	48	16	64
Luweero	.62	69	37	28
Masaka	.44	52	42	40
Masindi	.60	60	32	21
Mpigi	.86	55	43	36
Nebbi	.90	61	14	21
Rukungiri	.87	30	28	15
Tororo	.93	39	27	17

In addition to the above, further indicators of school quality might include the proportion of classrooms of permanent construction, which ranges from a high of 73% of all classrooms in Mpigi to a low of 15% in Lira, and the proportion of pupils in

a given year who are repeating a class, which again varies from a low of around 12% in Nebbi to almost double that in Rukungiri in 1988.

With this background on the districts and the educational establishment, I will move on to discuss the characteristics of the specific schools which were visited.

D. The School Sample

Of the targeted 50 schools, five each from the ten districts, full information was obtained from 49. Two schools which were visited in Kabarole were closed for the day and no teachers were available to provide the information requested. However, an additional school was visited in Gulu District to make the total of 49.

The schools had a total teaching staff of 631, of whom 395 (62%) were male, and 236 (37%) female. Untrained teachers comprised 224 of the total number, or 35.5%. The label "untrained" is a general one which refers simply to the fact that the individual in question has not received any formal training from a recognized teacher training institution. His or her education may have terminated at any point in the educational cycle, including P7 or even earlier. As it happens by far the majority of the untrained teachers interviewed had completed their O-level

examinations, that is, four years of secondary education. Their lack of training may stem from the fact that they did not meet the minimum standards for entry to a Grade III TTC, or because they saw no reason to spend two years in an institution earning a certificate but not earning a salary, especially given that the salary differential between an untrained teacher and a certificate teacher Grade III is a mere Ushs 400 per month. Of the remaining teachers, 64, or 10%, have Grade I or II qualifications; 330, or 52.3%, a Grade III certificate (completion of four years of secondary education plus a two-year training course at a teacher training institution); and 13, or 2%, have higher qualifications (ITEK or NTC diploma, BA or BEd degree).

It was not possible to obtain student enrollment figures from every school. The academic year began in February and the full complement of students has not yet returned to the schools. Ordinarily the schools open in January, but for the past two years the opening has been delayed to give parents additional time to secure the money required to pay primary school fees, and to permit children to work for their fees as well. The majority of the schools had records from the 1991 academic year which indicate that male pupils made up almost 59% of the enrollment, and female pupils just over 41%. Although the size of the schools varies, some being single stream (having only one classroom per grade) and others being double or even triple

stream (two or three classes per grade), the mean student population is about 360 per school. With an average of about 12 teachers each, the pupil/teacher ratio is approximately 30:1. These figures are close to the national estimates provided by the Ministry of Education.

School fees are a delicate and complex issue in Uganda, almost on a par with the issue of teachers' salaries! The question has become even more heated with the institution of statutory fees throughout the country of Ushs 2,500 for P1-P4 and Ushs 4,000 for P5-P7. This is an annual charge, but is more than ten times greater than the previous fee payment demanded by the Ministry. However, the statutory fee is only a minor component of the total cash outlay which parents must make. The schools in the sample had total annual charges ranging from a low of Ushs 4,000 to a high of Ushs 28,000. In addition to the statutory fee, schools also collect PTA dues, building funds, book funds, and other charges. On top of this, the parent must provide uniforms, exercise books, and pens, which can effectively double the total cost of school attendance. Many headteachers are flexible about the uniform question and indeed in the schools I visited (mainly in Tororo District) the majority of the children were not wearing uniforms.

It is certainly the case that there is enormous variability in the charges that parents and children have to pay in order to obtain primary education. The data obtained in this study

suggest, however, that the costs are somewhat lower than is popularly believed to be the case, and substantially less than the estimates of Ushs 58,000 per year given in the pre-investment study of programs for orphans and gifted children (Namuddu et al. 1991).

In sum, in the schools visited, the parents were expected to pay directly to the school an annual amount averaging approximately Ushs 8,000 as direct costs of their childrens' education. The lowest costs are incurred in the northern districts and Tororo, and the highest in Masaka, Mpigi, and Luweero. Some schools provide lunch on the school compound inclusive in these fees.

About 15% of classes cannot be accomodated in the existing classroom structures and must be held out of doors, under the trees. In total 387 classrooms have been built at the 49 schools, most at the expense of the community. The table below shows the construction materials used in the classrooms.

Table 4. Classroom structures, 49 schools

Classes with:	permanent roofing	340
	thatched roof	47
	permanent walls	294
	mud and pole walls	93
	cement floors	139
	earth floors	248

The implication of these data is that many of the classroom structures are completely substandard. The thatched roofs leak in the rain, the earth floors turn to mud, and studies are

totally disrupted. Even many of the permanent classrooms do not have doors and windows and are not weatherproof. With a substantial minority of the students forced to study out of doors anyway, the rainy seasons wreak havoc.

In addition, none of the schools has adequate or sufficient furniture or equipment. Almost all informants commented on the shortage of science and sports equipment, desks and furniture. Many pupils sit on the ground, on stones, pieces of log, or narrow benches anchored to the earthen floor with poles. They have no desks so hold their exercise books on their laps and try to copy their lessons from the bit of black-painted plywood that serves as a chalkboard. Frequently the only table is found in the headteacher's office, if he is so fortunate as to have an office. During breaks teachers sit outside on the ground or on benches underneath the trees, since staff rooms are also a luxury which many schools cannot afford.

A positive note is that almost all of the schools (90%) have received books from the IDA 3 and 4 projects, although access to the books varies. In most cases teachers have access to the books for preparation purposes, but pupil access, for classroom use and or home use, is more restricted. In several cases, due to lack of secure facilities on the school compound, the books and storage cabinets are kept in rented storage off-site, or at the headteacher's or deputy headteacher's house. In these cases

the books effectively are not utilized. However, at the schools I visited, there was every indication that the books are used and valued.

So far as other equipment is concerned, only three schools were noted to have typewriters; two had duplicating machines. Stationery and paper, exercise books and pens, chalk, and other consumables required by teachers are generally provided for out of PTA funds, a portion of which are set aside for the purpose. In one school the headteacher had very meticulous accounts of all receipts and expenditures from PTA funds. The fact that the headteacher in question was also Secretary of the local RC 3 may have something to do with his maintenance of these records (but on the other hand his ability to keep proper records may account for his election at RC 3 level).

Other problems that these schools face include shortages, relative or absolute, of accomodation for teachers; inadequate or non-existent water supplies, so that student labor (principally female) is diverted from the classroom to the task of water collection; and lack of access to transport, public or otherwise, this being an issue because supplies are often obtainable only at a distance and headteachers must travel to the District Headquarters to collect their teachers' salaries.E. Teacher Interviews

In order to obtain data on current terms and conditions of service and possible incentives to motivate and retain teachers, interviews were sought with three teachers at each of the schools visited. Out of a target of 150 interviews, 144 usable questionnaires were returned. The sample does not reflect the gender distribution of the teaching staff as a whole, as interviews were were deliberately sought with the Senior Woman Teacher at each school, and any two other teachers. Of the 144 teachers interviewed, 75, or 52%, were men, and 69, or 48%, were women. These teachers ranged in age from 22 to 61 years. Some were new to the teaching profession, having completed their diplomas and arrived at their schools within the past year, while others have 20 or 30 years of teaching experience. Sixty-nine percent of the teachers are married, the others single, widowed or divorced. However, only nine of these individuals do not have any dependents; even many of those who have never been married are supporting children (their own or foster), parents, nieces and nephews, and other kinsfolk.

The training received by the interviewed teachers also varied, with 42 (29%) untrained, 21 (about 15%) with Grade I or II qualifications, and the remaining 56% with a Grade III certificate.

An important question is the length and intensity of the working day which these teachers face, and the answer shows considerable variation depending largely on qualifications and skills.

Essentially, the more training and experience a teacher has, the harder he or she has to work, particularly the older women teachers. The number of subjects taught ranges from one to ten, with a mean of four; the number of lessons taught per week ranges from six to fifty, with a mean of about 27. Since each lesson is 40 minutes in duration, teachers average under 20 hours per week of required classroom time, allowing some flexibility in terms of lesson preparation as well as non-teaching activities. However, it is the younger and less experienced, often untrained teachers who tend to benefit from this variability, a benefit which many have put to good use by accepting teaching assignments in more than one school.

Surprisingly, given the diminished status of teachers in present-day Uganda and the salary and morale problems which have been so widely publicized, two-thirds of the teachers interviewed claimed that teaching was their desired career choice. However, this also means that one third of the teachers had some other career goal in mind which they were not able to realize. This is underlined, and the frustrations that even dedicated teachers feel is also emphasized, when it is noted that 40% of the teachers currently do not intend to remain in the primary teaching profession (and many of those who state their intention to remain say that it is because they have no viable alternative). Dissatisfaction with teaching emanates principally from the low salaries, lack of respect, and in particular the

delays which attend the payment of salary. Teachers are also frustrated because they are ofte.. required to teach subjects which they do not enjoy or for which they feel inadequately prepared. The table below presents data addressing this question.

Table 5. Subject likes and dislikes

Subjects preferred to teach:

English	57
Mathematics	46
Science	15
Social Studies	12
Religious Education	9
Reading	2
All subjects	1
No response	2

Subjects disliked to teach:

Social Studies	32
Mathematics	24
Science	19
Physical Education	15
Religious Education	11
English	9
Reading	6
Art and Craft	5
Music	3
Luganda	2
None	13

Is the teacher teaching a subject s/he does not like?

Yes	104
No	27
Not applicable	13

The question of teachers' salaries is almost certainly the most critical and pressing issue to the teachers themselves at the moment, and efforts were made to obtain information on the amounts of income and other benefits that teachers obtain as a

result of their employment as teachers. The results are presented below.

Table 6. Reported teachers' emoluments

Salary: Ministry of Education	
Less than Ushs 10,000/month	112
Over Ushs 10,000/month	32
Range: Ushs 8,000-13,000*	
Salary: PTA	
Less than Ushs 5,000/month	100
Over Ushs 5,000/month	44
Range: Less than Ushs 1,000-16,000	
*inclusive of the recently-introduced consolidated allowance of Ushs 5000 per month	
Other benefits:	
Housing	53
Children's fees paid	28
Head or deputy's pay	12
Examination fees	5
Pension	1
Transportation expenses	1
Loan	1

According to the Ministry, revised salary scales as of October 1991 range from a low of Ushs 107,640 in salary and consolidated allowance for the lowest-paid untrained teacher, to a high of Ushs 236,532 for the highest-paid headteacher with a University degree. Thus the reports from the teachers about their salaries accord well with the official salaries which they are supposed to receive. The amount of PTA contributions, however, varies widely. As could be expected the most generous contributions are

provided in the more prosperous districts such as Masaka, and Mpigi, while in Nebbi, Lira and even Tororo the amounts are derisory.

From the teachers' perspective, by far the larger problem with the salaries they receive is not the amounts, but the timeliness and regularity with which they are paid. Virtually every teacher interviewed commented that it added insult to injury to have payment of this modest salary delayed by weeks or months. As many said, "Prompt payment of the meagre salary should be emphasized." Some have gone without salary for eight months, ever since they completed their Grade III certificates and were initially posted to their schools. Delays of three months are not uncommon. Several teachers mentioned that although they have now been paid for December and January, Ocober and November of last year are still in arrears. As one young man noted, "It's frustrating to work without being paid. I haven't been paid by the Ministry of Education for eight months now. The delay of salary has completely demoralised me. I have no more interest in teaching but am just here because it is somewhere to be."

Given the low salaries and delays in their payment, it is hardly surprising--indeed, it is essential--for teachers to have other sources of income. The table below tabulates the information.

Table 7. Additional sources of teachers' income

Agriculture	112
Livestock	36
Salary	33

Brewing	25
Seasonal employment	23
Coaching	22
Craft Sales	16
Business/trade	15
Remittances	14
Double teaching	9
Casual labor	2
Charcoal burning	2
Fishing	2

On average, then, teachers have two additional sources of income on top of what they earn from teaching. Since most of the schools are located in rural areas and since teachers often teach near to their homes, it is not surprising to find agriculture and livestock as the two main pursuits. Several of the teachers have developed substantial poultry enterprises. Agricultural produce is also used in the production of beer. "Salary" indicates that another member of the household, usually the spouse, has regular salaried employment (often as a teacher him or herself). "Remittances" refers to irregular payments received from sons, daughters, or siblings in salaried employment. "Double teaching" identifies those teachers who admitted that they teach in more than one school. These are often younger untrained teachers who specialize in just one subject and teach ten to twelve lessons per week at each of two or even more schools. This is almost certainly underreported, as is the incidence of coaching for extra money. In two of the schools I visited, the teachers as a group had made arrangements with the PTA that they would provide security on the school compound and give extra lessons during holidays, for which they received additional compensation.

To conclude the interview, teachers were asked to identify incentives that might help to retain them in the teaching profession, particularly if they were considering leaving it. The responses are tabulated below.

Table 8. Incentives to Remain in Teaching (N=144)

Salary increment*	139
house/house allowance	103
Promotion	92
Provision of equipment	86
Long-term training	79
Provision of teaching materials	77
Provision of books	75
Improved school facilities	75
Inservice training	68
Teachers' loan scheme	68
Assignment to home village	63
Better relations with headteacher	55
Better relations with parents	53
Better relations with inspectors	45
More flexible classroom routine	40
Greater role in administration	36
Smaller classes	29
Revised curriculum	29

*range of salary suggested was Ushs 20,000 to Ushs 50,00 per month

Other incentives identified by the teachers themselves include: transportation allowances, medical benefits, food allowances and/or lunch provided at school, radios to be provided to schools, free education for their children, clothing allowances, "condolence" allowances, special allowances for holidays, duties off the school compound, or nighttime duties, furnished accomodation "like in other Ministries", and subsidized prices for food and consumer items provided at a school "canteen".

It is clear from the data presented above that the teachers' overriding concern is with salaries and "perks" to which they might by any stretch of the imagination be entitled. Of substantially less concern is the teaching environment itself as exemplified by the facilities, classroom routine, class size, and curriculum. Many of those teachers who intend to remain in primary teacher emphasize inservice training as appropriate for their needs, but for those who aspire to earn Grade V credentials and take up secondary teaching, longterm training is the preferred option. Training, and other considerations, however, take a back seat to financial inducements. Teachers want promotions but do not link them to improvements in their skills; they want raises and allowances but not necessarily on the basis of qualifications or merit.

F. Teacher training colleges

As noted above, I was able to visit three teacher training colleges: Busikho, located in Tororo District; Kabukunge, in Masaka District; and Luteete, in Luweero District. Kabukunge and Luteete are shortlisted for conversion to Education Service Colleges under the IMISS program. Busikho is the alma mater of several of the teachers whom I interviewed in Tororo. All three of these colleges are located in rural areas, although not so far away from towns, market centers, and other sources of goods and services that location is a disincentive to enrollment or

employment.

In all three cases, as noted, it was not possible to interview any trainees because they were all in the field doing teaching practice. A few staff members were in residence at each institution, but only one Principal, at Luteete. Since conditions at all three institutions were found to be substantially the same, a composite picture is presented below.

The total student population at these colleges is substantially below official capacity, although given the facilities available (classrooms, dormitories, etc.) the official capacity is overstated. On the other hand, all of the institutions are understaffed. Staff (tutors) are generally Grade III teachers who have proceeded to ITEK for a diploma. However, the tutor's salary is effectively lower than that of a primary teacher, at Ushs 12,000 per month but without access to PTA allowances, so that many tutors have returned to primary teaching, become primary headteachers, or joined secondary school staffs. Luteete is supposed to have 24 tutors, but has only 12; Kabukunge has 10 rather than the official 22; and Busikho 11 rather than 22. However, since each college has fewer than 200 trainees, the trainee/tutor ratio is not excessively burdensome. In all cases staff accomodation is a pressing problem and an additional deterrent to the retention of tutors. Since both Kabukunge and Luteete are potential future ESCs, I do not believe that the

staffing pattern is evidence of a deliberate government policy of reduction as a prelude to closure. In fact, the Principal of Luteete noted that when she was posted there 16 months ago only six tutors were on the staff, so she has effectively doubled staff size.

All of the institutions follow a standard curriculum that emphasizes "teaching how to teach" the four basic primary subjects: English, math, science, and social studies. Some small amount of time is given over to agriculture, art, music, and PE, as well as such topics as "Foundations of Primary Education" and "Educational Psychology and Management". Trainees are recruited to these institutions on completion of four years of secondary education (O-levels). Candidates for admission should have four passes at O-levels with a bias towards the principal primary subjects. The implication is that someone with passes in commerce, agriculture, art, and PE would not be taken, but the reality seems to be that substantial compromises have to be made to obtain even partial enrollments; thus a candidate who had failed English and math but who passed science has been taken at Luteete, since it is difficult to find candidates, particularly female ones, who qualify in and are interested in science. The unfortunate thing is that this trainee will almost certainly have to teach mathematics and English as well as science, and will do so badly.

Trainees have to supply their personal requirements such as mattresses, linens, uniforms, and exercise books, but their fees are paid by the government. Most are recruited directly from secondary schools, but in addition some untrained and Grade I and II teachers from local primary schools also join. The primary motivation for people already in the profession is not upgrading of skills so much as it is the hope that a Grade III certificate will qualify them either to become a headteacher (which brings some additional salary) or to continue on for further upgrading which will ultimately lead out of primary teaching.

Furniture, equipment, and books are problems at all three institutions. Both classroom and dormitory furniture for the trainees is inadequate. Science and laboratory equipment, materials and equipment for art, music and physical education are lacking, and Luteete even lacks a typewriter. I asked about audiovisual equipment and it was clear that no one understood what I meant (it was a reasonable question at Busikho and Kabukunge because they do have electricity!). Although all three of the institutions do have at least some textbooks for instructional and study use, and some general reading available as well, in all cases they are stored in small rooms and access is limited. In no case is there a proper library or even a place for trainees to sit and study. At Luteete the classrooms are used for studying and also for eating, as there is no dining hall. At Kabukunge the largest and most elaborate building is a

mosque, as the foundation body is Muslim (however, trainees are recruited without reference to religious affiliation).

Of these three institutions the most impressive is Luteete. This is not because the facilities are better (in fact, they are worse) but because I was able to meet the Principal, a very hardworking and determined lady. Since the college has a substantial quantity of land, she has been able, using student labor, to make the institution almost self-sufficient in food production. Large shambas of maize, cassava, sweet potatoes and matooke are under production, and poultry and pigs are kept as well. The students also make bricks, which has saved the institution over Ushs 300,000 in construction costs for staff housing alone. In this way some of the funds from the capitation grants provided by the government can be used for development of facilities. The students are paid for the labor they provide on the farm and in making bricks, so that they have some money for their personal needs, but the costs are considerably lower--up to 75% lower--than if the goods were purchased on the open market. I should add that the principal reason why such strategies have not been employed as extensively at Kabukunge and Busikho is that they are much more constrained in their access to good quality land. The compound at Kabukunge is quite small. They have, however, started a small dairy unit. Food is also produced at Busikho, but the climate is much drier and nothing much is in evidence at this time of year.

Conventional teacher-training institutions, then, are beset by problems of their own. The derisory salaries and lack of housing are disincentives to the retention of staff, just as the poor prospects in primary teaching discourage the brightest O-level students from taking up teacher training.

G. Factors affecting girls' persistence in primary school

As already shown, girls make up 46% of all students in P1 in the ten districts studied, a proportion which declines to 39% by P7. Since it has been amply demonstrated that basic education of girls and women makes direct contributions to improved health and productivity, the desirability of increasing girls' persistence is unquestionable. Questions of access and recruitment are also pertinent, since less than half of the girls in Uganda ever join primary school in the first place, but are beyond the scope of this study.

Of the targeted 250 dropout interviews, 237 usable interviews were obtained, from 224 different households. Of the dropouts contacted, 58 were boys and 179 were girls. Socio-economic and demographic information was collected for each household, then the parent/guardian and the dropout him/herself was each interviewed separately to find out the causes of dropping out and the incentives that would have helped the child to stay in school. It should be added that these 237 dropouts are by no

means the only dropouts to be found in the homes where they resided. The total number of dropouts in the households visited, on the basis of the demographic data provided by the members, exceeds 400. Furthermore, 175 orphans and foster children are living in just 70 of these households. Some of these are among the dropouts interviewed.

The general socio-economic variability seen among the districts has already been discussed above, with households in the north being materially the poorest and showing clear signs of poverty, while greater economic well-being is apparent in the south and west. Demographically, household size and composition vary enormously. About a quarter of the households are polygynous, which implies a larger household size and higher dependency ratios; almost a third are headed by widows, divorcees, or never-married women caring for their own children, foster children, and orphaned grandchildren. Almost half of the households contain seven or more dependents. However, with the exception of the youngest families and those containing grandparents and grandchildren only, most have several economically-active members engaged in various income-generating activities. The exception is Gulu, which has been so seriously affected by rebel activities and where many people have been physically displaced.

With the exception of the north, and some of the households

headed by elderly single women, the data on SES indicate that resources to provide for the educational needs of children are often available if the parents/guardians are willing to allocate them to educational ends. With direct costs of education averaging around Ushs 8,000 per year in the surveyed schools, and monthly expenditures ranging between Ushs 22,000 and 41,000 according to the national survey, educational outlays for one child amount to just a fraction of total household expenses. But parents often have other priorities, even if they are reluctant to state them, and the fact that an informant declares that the child left school because of lack of fees does not mean that economic resources truly are not available. This is not to deny that genuine poverty exists. Throughout the twenty years of violence and war that Uganda has suffered, however, the food production sector, especially in the central and southwestern areas of the country, has remained productive and resilient. Good prices can be obtained for many food crops. With approximately 15% of the population believed to be urban, there is a good market for cereals and legumes, matooke, livestock, milk and other products. Market data obtained from Masaka and Tororo areas show that chickens can be sold for Ushs 2,500-4,000 each; matooke for Ushs 1,500--2,000 per bunch; cassava for Ushs 340 per debe, rice for Ushs 7,000 to 9,000 a sack. Agricultural day labor can be sold or hired for Ushs 500 to 1,000 per task. These data should help the reader to interpret the survey findings reported in Tables 9 through 12.

Table 9. Reasons for dropping out: parents (N=237)

Lack of money for fees	180
Dropout's labor needed	50
Dropout lacked interest in school	38
Lack of equipment	33
Poor academic performance	29
Lack of facilities	27
Parental reluctance	22
Pregnancy	21
Marriage	16
Poor quality of teaching	6
Illness	5
Insecurity	3
Abduction	2
Sexual advances by teachers	2
Expulsion	1
Lack of materials	1
Irrelevant curriculum	1
Punishments by teachers	1

(Responses total more than 237 because many respondents gave multiple replies)

These parental responses may be compared with those offered by the dropouts themselves.

Table 10. Reasons for dropping out: Dropouts (N=237)

Lack of money for fees	178
Parental reluctance	73
Dropout's labor needed	63
Lack of interest	33
Poor academic performance	30
Marriage	28
Lack of facilities	27
Lack of equipment	24
Pregnancy	22
Illness	5
Insecurity	3
Abduction	2
Lack of materials	2
teacher absenteeism	2
sexual advances by teachers	2
Expulsion	1
Forced to repeat classes	1
Punished by teachers	1
Overaged	1

(Responses total more than 237 because many respondents gave multiple replies)

Some brief case studies and quotations from informants' comments provide some context for interpretation of the data presented above.

--An old man with two sons in salaried employment and one son in S.2, whose two daughters dropped out at P5 and P6 (a younger son continues in P4). The girls were both promised financial assistance by an urban relative in exchange for domestic labor, but the relative has so far not kept his promise to pay for their schooling, and the available resources are monopolized by the sons.

--A girl pressured to marry by her parents, so she dropped out and married after P6. Of her sisters, on never attended school, one completed P7, one dropped out of P5. Of her brothers, 1) post secondary certificate in agriculture; 2) S2; 3) S6, accountant; 4) and 5) in S6; 6) in S4.

--Says one father who has sent two sons and one nephew to secondary school, but no daughters: "Education of girls is a waste of money as they get married and go away. The girls who are highly educated are arrogant." His daughter says, "Parents are biased towards the education of boys than girls because they say girls disappoint them by getting married prematurely and getting pregnant. So some of us are unfortunately. I believe that even if I had the fees they would not have permitted me to go simply beacuse I am a girl."

--Her mother is ill and the girl has had to drop out on her father's instructions to sta, home and take care of her mother and do all of the domestic work. The father is continually drunk and beats and abuses everyone as well as misallocating the available resources.

--Her father died and since she does not know her mother, she is forced to stay with an uncle whose wife mistreats her. She is at times overworked and even the time when she was still in school she would be made to remain at home in order to help with domestic work.

--Most of the members of the family were abducted. The boys were forced to join militia and the girls ended up either as wives to soldiers, or got babies without proper fathers. This girl was abducted on her way home from school. She was kept in the bush for about three months and when she returned she was pregnant. The girl says, "If I was not abducted I would have loved to continue with studies but now I have a child whose father I do not know. I feel so bad to know that my education has ended because of an unknown person."

--"Daddy told me that he didn't have any more money to pay for my fees but I didn't believe it because about a month after, he told me that I was old enough to get married, so they introduced me to my would-be husband and about two months later they married me off. I am now the second wife of our husband."

--Their parents both died of AIDS, their employed aunts and uncles do not assist them, and their elderly grandparents with

whom they live do not have any money and need their labor as well.

--The boy "misbehaved" and impregnated the daughter of a chief. The parents were forced to pay compensation and raised the money by selling part of their land. Hence they were annoyed and made the boy work for himself. To the boy, it is not his girlfriend's pregnancy that forced him to drop out, but his parents' reluctance; after all, he is a boy, and pregnancy should not keep him from going to school.

--"The girl was doing fairly well but she surprised us when she suddenly turned out to be pregnant. We don't think we chould waste any more money on her education because she wouldn't manage babysitting and school at the same time." The girl, however, would like to go back when her child is old enough and is working hard on the farm to make sure that she raises some money for herself.

--The father claims that the children are not interested in school and also have been ill with chickenpox. The mother claims that the father does not want to pay school fees for the children, especially the girls. When she, the mother, tried paying fees for one girl last year the father beat her up and sent her away for some time The daughter says that her father goes out drinking in local bars every night.

--Unless the parents are convinced that the girl can fetch more bridewealth by being educated, she does not see any hope of being authorized by her parents to go back to school. She says she was

forced to drop out as a deliberate act to prepare her for marriage.

--The interviewer notes that the mother who claims they cannot come up with shs. 4,500 for her son to finish P7 is sporting a very elaborate and expensive hair-do.

--The dropout says that even if the government was to provide school fees for her the parents might refuse to let her go to school--she got pregnant in P6 and "the whole village is complaining about girls that the earlier they get married, the better, instead of losing bridewealth."

Examination of the data and of the literature raise several other points worthy of consideration. The first is the circumstances of foster children and orphans. As already noted, the households investigated contain substantial numbers of such children; 175 were recorded from 70 households. A consistent pattern of discrimination against these children is apparent. Although many Ugandan families undoubtedly do try their best to assist their nephews and nieces who have lost their parents, many do not. These children are consistently denied educational opportunity even when it is affordable, and used as a source of cheap labor.A second issue is the responsibility for the payment of school fees. The Womens' Needs Assessment (Nalwanga-Sebina and Natukunda, 1988) argues that the "tradition" that fathers pay fees for their children is being eroded, and more and more mothers have joint or sole responsibility for generating the

needed funds. Since Western education and payment of fees are both fairly recent innovations in East Africa one has to question the extent to which payment by a particular individual can be regarded as a tradition; but more disturbing yet is a clear trend towards expectations on the part of the parents that the children themselves will somehow earn the money required. Several of the Senior Women Teachers interviewed commented on this explicitly and argued that this expectation contributed to delinquency (and subsequently pregnancy) among older female pupils. Dropouts were observed to be cultivating, burning charcoal, and engaging in petty trade in order to meet their educational expenses, even when other household resources might be available for the purpose, to the detriment of their studies.

Turning now to incentives that might keep children from dropping out, Table 11 presents the parents' responses to a number of potential remedies, and Table 12 dropout responses.

Table 11. Incentives for school persistence: parents

Scholarships	156
Uniforms and books	124
Reduced fees	79
Lunch provided at school	67
provision of boarding facilities	34
Direct cash payments	18
Provision of supplies	16
Improved facilities	14
Better teachers	12
Larger community role in management	6
Provision of bedding	6
More female teachers	6
Changes in curriculum	5
Transfer to a different school	3
Improved security	2
Provide a wheelchair*	1
NIL	39

*The child dropped out because he cannot walk and he became too big for his mother to carry him

Note: the substantial number of NIL responses is due to the fact that many of the causes of dropout (poor performance, marriage, pregnancy) are very difficult to address.

Table 12. Incentives for school persistence: dropouts

Scholarships	146
Uniforms and books	131
Reduced fees	70
Lunch at school	66
Provision of boarding facilities	62
Direct cash payments	26
Provision of supplies	20
Improved facilities	17
Greater community role in management	13
More female teachers	11
Better teachers	10
Changes in curriculum	2
Transfer to a different school	2
Improved security	1
Wheelchair	1
NIL	41

Note: The fairly large number of NIL responses is a result of circumstances such as poor academic performance, pregnancy, and marriage which most incentives do not address.

H. Conclusions and Recommendations

1. Teacher training and motivation: structuring teacher incentives

The Mubende Integrated Teacher Education Program, being implemented by ActionAid-Uganda at Mityana, is one model of how problems facing both primary teaching and teacher training colleges might be dealt with. The program offers a combination of correspondence and short-term residential courses to untrained

teachers already working in primary schools, and pays TTC tutors, headteachers, and other people employed in the educational system small but meaningful salaries and allowances to teach the residential courses, mark the correspondence lessons, and make periodic visits to the distance trainees at their places of work for supervision and morale-building. I have noted above that the question of promotions and raises is not linked in the minds of the existing primary teachers to any improvement in their qualifications or performance. The teachers take a short-term or quick-fix approach to the resolution of their problems (e.g., money) rather than a loger term perspective oriented towards improving their skills and earning back the respect that the decline in educational quality has cost them.

Given the present salary structure the only incentive to seek further training is as a means of escape from primary teaching. Clear rewards (for example, more money) linked to specific achievements (such as completion of a specific set of correspondence modules leading to demonstrable upgrading of qualifications and skills) would be one way to address this. It is necessary at the outset, however, to reorganize the salary structure in such a way that teachers who already possess Grade III qualifications are not faced with a disincentive to remaining primary teachers. Although untrained teachers should clearly be the primary focus of any upgrading and incentives program, since they make up such a substantial proportion of all teachers, the

plight of Grade III teachers should also be taken into consideration.

Another possible training strategy for teachers which could be linked to financial rewards is to increase the degree of specialization among primary teachers. The present TTC curriculum "teaches teaching" of all subjects in the primary syllabus to all trainees. The information provided by the teachers themselves shows that there are pronounced likes and dislikes for particular subjects, and that three-quarters of the respondents are teaching a subject which they do not like. Lack of confidence of knowledge of the field, as well as aversion to the subject matter, can diminish performance. The marked distaste with which social studies is viewed may be a consequence of the fact that it is really three subjects in one--history, geography and civics. Allowing specialization in a narrower range of subjects and emphasizing teacher comprehension of the subject matter as well as an interactive instructional approach may substantially improve the classroom environment. As I see it the principal beneficiaries of such an incentive would be the Grade I and II teachers who already carry a disproportionate share of the teaching burden, and who currently tend to teach more different subjects than others. These teachers by and large intend to remain in primary teaching, either because of commitment or because they feel that age and qualifications deny them any other options. They also need upgrading and incentives.

Being assigned to one's home village is an incentive named by 43% of the teachers interviewed. Since most of the teachers are recruited from rural areas and since teachers' principal income supplements come from farming, this is understandable. There is clear evidence from other AID studies that training and posting teachers close to their homes helps to retain them in teaching. Several of the women teachers interviewed said that their intention to remain in primary teaching could be affected if they were transferred away from home--their husbands might make them quit--or if they were posted to home, where it is easier to survive.

Several teachers mentioned in the course of the interview that the physical isolaton of the schools cut them off from access to news, yet it is important for teachers to keep informed. Providing radios to schools is a potential solution to this problem, although it raises other questions--Who would be in charge of it?--Who would buy the batteries? However, the idea is worthy of consideration, both in terms of its potential for making schools a focus of group or community functions or activities, and the long-term possibility of interactive radio learning for pupil instruction and teacher upgrading.

Several other countries in the region have formal adult literacy and adult education programs. I do not know the current status of such programs in Uganda, but would note that another potential

incentive for teachers which would have the added effect of raising community involvment with the school would be to make the schools sites for such instruction. As part of the inservice training effort, existing teaching staff could be trained in the skills necessary for teaching basic numeracy and literacy to illiterate adults, work which could be done after normal school hours and for which they would receive additional pay.

2. Girls' persistence: implications and strategies

The first point to consider that emerges from the results of parent and dropout interviews is that almost one-fourth of the dropouts interviewed were boys. Although the statistical data from the Ministry, and evidence collected from the field, do confirm that girls are more seriously affected by dropping out than are boys, and there is measurable active discrimination against daughters in many parts of the country when decisions are being made about who is to be educated, boys are also affected. They drop out for the same reasons that girls do: lack of fees, parental reluctance, lack of interest, poor performance, need for their labor. It will be impossible to justify a program that does not recognize that there are constraints to the education of boys as well as to the education of girls.

Explicit economic causes of dropout are accompanied in many cases by explicit or implicit parental reluctance to educate children

and/or need for the child's labor services for domestic maintenance or to generate income. Although many parents, particularly in the lacustrine areas of the country, continue to place high value on educating all children, male and female, it is clear that many others do not see any reason to send children to school; on the contrary, education, particularly of girls, has negative value to them. Thus it seems critical to restore or create a sense of valuing education for its own sake in conjunction with the incentives program. The Ministry of Education, churches, NGOs, media, and the RC system would all have a role to play in increasing public awareness of the value of education. Many of the NGOs working in the field of education note that the most important aspect of their programming is having staff on location at sub-county or parish level to mobilize parents and communities to an awareness of the importance of education. If parents continue to question the value of sending their children to school, especially their daughters, it is entirely possible that funds would end up being diverted or misappropriated.

It is noteworthy that many children have dropped out from lack of interest and poor academic performance. These two reasons account for 13% of responses to the question of why the pupil dropped out of school. Clearly, mechanisms need to be put in place to stimulate the interest and improve the academic performance of such children. Upgrading teacher training,

revising the curriculum, and providing sufficient textbooks are part of the solution to this problem. In the case of poor achievers, there seems to be a tendency simply to retain underachievers in a particular grade, and no efforts are made to try to find out why these children are doing poorly and what can be done to help them. This need could be addressed in the proposed program of teacher training, by imparting diagnostic skills and/or counselling skills to at least some teachers, and also by possibly establishing assessment centers on the Kenyan model at TTCs, ESCs, or District Education Offices. At relatively low cost and with the enthusiastic support of headteachers, the Kenyan assessment centers have helped the Ministry to make significant advances in providing special education to special-needs children.It should be noted that school fees per se are only part of the total educational costs that parents and children must absorb. Although the costs described in the report on special programs for orphans and gifted seem quite exaggerated, the total annual costs of sending one child to primary school may consume 4%-5% of annual household expenditure. Careful consideration therefore needs to be given as to which parental costs the incentive program would alleviate. This is particularly important given that the government has made public its intention of establishing universal primary education without clarifying the extent to which UPE would also be free PE. Thus many respondents in the course of interviews declared that primary education should be provided free of charge and they had

no intention of paying fees for it. They are assuming that mandatory primary education will not involve any direct costs to them. However, if UPE is implemented and statutory fees are abolished, but completion of P7 is mandatory and withholding children from primary school becomes a punishable offense, parental costs will increase rather than disappear. This is because, as already noted, the fee itself is only part of the actual cash cost of primary education. Since presumably local communities would still be largely responsible for providing physical facilities, parents would still need to come up with cash for the PTA to offset construction costs. In addition, uniforms and stationery would still be required.

Although the primary cycle ideally encompasses the age group six to twelve years, late entry into the system, repetition, temporary dropout, transfers, etc. effectively increase the span of years that children spend in primary school. Most girls are fifteen or older by the time they complete P7. Many senior women teachers report that pupils are sexually active by the time they reach P5. Pregnancy accounts for almost 10% of dropout.

Teachers again note that the responsibility for sex education has been completely abdicated by the parents (such topics used to be managed by traditional institutions such as formal initiation, bush schools, or instruction by ritual elders or grandparents, many of which have disappeared) and left to the teachers. Perhaps part of the conditionality for the incentives program could be a restructuring of the curriculum to introduce health,

sex, and AIDS education earlier in the primary cycle, perhaps as early as 13.

As noted above one component of the lengthened age span in primary schools is late entry. Although pupils are supposed to enter P1 at age six, most do not. They delay until they are between seven and ten years old. These older children are able to learn at a faster rate than younger ones. If a screening procedure or assessment capacity was established, these older pupils could be grouped and move more quickly through the lower primary curriculum, learning at their own pace and moving through the system faster. This approach would again be dependent on upgrading teaching skills and providing textbooks, but would reduce the amount of time that these pupils would have to spend in school, and reduce the overall direct costs of their education.

Parents and dropouts both identified provision of lunch at school as an incentive to persistence. Many of the rural schools require children to travel considerable distances and since most East African households do not prepare cooked food in the morning, but just have tea or liquid porridge, both going home for lunch and bringing lunch from home are difficult. It was somewhat surprising, in fact, to find that none of the schools had access to WFP school lunch provisions. School lunch programs are of course attended by other problems, particularly leakage of

the commodities, but in many places (Kitui and Machakos Districts of Kenya, for example) they have been effective in school recruitment and retention and the level of abuse has been within reason.

The question of lunch has another dimension. In many places parents are able to meet school costs in kind rather than in cash, by providing local building materials, food, and/or labor. In the course of interviews a number of pupils and parents suggested that they would be assisted in meeting their obligations if they could work for the school or provide materials to the school rather than paying monetary fees. Clearly it would not be possible for everyone to avoid making cash payments, but particularly if school feeding programs were to be established using local commodities, and in the case of children who are expected to raise their own school fees, the non-cash option has merit.Management, disbursement and monitoring of a scholarship program are complex issues. The Ministry of Education has demonstrated its total incapacity to manage existing programs to benefit war and AIDS orphans. School heads reported that such programs exist in theory but despite compliance with rather burdensome paperwork and documentation requirements, the fees that are supposed to be paid by the government on behalf of the orphans are never remitted to the school. In any case only the statutory fee would be paid, and children and their caretakers are left with three-quarters of the

expense. Serious consideration must be given to an alternative mechanism for managing and disbursing the funds. On the basis of parental responses, scholarships are clearly the preferred means of receiving financial assistance for education. Many respondents noted that direct cash payments to the parents are undesirable because they might be tempted to use the money for other purposes. The Resistance Council system has been suggested as a possible institutional means of identifying eligible candidates, but it is unclear how it could be utilized to channel funds.

A number of NGOs have experience with scholarship programs, particularly concentrating on orphans. Their experiences have left them somewhat skeptical of the overall effectiveness and sustainability of such interventions. Both Foster Parents Plan International and World Vision, for example, solicit funds from individual donors by linking that individual donor with an individual child who is directly being benefitted by his contribution. Both organizations are gradually moving away from this strategy. First of all, the identification of beneficiaries is a complex process which is susceptible to abuse and which can also lead to factionalism in the community. The programs are management-intensive, and even with personnel on the ground at the parish level World Vision has found that headmasters would deny entry to sponsored children but pocket the money, or arrange for the funds to be deposited to a personal rather than a school

account. Both organizations have begun to move away from a focus on the individual child to a strategy of capacity-building in the community, including income-generating projects, community sanitation and water, mobile health campaigns, and the like. World Vision still maintains a commitment to meeting educational expenses for the sponsored child, but is demanding community involvement in the renovation of school facilities.

The question of what is the most effective way to increase primary school persistence, particularly among girls, is clearly much more complex than the question of teacher incentives. It is unclear how much flexibility the program design allows in developing strategies to improve upon existing rates of primary school completion for girls, but the results of this research indicate that a considerable degree of flexibility and creativity will be needed if a workable and effective program is going to be implemented.

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