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**The Status of Decentralization of Education in Africa:
An Analytic Summary**

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FOREWORD

This document is intended to serve as a "sourcebook" on issues and experiences related to the decentralization of education systems in Africa. While still in its initial stages, the document represents a combination of theoretical frameworks and background materials, practical experiences, and questions and resources that are intended to spark further investigation. It is intended more for the purposes of framing appropriate questions and highlighting complex issues than for providing definitive answers. The document is broken down into three sections: Section I provides an overview of some of the key issues related to decentralization as well as a preliminary framework for conceptualizing what decentralization of the education sector means; Section II provides a set of case materials from eleven African countries (in which USAID was involved with education projects) that are organized under the preliminary framework developed in Section I; and, Section III consists of an extensive bibliography with some initial annotations. This document should be viewed as an interactive "work in progress," which will be developed and refined over the next several months with insights and understandings from additional literature sources and field visits.

SECTION 1: Theoretical Frameworks

I. INTRODUCTION

In the early 1980s, a broad disillusionment with centrally planned economic systems and with the all-invasive administrative state began to sweep the globe. Accompanying this was a widespread disappointment with overall progress of the education sector. While primary school enrollments in developing countries grew dramatically in the 1960s and 1970s, issues of quality, equity, efficiency, participation, sustainability, and innovation fell by the wayside. As a result, many of the benefits that were typically associated with investment in education failed to materialize in developing countries. Much of the blame for these failures has been attributed to either the inefficient and bureaucratic nature, the lack of commitment, or the low institutional capacity of governments throughout developing countries. Consequently, throughout the late 1980s and early 1990s, efforts that have been undertaken in trying to reform the education sector have focused on addressing weaknesses in implementing organizations and institutions through mechanisms such as decentralization.

Evidence of these efforts have been most conspicuous throughout Africa, where after decades of failure, education program developers and implementors have latched onto the buzzword of "decentralization" as the latest panacea for reversing a process of educational, economic and political decline. The problems that have emerged in the education sector over the past couple of decades throughout Africa are now perceived as being the fault of poor central governments. It is believed by many that the solution to these problems lies in decentralization of the sector.

Conyers defines the term "decentralization" to mean "any change in the organization of government which involves the transfer of powers or functions from the national level to any subnational level(s), or from one subnational level to another, lower one." The term is further clarified as the transfer of legal, administrative and political authority to make decisions and manage public functions from the central government to field organizations of those agencies, subordinate units of government, semi-autonomous public corporations, area-wide development authorities, functional authorities, autonomous local governments, communities, or nongovernmental organizations.

Many analysts of development administration have suggested that decentralization of the public and private sectors may either independently or simultaneously facilitate various development objectives, including:

- Increased governmental responsiveness;
- Greater popular participation in the development process, especially among disadvantaged ethnic and social groups;

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- More flexible planning and implementation based upon better knowledge of regional and local conditions;
- Alleviation of managerial overload at the central level;
- Mobilization of untapped resources at the regional or local levels;
- More efficient and less expensive provision of goods and services;
- Better maintenance of investments in economic infrastructure;
- More cost-effective achievement of development goals;
- Reinforcement of non-governmental organizations and private enterprise;
- Better horizontal coordination among governmental units and between the public and private sectors;
- Enhancement of broader goals such as national unity and stability.¹

Thus, the sex appeal of decentralization stems from its close relation to most of the major concerns emphasized in the development community over the past decade: the design of more egalitarian development strategies employing appropriate technology; popular participation as both a means and an end in the development process; the strengthening of private voluntary organizations (PVOs), local organizations and private enterprise; debureaucratization; and utilization of the "learning process" approach to development planning and implementation (Schmidt 1989).

Enthusiasm towards decentralization as an intervention strategy has been particularly strong in recent attempts to bring reform to the education sector. Maclure (1993) explains that, "The growing predominance of the view that public education can only be improved by reducing the role of the centralized state in school system management. Accordingly, this is generally assumed to entail decentralization and more participatory input from local communities and the private sector in aspects of school administration. Three arguments underscore this general approach to educational reform: a) since central governments are increasingly unable to direct and administer all aspects of mass education, decentralizing of planning and programming will result in improved service delivery by enabling local authorities to perform tasks they are better equipped to manage; b) since mass education has placed an inordinate strain on state resources, decentralization will improve economies of scale and will lead to more appropriate responsiveness to the particular needs and situations of different regions and groups; and c) by engaging active involvement of community and private sector groups in local schooling, decentralization will generate more representativeness and equity in educational decisionmaking, and thus foster greater local commitment to public education."

¹ For a more elaborate discussion, see Rondinelli 1981.

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More recently, however, a growing number of people have begun to question the "benefits" of decentralization. The bulk of the criticism has stemmed from the experiences in Latin America and Asia. One set of criticism has resulted as a result of a lack of clarity over what "decentralization" really means. Is there really a case where complete decentralization actually occurs or is it a more fluid process which involves both decentralization and centralization? The second set of criticism is particularly concerned with the "neutrality" and the "smoothness of process" that decentralization claims to have. The first concern of neutrality raises issues of whether the process of decentralization is value-neutral in the sense of being free from any political or economic agenda. While the second concern takes issue with the implicit assumptions that decentralization programs/attempts need merely to be proclaimed in order to proceed smoothly and that everyone in the country wants decentralization. Caiden (1970) addresses these concerns by making an important distinction between administrative reform and administrative change, the latter being a self-adjusting response to fluctuating conditions. According to Caiden, administrative reform is "the artificial inducement of administrative transformation against resistance." For the most part, attempts of decentralization have ignored the "resistance" that occurs in many forms: political, institutional, social, cultural, economic, etc. These forms of resistance remove the "neutrality" from the decentralization process and influence the design and implementation, and ultimately the success, of the decentralization effort. Furthermore, tied to the idea of resistance is the assumption that everyone in a country wants decentralization and that it is inherently a "good" process. Unfortunately, for many countries, decentralization has meant the dumping of unwanted responsibilities on decentralized organizations by ministries without providing them with commensurate resources.

The question that arises from this discussion is "What has been the impact of decentralization within the education sector?" This question may be further refined in two ways: (1) has decentralization succeeded in improving the efficiency and responsiveness of educational systems (including the coordination and mobilization of resources) and the participation levels of local communities?; and (2) has decentralization improved EDUCATION i.e., the teaching and learning that actually occurs in the classroom?

II. SCOPE OF ANALYSIS

While a tremendous body of literature has been written about decentralization in general terms, very little has been written about decentralization in education sector reform. The most extensive body of work that has been done in understanding efforts to decentralize education has been in Latin America -- Venezuela, Chile, Mexico, Colombia, Peru, Venezuela are among the most interesting (Winkler, McGinn, Hanson). Some studies have also looked at decentralization in Asia e.g., China and India.

The scope of this study is to determine *what is the status of what is known about decentralization of education systems in Africa?* On the flip side of this is the question of *what is not known about decentralization of education systems in Africa?* Underlying this study is the desire to begin to better understand both the process and outcomes of decentralization as they occur in the education sector. This understanding should help to facilitate a better sense of: (1) the conditions (environment, institutions and incentive structures) necessary for decentralization efforts to be successful; (2) the range of policy options (and sequencing of such options) available to decisionmakers (inside and outside of government); and (3) methods by which to evaluate the effects and sectoral impact of decentralization efforts in education.

In order to begin answering the questions laid out above, it is necessary to have a theoretical framework against which to measure or assess what is known and what is not known. Unfortunately, none of the studies that were reviewed looked at decentralization of the education system from any kind of holistic framework. Such a holistic approach is valuable for understanding the nuances specific to the education sector and for contextualizing educational decisions that are made within a broader political, economic, cultural and historical climate. For the most part, the studies deal with the issue of decentralization in a very fragmented, descriptive, static way; though, the better ones try to get at some of the political, social and economic issues surrounding decentralization. Part of the difficulty lies in trying to get a firm grasp on what is it that decentralization means. Cohen (DFM: Sahel 1993) observes that, "Decentralization is not one thing nor is it even a series of degrees along a single spectrum or scale. For comprehensibility and utility in policy circles, the overarching abstraction 'decentralization' must be split into a host of separate, occasionally conflicting entities." Given all of the different, complex dimensions (time, players, activities, linkages, etc.) involved, decentralization is an extremely complicated process to understand. Consider for example:

"A formal polycentric governing structure is only possible when the constitution of a nation guarantees the freedom of citizens to organize many governing authorities, not just one, each with equal legal standing. . . In

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polycentric order, jurisdictions vary greatly, some being general-purpose governments -- communes, municipalities, etc. -- with both mandates to provide certain functions and discretion to provide a variety of others. Some are special-purpose entities, formed by citizens, at their initiative, under law, for the provision of a single service such as a community school, a village wood lot, a community water system, or a mosquito abatement program. As provision units, each such government can set the service level and rules of use, access, or cost. Each unit must have its own resource mobilizing potential -- authority to tax, charge fees, make assessments -- subject to citizen authorization by direct or representative vote and oversight through electoral processes and judicial challenge. It may choose to produce a service itself or to contract out for service production by a private firm, individual or by another public agency" (DFM:Sahel 1993).

Only by recognizing the complexity and dynamic nature of decentralization can we begin to understand the "when, why and how's" of using decentralization as a tool for improving education. Since a framework could not be found for thinking about decentralization in such a manner could not be found, this analysis has tried to initiate the process of developing and testing out such a framework. It is from the perspective of this preliminary framework that the status of what is known about decentralization will be assessed.

III. METHODOLOGY

The following analysis is based on a four-week effort during which several documents were reviewed and individuals contacted. Materials reviewed were of three types: (1) project documents from USAID education projects in Africa; (2) case studies on decentralization (primarily from the World Bank and USAID Decentralization: Finance and Management Project); and (3) theoretical literature on decentralization in general and on decentralization in education. In addition, several people from USAID and the World Bank were consulted.

In order to answer the question related to the status of decentralization of education in Africa, several country case materials (see Section II) were developed. The information gathered above was used to formulate a preliminary framework for situating and analyzing the case materials. The eleven countries that were examined -- Benin, Botswana, Ethiopia, Ghana, Guinea, Lesotho, Malawi, Mali, Namibia, Uganda, and Zimbabwe -- were ones in which USAID had initiated education projects with the last decade. South Africa was not reviewed because it was a special case. It should be noted that these cases are not intended to be an exhaustive review of decentralization efforts in Africa. Rather, they serve two functions: (1) to provide a sense of what types of information are known and are not known in terms of experiences in Africa; and (2) to provide an opportunity trying out the usefulness and resiliency of preliminary framework. The cases themselves are also incomplete because they are limited by the amount of written material that is available. A more thorough case study, would involve travelling to the countries and conducting extensive field research and interviews. As a result, in these case materials, several "blanks" exist under many of the categories. These "blanks" were left intentionally and indicate that information under the particular category was not mentioned. To the extent possible, the information in the cases is quoted directly from the project documents. A last caveat should be made about the Ethiopia and Ghana case materials. The Ethiopia case is well-detailed and may be biased to some extent by my experience in and knowledge of Ethiopia. The Ghana case is well-detailed because of additional case studies that were found and used to supplement this one.

IV. DEVELOPING A CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

This section lays out a basic conceptual framework to be used as a lens for analyzing experiences of decentralization in educational systems.

Two models have been particularly influential in the design of this framework. First, Rondinelli (1981) has identified the following conditions as being necessary for effective decentralization to occur:

1. Favorable political and administrative conditions include:

- a. Strong political commitment and support national leaders to the transfer of planning, decision-making and managerial authority to field agencies and lower levels of administration;
- b. Acceptance by political leaders of participation in planning and management by organizations that are outside of the direct control of the central government or the dominant political party;
- c. Support of and commitment to decentralization within line agencies of the central bureaucracy and the willingness of central government officials to transfer functions previously performed by them to local units of administration;
- d. Strong administrative and technical capacity within central government agencies and ministries to carry out national development functions and to support -- with adequate planning, programming, logistical, personnel and budget resources -- their field agencies and lower levels of government in decentralized functions;
- e. Effective channels of political participation and representation for rural residents that reinforce and support decentralized planning and administration and that allow rural people, especially the poorest, to express their needs and demands and to press claims for national and local development resources.

2. Organizational factors conducive to decentralization include:

- a. Appropriate allocation of planning and administration functions among levels of government with each set of functions suited to the decisionmaking capabilities, existing or potential resources and performance capabilities of each level of organization;
- b. Concise and definitive decentralization laws, regulations and directives that clearly outline the relationships among different levels of government and administration, the allocation of functions among organizational units, the roles and duties of officials at each level and their limitations and constraints;
- c. Flexible arrangements, based on performance criteria, for reallocating functions as the resources and capabilities change over time;
- d. Clearly defined and relatively uncomplicated planning and management procedures for eliciting participation of local leaders and citizens and for obtaining the cooperation and consent of beneficiaries in the formulation, appraisal, organization, implementation and evaluation of development projects and

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programs;

- e. Communication linkages among local units of administration or government and between them and higher levels that facilitate reciprocal interaction, exchange of information, cooperative activity and conflict resolution;
- f. Diverse supporting institutions that complement local government and planning organizations in carrying out decentralized development functions.

3. Behavioral and psychological conditions supporting decentralization include:

- a. Changes in the attitudes and behavior of central and lower level government officials away from those that are centrist, control-oriented and paternalistic, towards those that support and facilitate decentralized planning and administration, and a willingness on their part to share authority with rural people and accept their participation in planning and implementing development activities;
- b. Effective means of overcoming the resistance, or getting the cooperation of local elites and traditional leaders in decentralized processes of development and administration;
- c. Creation of a minimum level of trust and respect between citizens and government officials, and a mutual recognition that each is capable of performing certain functions and participating effectively in various aspects of development planning and administration;
- d. Maintenance of strong leadership within local units of government or administration that will allow reciprocal exchange between local and central governments.

4. Resource conditions required for decentralization include:

- a. Transfer of sufficient authority for local units of administration or government to raise or obtain adequate financial resources to acquire the equipment, supplies, personnel and facilities needed to carry out decentralized responsibilities;
- b. Adequate physical infrastructure, and transportation and communication linkages, among local administrative units to facilitate the mobilization of resources and the delivery of public services; and,
- c. Sufficiently articulated and integrated settlement systems within regions to promote economic, social, political and administrative interaction among rural settlements and between them and larger towns and cities.

Second, Winkler's model of education provision and assignments (see Table 1), attempts to identify decentralization of education systems along a set of discrete activities under the broad categories of finance (finance of recurrent expenditures and capital expenditures) and provision (i.e., curriculum design, textbooks, teacher training, testing, etc.). For each of these functions, Winkler has attempted to outline some optimal level of responsibilities for the Ministry of Education and the local government. Winkler's work is also particularly helpful in helping to point out

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the decentralization-centralization phenomena. Basically, within a educational system, there are no absolute levels of decentralization or centralization. When a government announces that it will be centralizing or decentralizing the system, it often does so more out of political rationale than out of sound technical reasons. What typically happens is that some functions are centralized and others are decentralized (the degree to which this happens depends on a variety of factors). However, the weakness in Winkler's model is that it attempts to identify a "right answer" for where a certain function should be located. It turns what is inherently a fluid, context-specific process into a purely technical activity by (1) taking the education sector out of its broader political, economic cultural and historical context and by (2) removing the specificity (priorities, actors, constraints, resources, capacities, etc.) from the education context.

The following preliminary framework (see Table 2) was created in order to better assess the status of decentralization of education in Africa. It tries to take into account the broader country context as well as the specificity of the education sector. Each category is followed first by a set of questions which attempt to flush out the relevant information for analysis. After each of the questions is a rationale that tries to explain the linkages between the category and decentralization issues. The rationale is not intended to serve as an exhaustive discussion but rather is included for explanatory or illustrative purposes.

DECENTRALIZATION FRAMEWORK:

I. Background to Decentralization-Centralization Reform (in general)

A. Country: What is the country being studied.

B. Environment/Context:

This section attempts to identify the macro-level economic, social, political, institutional, historical and cultural context of the country. The purpose is to try to link and contextualize the decisions being made and actions being taken in the education system with broader factors and events that are occurring in the country and throughout the rest of the world.

1) Past Relevant Reforms

(a) What major political, economic, social events have occurred in the country? What has been the nature of these reforms? What were the stories behind these reforms i.e., who was involved and what were their stated goals as well as underlying motivations? What were the results of these reforms?

These questions are particularly relevant given that "governmental decentralization is unlikely to be initiated during periods of 'politics as usual.' Instead, decentralization initiatives are most apt to be undertaken when extraordinary

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events or factors alter the normal calculations of political actors, prompting them to view the creation or strengthening of decentralized organizations in a more favorable light. Such events or factors may have this effect by (1) calling established institutions into question, (2) increasing or highlighting the potential benefits of decentralization, (3) lowering the costs of decentralization by linking them to other objectives, or (4) increasing available resources for investment in decentralized organizations. . . This line of argument differs from much of the recent comparative literature on decentralization, which concludes that governmental longevity and the absence of crisis enhance the effectiveness of decentralization. Nevertheless, these two views are not necessarily incompatible. The conclusion in the literature is primarily based on economic and managerial considerations from the perspective of the overall system, whereas the argument developed here attempts to explain why political actors support decentralization in the first place. Indeed considering both approaches may help to resolve yet another paradox identified in the literature: although decentralization is usually justified in terms of managerial efficiency, most decentralization initiatives are in fact motivated by political considerations. Moreover, crises that initially open windows of opportunity for decentralization may at a later point reach thresholds that make greater centralization imperative" (Schmidt 1989).

2) Experience with Decentralization-Centralization

(a) Has the country had previous attempts with decentralization-centralization? What was the rationale for these reforms? Who initiated them, supported them, and resisted them? What sectors did they take place in? What happened during these experiences? Why did they succeed and why did they fail? Who gained and who lost?

Table 2: Preliminary Decentralization Framework

I. Background to Decentralization-Centralization Reform	
A. Country	
B. Environment/Context	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Past Relevant Reforms 2. Experience with Decentralization-Centralization 3. Colonial Experience 4. Universal Enrollment Status and History of Enrollment Growth 5. Political
II. Education Sector Specific	
A. Description of D-C Plan	
B. Rationale/Motives for D-C	
C. Major Recent Activities Related to the D-C Reform	
D. Organizational Structure	
E. Design	
F. Educational Functions in D-C	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Finance 2. Administration 3. Teachers and School Directors 4. Facilities 5. Curriculum 6. Inspection and Supervision 7. Research
G. Implementation of D-C Plan	

H. Effects of D-C Efforts	
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3) Colonial Experience

(a) Was the country a former colony? If so, under whom? What pre-colonial indigenous systems of organization existed and how were these dealt with by the colonialist power? What were the dominant characteristics of the system put in place and left by the colonial system? How have the governments responded to their colonial legacies?

4) Universal Enrollment Status and History of Enrollment Growth

(a) When did expansion of the formal education system occur? What factors encouraged this expansion? What are the levels of participation? How does participation differ along gender, class, regional, ethnic, etc. lines? In other words, what are the key issues related to access and equity?

5) Political

(a) What is the level of political stability in the country? What are the patterns of participation? How are democratic processes viewed and interpreted? Which groups have significant political and economic influence in the country?

(b) Who are the major stakeholders in the education system? Which groups have a vested interest in decisions that are made concerning the system? Which of stakeholders have a "voice" in the decisionmaking process and which do not? In other words, what are their relative levels of power and spheres of influence?

Schmidt (1989) states that, "While frequently attributing failed decentralization policies to insufficient political commitment or political support, the literature sheds little light on why these attributes are so often lacking. Such terms tend to be used in a shallow political sense, detached from consideration of political objectives and calculations. . . Decentralization should pay closer attention to the calculations of key political actors."

(c) Also, how politicized is the education system i.e., how much political attention is given to the education system either as a form of measuring government performance or of legitimizing government authority or of providing rewards for political allegiance? In what forms has this politicization manifested itself? What are issues over which polarization has occurred? How do various stakeholders align themselves along these issues -- what coalitions have formed?

Since schooling is a public good appealing to all social groups, it is assumed that collaborative alliances essential for new school management processes can be built upon people's common interest in primary education. From this perspective, the key challenge in implementing reform, whether it be the implementation of a new

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textbook rental scheme, changes in the classroom organization and curriculum, or the promotion of education for girls, lies in ascertaining the most effective mechanisms of collaboration and the right local and regional institutional mixes. The political will needed to formulate and sustain collaborative relations is not raised as an issue, for it is assumed that this will be rooted in the shared stake that all communities and associated organizations have in education. Unfortunately, however, this premise that social consensus, at least in matters related to education, can emerge on the basis of collective interest in schooling flies in the face of deep-seated social and political realities in virtually all African countries (Maclure 1993).

6) Institutional Capacity

(a) What is the overall institutional capacity of the country? In other words, how strong are various actors (central government, local governments, NGOs/CBOs, private sector, etc.) along financial, administrative, management, and technical capabilities? In addition, what is the level of infrastructural development in the country, particularly in terms of mechanisms for communication and transportation? What factors such as various hidden incentives, nepotism, corruption, influence the development of institutional capacity?

The overall institutional environment is critical in creating an appropriate enabling environment for the decentralization-centralization effort. Capacity is a key variable in trying to address issues of sequencing the decentralization. Often times certain responsibilities or expectations are placed on organizational entities even though they do not have the capacity to handle these--they are in a sense being set up for failure.

C. Rationale for Decentralization-Centralization:

(a) What are various rationale being presented in a country for centralization-decentralization? Whose points of view are they? Who is pushing the reforms and why? Who is opposing the reforms and why? Who is perceived as the "winners" and the "losers" of the decentralization-centralization efforts?

McGinn (1985) offers a view of decentralization which is grounded in viewing governments as complex systems of competing groups or factions whose members are both within the government and external to it. Decentralization is sought not to increase participation for individuals in general, but in order to increase participation of certain individuals (or groups). In some cases this can be achieved by shifting power from central to local governments, in other cases from one central institution to another, and in still other cases from government to the private sector. What changes is not the distribution of power, but its locus. These assumptions lead to two major hypotheses. First, we can posit that policies of

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decentralization are promoted by some groups and resisted by others, both within the government. Decentralization reforms fail not so much because they are not implemented, but because they are actively resisted, often by groups within the government. Second, some groups persist in the promotion of policies of decentralization because their interests are or would be favored by reducing the power of other groups within the government or in the larger society. A policy of decentralization occurs when a group in power sees the current set of structures or procedures of a central government as an obstacle to the realization of the group's interests.

D. Sectors Involved:

(a) What sectors (i.e., education, health, agriculture, etc.) are involved in the decentralization-centralization reforms? Are they being decentralized-centralized at the same time or in the same fashion? Are the sectors competing with each other in any way (i.e., over resources, special support, etc.)?

II. Education Specific:

This section deals specifically with the country's education decentralization-centralization efforts.

A. Description of Decentralization-Centralization Plan in Education Sector Across Levels:

(a) Along what levels are responsibilities for the various education sub-sectors -- Primary, Secondary, Tertiary, Vocational, Non-Formal -- being divided? Why were they divided this way? What is the mix between public, private and non-governmental institutions?

B. Rationales/Motives for Decentralization-Centralization in the Education Sector:

(a) What are various goals and rationale being presented for decentralization-centralization of education? Whose points of view are they? Where is the impetus for reform coming from? Who is pushing the reforms and why? Who is opposing the reforms and why? Who are the perceived "winners" and "losers" of the decentralization-centralization efforts?

C. What major activities have happened to date related to the reform?:

(a) What important announcements/actions have occurred that might impact the decentralization-centralization reform? What steps have been taken, if any, to smoothen the process of reform? Are other educational reforms occurring which might compete with or impede the decentralization-centralization?

D. Organizational Structure:

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(a) What is the proposed organizational structure of the education system i.e., number of levels, number of units at each level, etc.? Is the lower tiers of government tied to a regional unit and if so, along what criteria were the regions divided (ethnic, geographic, etc.)?

(b) What is the congruence with the general administrative structure throughout country? How much variance exists across regional units? What is the process for changing or modifying structure? Who is allowed to initiate or propose such changes?

(c) What are the lines and direction of reporting/accountability i.e., are there any horizontal lines, any lines for bottom-up initiative, any lines for top-down support? What is origin and movement of resources and information through the system? What systems of hierarchy exist and how do they impact flows of resources and information?

These questions are intended to understand both the framework of the organizational structure as well as the level of specificity and flexibility that was designed into the structure.

E. Design:

(a) Who participated in the design of the decentralization-centralization strategy for the education sector? What mechanisms were put into place to facilitate the "process" of design?

The way in which a policy is developed affects not only its contents but also its image in the political arena, the backing of key administrators and other factors crucial to its implementation. Warwick (1982) offers the following seven dimensions provide a lens for viewing policy formulation and its effects in a given time period:

(1) Demand for a policy.

In any policy area, one can identify who wants an explicit policy and how strong their interest is. Implementation problems are most likely to arise when the overall demand for a policy is low or when demand arises from persons with little responsibility for program execution.

(2) Extent of foreign influence.

In developing countries, it is always relevant to ask about the extent to which a given population policy reflects domestic or foreign initiatives. Overall, one would expect that the greater the foreign influence in policy formation and the greater the sensitivity of foreign influence as a political issue, the stronger the obstacles to

implementation.

(3) Involvement of senior executives.

The question of who participates in policy setting and how is particularly relevant for senior executives in the national government, for implementing agencies, and for opinion leaders. If the president or prime minister is excluded from policy formulation or chooses to stay at a distance from the resulting programs, senior officials at that level may find it risky to support that line of policy.

(4) Participation by implementing agencies.

Policies are often set by one agency, such as a planning office, without the direct involvement or even concurrence of the units that will have to carry them out. We can hypothesize that the more implementing agencies take part in developing population policies and the greater their influence on the policies adopted, the more willing they will be to implement the resulting programs. Moreover, in countries with a central population unit that depends on line agencies for execution, the greater the participation and influence of the line agencies, the fewer the subsequent rivalries between them and the central unit.

(5) Involvement of opinion leaders.

It was predicted that the more opinion leaders involved in policy formulation and the more that they felt that the resulting policy was their own, the greater would be their support for implementation. However, participation makes a difference only to the extent that opinion leaders are concerned about the policy at stake and can influence crucial aspects of implementation.

(6) Adaptation to national circumstances.

Implementation further hinges on the degree to which policies and programs are modified to fit different social, cultural, and economic circumstances in the country. Programs developed centrally with no thought for regional differences are likely to cause difficulties for local implementors.

(7) Language of presentation.

The language used in presenting policy to the public can affect both the overall level of controversy about that policy and the specific issues raised for debate. The effects of language are greatly conditioned by the political and cultural context in the country and in specific regions.

The design process sometimes consists merely of a "policy of proclamation" where overly centralized authorities assume that they can make complex changes merely by announcing it to everyone else.

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(b) Was there any flexibility designed into the decentralization-centralization plan to facilitate rationalization of the system? Was there any sort of sequencing planned that corresponded to the pace, priorities, capacities, resources, and/or incentives?

Rondinelli and Nellis (1986) identify some key hypotheses that underlie this idea of sequencing:

- *Scope.* "Small-scale decentralized programs designed for limited impact are likely to generate more positive and durable results than large-scale, sweeping organizational reforms. Programs, therefore, should be planned on a small-scale and expanded incrementally."
- *Simplicity.* "Abstract and complex planning and administrative procedures are unlikely to be implemented effectively in most developing countries and therefore decentralized programs should be kept simple, flexible and appropriate to the capacities of the organizations to which the responsibilities are being transferred."
- *Time Horizons.* "Decentralization requires a lengthy period of gestation before its benefits will be realized, and programs must therefore be planned for the long term."
- *Tutorial Planning.* "Decentralization programs, in which the first stages consist of closely supervised efforts to teach local staff and citizens how to handle new responsibilities, will be more successful than those that transfer large number of tasks or great responsibilities all at once. Programs should therefore be planned tutorially."

(c) What support mechanisms were designed to support the decentralization process, particularly in areas related to increasing equity (or reducing inequities) between regions?

Within a country, broad disparities often exist between urban and rural areas, between some ethnic areas, etc. General decentralization plans often fall into this trap and end up supporting selected inequities while ignoring others altogether. "Central governments often overestimate the revenue potential of rural local governments and underestimate the effect of inflation on central allocations to local governments. Service delivery then becomes the residual expenditure category -- funds are allocated to service delivery only after local government personnel and overhead costs have been met. . . Central governments also underestimate the competence of local government personnel. While the latter clearly lack the incentives to make decisions based on local circumstances, they do not necessarily lack the skills. However, local officials have little experience making decisions on the basis of rigorous analysis of information from the village level" (DFM 1994).

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Sustainability requires the establishment and institutionalization of national capabilities for providing decentralization organizations with training, technical assistance, and other services (Schmidt 1989).

F. Educational Functions in Decentralization-Centralization:

This section will examine various functions that are associated with formal education systems e.g., curriculum design, textbook production and distribution, budgeting and financing, teacher training, planning and staff hiring. For each function, four groups of questions were asked:

(a) Where was responsibility for the function located originally; where was it intended to be moved to; where did it end up? What level of decentralization occurred i.e., devolution, deconcentration, delegation, privatization, deregulation? What capacities and resources were required to carry out the function effectively?

The dimension of decentralization can be examined along two lines--degree and territorial space. The degree of decentralization has been defined in terms of deconcentration, delegation, devolution, privatization and deregulation. These terms are defined in the following manner:

DECONCENTRATION is "the handling over of some administrative authority or responsibility to lower levels within central government ministries and agencies."

DELEGATION "transfers managerial responsibility for specifically defined functions to [public] organizations outside the regular bureaucratic structure," such as public corporations, regional development agencies, and other parastatal organizations.

DEVOLUTION is "the creation or strengthening, financially or legally, of sub-national units of government, whose activities are substantially outside the direct control of the central government."

PRIVATIZATION takes place when "governments have divested themselves of responsibility for functions and have either transferred them to voluntary organizations or allowed them to be performed by private enterprises." Although privatization, if done incrementally, is not fully realized until the state has divested itself completely, some current programs to move from a wholly state-owned position in an enterprise to mixed ownership with the private sector are being referred to as privatization. Some public administrator writers confuse the practice of contracting out for services, as many public jurisdictions do, with privatization. Though the public authority contracts a private firm to perform a service, it -- the public authority -- is still the provider, the firm is but the producer. But if the public authority totally withdraws from providing the service, leaving it to citizen households to buy it as they may, then there has been genuine privatization.

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DEREGULATION is another form of divestiture by government in that it is a withdrawal from direct controls over or from policing of industries or classes of commercial transactions within the market economy. This is sometimes done by an incremental transfer of these responsibilities to the private sector through "parallel organizations such as national industrial and trade associations, professional groups, religious organizations, political parties or cooperatives." Other times, the government does not seek to transfer its regulatory role in a given field but simply drops it altogether to leave a market free to "self-regulate" by the forces of supply, demand and public choice (Rondinelli 1981).

In terms of territorial space, decentralization can be a transfer of authority to newly created or existing field offices that operate nationally; a transfer to existing regional and local units, or the transfer to newly created regional and local units. The last option is sometimes used because traditional state boundaries were generally established by accidents of nature (e.g., rivers, mountain ranges) and no longer reflect modern population and economic growth patterns and needs (Hanson 1989).

(b) What was the rationale/objectives, if any, as to why a particular function was being either decentralized or centralized? Was there any attempt to link the move to a desired end objective i.e., equity, access, innovation, relevance, sustainability, etc.?

What each government's role should be for any service depends on a number of factors: the public good characteristic of the service; the spatial distribution of service benefits and costs; possible economies of scale in producing an activity; society's desire for homogeneity and consistency in that activity; and fiscal, administrative and technical capacity (Winkler 1982).

Dror adds that in order for reforms to be successful, a number of measures ought to be taken and, at times, these should be taken in a certain order of preference. They should involve careful consideration of the objectives and goals of the reforms, which may include questions of scope or boundaries; careful consideration of the character of the reform environment, the extent to which it potentially supportive of the proposed reforms and whether anything can be done about it, and finally questions of resources, funds expertise, time, instrumentalities, etc.

The mix of policies that are implemented or not implemented under decentralization are linked to factions within governments -- which form of decentralization is imposed on a particular division or section of the educational system depends on the projects and beliefs about what can be accomplished of the faction or coalition of factions that is dominant in that division (McGinn 1985).

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(c) What was the responsibility and capacity of key actors as they relate to each of the functions? Did they have an increased decisionmaking role or greater implementation role with the transfer of responsibilities? What resources did the actors have accessible to them? Did they want to take on the additional responsibilities? What incentive structures guided the carrying out of certain functions--were certain responsibilities the only things that actors stood to gain or lose or was there greater money (bribes), power or prestige involved?

(d) How much change was targeted within organizations? Were the internal structures of various organizations decentralized as well? Was there efforts to democratize the decentralized organizations in terms of participation and decisionmaking?

(1) Finance

- Budgeting, allocation and spending of resources

(a) How are resources allocated and spent? What is the budgeting process? How does this process influence the way local government's use their resources and act?

If the center decides to encourage activity in a sector, directives are issued to that effect. Central government funds, made available in grants tied to the sector, may follow, but these are central government programs which may or may not reflect local interests and priorities. This dominance of central priorities, which includes allocation of financial resources throughout the country without regard to variable costs, discourages local politicians from structuring public services in light of local needs and resources (DFM 1994).

Furthermore, the process of collecting resources closely affects the priorities that are afforded to certain goals or processed. Local government dependency on central government funding and authorization gives local governments strong incentives to avoid confrontations with central government, and to do nothing that does not comply fully with central governments policies (DFM 1994).

Also, local demand for OPM (other people's money) is practically, and understandably, unlimited because from the local perspective it is essentially free or largely so. This generates powerful incentives for local communities to build what will ultimately become understaffed, underserviced, and underutilized facilities. In other words, perverse fiscal incentives, in the form of very weak, one-time matches that ignore recurrent cost issues, encourage people to waste scarce investment funds, or at the very least invest them in seriously suboptimal schemes (DFM 1994).

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- Collection of resources

(a) What mechanisms have been created for the collection of resources? How much level of autonomy do lower levels have in collecting and keeping resources? How much capacity do lower levels have for contributing to resource base?

Diversifying sources of funding can also be strategically important for obtaining additional government resources for basic education. This may involve broadening the tax base, granting taxing powers and delegating financing responsibility to lower-level governments, and earmarking taxes for basic education.

There are various financing alternatives available for implementation: intergovernmental grants; immovable property transfer tax; land development tax; holdings tax; business taxes and fees; and voluntarism (Schroeder 1989). Without additional fiscal autonomy and an alteration in the incentives inherent in the system, local governments may simply be extensions to the already long arms of the central government with little real decentralization achieved.

(2) Administration

- Planning

(a) How are planning processes carried out? What type of planning approach is encouraged--highly centralized or strategic planning or some hybrid approach? What types of planning activities occur at each level? In particular, how much communication occurs with finance and how closely are the capital and recurrent plans linked?

- Information and MIS

(a) What types of information systems exist and what are the channels for disseminating the information? What are the primary sources of information? How is information used? What role does information play in policy formulation, analysis and assessment?

The lag between financial and other dimensions of decentralization hinders progress in two ways. First, because information tends to move vertically between communities and national or regional centers rather than horizontally (i.e., if it moves at all), a considerable amount of learning from experience remains inaccessible to villages. This slows the rate at which services spread to places that do not yet have them, narrows the range of available ideas that places with services can use to improve their quality, and undermines the ability of the state and donors to interact with communities as competent partners. Second, as an extension of this last point, the inability of villages to influence the central apparatus in forceful ways slows the process of institutional reform that we described above and, therefore, delays arrival of the day when all partners engaged

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in the production of public services establish realistic, productive, and mutually-beneficial modes of thought and action. The point of these questions is that it is important to recognize that there are few structures in place through which scattered communities can exchange ideas with each other and with agents of the center, or through which they can raise old and discover new questions and then search for individual and collective answers (DFM: Chad 1994).

- Administrative Personnel Deployment

(a) How are administrative personnel hired, promoted, fired and transferred? What influence does the central government have over local personnel i.e., promotions, salaries, etc.? Can the central government transfer people to the regional level? Are the reporting lines to higher line ministries or to political counterparts? How powerful are non-professional forces, like nepotism, in influencing staffing decisions?

- Management/Accountability

(a) What are the various levels of management of the system? What provisions for accountability exist? What incentives are in place to encourage or discourage good management? How does the internal hierarchy and other cultural systems of management influence the ability to hold organizations accountable?

In a decentralized system local governments are accountable to both the donor and the local community for the use of intergovernmental transfers. At a minimum this requires reports to both central government ministries and the community on the use of funds and the performance of programs funded by transfers. Accountability is further enhanced if local citizens have adequate incentives, authority, management capacity and information. The following steps can be taken to improve local level systems of accountability:

- The central government should establish the legal framework required for citizen boards to function, including real decisionmaking.
- Citizen groups and their elected leadership should be given training on how to carry out their roles and how to assess financial and program management.
- The central government should provide reliable and timely information to grant recipients and local citizen groups on finance, expenditure, and performance of grant-funded programs.
- The central government should provide technical assistance to grant recipients to develop the capacity to manage the finances and delivery of services funded by grants in aid; financing for such technical assistance might be assured by earmarking a small percentage of total program funding for technical assistance activities.
- In general, grants in aid should require cost sharing on the part of the local community to instill a sense of community ownership and to provide stronger

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incentives for communities to monitor costs and the use of funds and for service agencies to perceive a linkage between performance and local revenue contributions (Winkler).

(3) Teachers and School Directors

- Teacher Training

(a) How is pre-service and in-service teacher training conducted? Who is responsible for TTIs, curriculum, etc.? Who sets the process for recruitment and enrollment of teachers?

- Teacher Deployment

(a) How are teachers hired, promoted, fired and transferred? How are teachers assigned to new schools? How is deployment across regions handled?

- Conditions of service (salary structure/qualifications)

(a) How are career structures, certification requirements, salary levels, terms of service, etc. determined?

(4) Facilities

- Construction

(a) What is the process for construction of new schools? Who is responsible for initiating? Who is responsible for providing the materials and space? Who is responsible for building?

- Equipment and Furniture

(a) Where does equipment and furniture for schools come from? Who is responsible for ordering, for producing and for delivering?

- Maintenance

(a) Who is responsible for the maintenance of schools? Who checks whether schools are being properly maintained? Who initiates the process of requesting maintenance? Who conducts the maintenance?

(5) Curriculum

- Definition, Goals, Parameters, Standards

(a) Who defines the mission of education and sets educational standards? What is the format for discussion, if any? Who is allowed to participate in the discussion?

- Curriculum Development

(a) How is the curriculum developed? Who sets the priorities, i.e., local relevance or nation-building? How closely are curriculum development functions linked with

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textbook, instructional materials, and examination functions?

- Textbook Production/Textbook Distribution

(a) How are textbooks written, produced and distributed? How closely are textbook functions linked with curriculum, instructional materials, and examination functions?

- Instructional Materials

(a) How are instructional materials (chalk, blackboards, teaching aids) designed, produced and distributed? How closely are instructional material functions linked with curriculum, textbook, and examination functions?

- Examinations

(a) Who designs examinations and how are they administered? Is there provisions for continuous assessments? How closely are examination functions linked with curriculum, instructional materials, and textbook functions?

- Structure

(a) Who defines the structure of the system in terms of grades, calendar schedule, etc.? Who can initiate changes in the structure--how much variation is allowed to exist?

(6) Inspection and Supervision

(a) Who is responsible for inspection and supervision of schools and classrooms? How often does this function occur i.e., how many schools are visited and how many times per year are they visited? What happens with results of inspection and supervision visits?

(7) Research

(a) What is the role of research in the educational system? How is educational research conducted? Who is involved in initiating and conducting research? Is there a link between research and curriculum development and other systemic improvements?

Research has traditionally been a highly centralized function which was conducted over very long periods of time and was very disconnected with what was happening in schools or with the broader educational system. By democratizing research, participatory action research (PAR) can help to breach some of the restrictive walls which the professional formalities of research have erected, and thus facilitate more effective reciprocal linkages between social inquiry and

educational practice (Maclure 1993).

G. Implementation of Decentralization-Centralization Plan in the Education Sector:

(a) What was the process for implementing the decentralization-centralization plan? Was there a clear plan for implementation? Was a time frame for implementation pre-allotted? Was anyone specifically responsible for managing the implementation? What resources were allocated to support the reform? Was the implementation to occur nationally or on a pilot basis? Were all of the functions to be decentralized at once, if not how were the functions that would be decentralized-centralized first determined?

"In most cases, central governments initiated, introduced, and heavily publicized decentralization policies only to see them falter during implementation" (Cheema and Rondinelli 1983).

(b) What were the commitment levels of various stakeholders?

Commitment is an evanescent compound of belief, feeling, capacity, and the will to act. It manifests itself when officials have administrative discretion -- they can act or not act, and they can act in this way rather than that. The true test of commitment is not whether implementers execute a policy when their superiors force them to, but whether they carry out a policy when they have the option of not doing so (Warwick 1982).

(c) Were there any special provisions that were/were not made to support implementation of the reform? Was everyone clear what was expected of them and what their roles would be during the implementation process?

The process of decentralization-centralization is oftentimes very confusing as different organizations and groups have different interpretations of what they are supposed to do. It is particularly confusing for groups at the center such as the Ministry of Education who may think that decentralization means that they can abdicate their responsibilities. Processes of decentralization typically require the reorientation and strengthening of some organizations at the center (Schmidt 1989). Furthermore, there is a psychological aspect of decentralization which implies that power will be lost which leads to groups attempting to resist decentralization or that power will be gained which leads to some resistance in the form of paralysis (because the groups receiving power do not know what to do with it). Efforts should be made to educate and prepare groups for changes that come from decentralization.

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(d) How did the donors support or influence the implementation process? What type of support did they provide? Were certain groups i.e., women, ethnic minorities, poor, targeted in any way?

Donors have approached decentralization from several different perspectives -- UNESCO and the OAS are concerned about the incorporation of marginalized groups into the circles of decisionmaking; the World Bank appears to favor the introduction of market or quasi-market mechanisms; and USAID emphasizes vertical linkages along with the strengthening of local administrative capacity (McGinn 1985).

(e) Were there any mid-course corrections made? If so, what analysis fed into this process of corrections? Who initiated the correction process--who had the power to initiate corrections? What was the process for doing so--how rigid or cumbersome? Were there any factors or mechanisms that prevented corrections from being made?

Planning must be viewed as an incremental process of testing propositions about the most effective means of coping with social problems and of reassessing and redefining both the problems and the projects as more is learned about their complexities and about the economic, social and political factors affecting the outcomes of proposed courses of action. Complex social experiments can be partially guided but never fully controlled. Thus, methods of analysis and procedures of implementation must be flexible and incremental, facilitating social interaction so that those groups most directly affected by a problem can search for and pursue mutually acceptable objectives. Rather than providing a blueprint for action, planning should facilitate continuous learning and interaction, allowing policymakers and managers readjust and modify programs and projects as more is learned about the conditions with which they are trying to cope. Planning and implementation must be regarded as mutually dependent activities that refine and improve each other over time, rather than as separate functions (Rondinelli 1983).

H. Effects of Decentralization-Centralization Efforts in the Education Sector:

(a) What was intended to happen and what actually happened? Why was there a gap in anticipated impact and actual impact? What factors influenced the difference in results?

(b) What mechanisms exist for evaluation and feedback on the decentralization effort? How are these mechanisms built into the decentralization-centralization plan? Who is responsible for conducting the evaluation and feedback?

It is extremely difficult to evaluate how well the decentralization effort is

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proceeding or has proceeded. Performance in the deconcentrated service and administrative units is poorly monitored by central ministries. Those units can thus be simultaneously understaffed and underworked (DFM 1994). Such situations, if not addressed fairly quickly, can lead to serious breakdowns in the education system.

(c) What has been the impact of decentralization on efficiency and responsiveness, on community participation, and on quality of teaching and learning?

Studies of centralization and decentralization have been overwhelmingly descriptive, formalistic, or episodic, often treating the spatial distribution of power as an end in itself. They fail to link the broader rationale for administrative reform to decentralization as a tool. In some cases, decentralization does not produce the impact that was intended, in fact, it produces the opposite result. Decentralization can result in widening inequality of resources given to schools in different localities because of disparities among communities. To remedy these potential increases in inequity, decentralization has to be linked to the targeting of additional resources from higher levels of government at female and marginalized populations.

V. HYPOTHESES/ASSERTIONS

Based on the framework presented above, my reading of several theoretical documents, and a review of the case materials from various USAID education projects in Africa (see Section II), I have identified several hypotheses which can be made about decentralization of education systems in Africa. These typically fall into four categories: (1) those related to assumptions and views about decentralization-centralization; (2) those related to process of decentralization-centralization; (3) those related to the evaluation of decentralization-centralization; and (4) those related to support for decentralization-centralization

Assumptions and Views about Decentralization-Centralization

(1) Decentralization is now generally viewed as an "ends" rather than as a "means" to some other objective. It is commonly believed now that it is always best to decentralize the education system without any contextualizing discussion of objectives (i.e., equity, access, quality, innovation relevance), capacity (i.e., financial, technical, administrative, infrastructure, absorptive), costs (internal and external), and incentive structures (culturally-, economically-, politically-derived). Implicit in this is a neglect of competing political groups, variations/differences within a country, and trade-offs between objectives. The rationale for why a particular sector or function should be decentralized-centralized often gets lost somewhere along the way or is sometimes never there to begin with in the first place.

(2) Decentralization-centralization efforts are analyzed in static, linear terms. In other words, there is a beginning and end to the reform. There is a need to recognize the dynamic nature of decentralization (as both a process of decentralization and centralization and as something on-going) and incorporate this into the definition. Decentralization-centralization of the functions within the education system should change with changing priorities and changing internal and external conditions.

(3) It is believed that all forms of decentralization are "good" and that all forms of centralization is essentially "bad." Centralized and decentralized organizations, however, are not part of a zero-sum continuum: the strengthening of the latter does not necessarily imply the weakening of the former. Winkler states that, "Central governments have an important continuing role to play in decentralized system. Within decentralized services, there are some normative, policy setting, informational, and technical assistance functions which central government ministries should continue to perform; the decentralization requires a restructuring of central government ministries towards improved capacity in these areas and away from direct service provision. For decentralized public services with significant national public good characteristics or where the benefits spill-over

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jurisdictional boundaries, the central government has an additional role of ensuring the efficient and equitable provision of decentralized public services." Very little attention, however, is given to clarifying and articulating a new role or mission for the Ministry of Education during decentralization efforts, particularly in terms of how it can be an "enabling" organization for other actors in the system.

(4) It is assumed that everyone within the country wants decentralization. As Weiler (1990) has observed, "in return for a greater role in the making of educational decisions, [the community] is expected to express a stronger sense of commitment to the overall educational enterprise by generating added resources for school construction and maintenance, teacher salaries, and the like." Integral to this overall approach is the premise that popular demand for schooling will continue to be high (Maclure 1993). This assumption that communities will support education begins to become questionable with decreasing perceived benefits of decentralization. In many cases, parents and community do not want the additional burdens (financial and other) associated with decentralization nor do they trust their local governments with this responsibility.

(5) There is no common understanding of what "decentralization" of education means and involves. The sheer number and variety of different understandings and interpretations associated with the word is extremely disturbing. There is a strong psychological aspect associated with decentralization as many groups fear losing or gaining power and responsibility. Very little effort has been made to formally clarify or define what decentralization actually entails.

(6) Many of the USAID education projects took a very narrow definition of decentralization focusing on a particular function (i.e., MIS) or on the formal government structure. Most of the decentralization is geared at the government and stops short of the school level. In addition, very little attention has been given to identifying and involving indigenous systems of governance and organization. Decentralization is not viewed in a larger systemic context which focusses on a broader range of functions, social and cultural systems and actors. Silverman states that, "As part of the diagnosis of the broader institutional context within which organizations function in decentralized systems, it is important to focus on the linkages among organizations horizontally and vertically within the entire system rather than primarily or exclusively on the internal efficiencies within local governments or individual parastatals or specialized agencies. This means focusing on the entire decentralized system rather than limiting attention to local governments themselves."

Process of Decentralization-Centralization

(7) Two primary "windows of opportunities" are common to decentralization-

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centralization movements: a) Structural Adjustment Programs; and b) changes in government regimes. The latter has led to much more aggressive strategies i.e., Ethiopia and Ghana (both in terms of level and pace), but these efforts have taken place in a much more complicated environment because many other political activities are going on (as the government tries to take advantage of the window to legitimize itself). Most central government changes have been "pushed" by the lack of financial and human resources at the center rather than "pulled" by local people's demands to participate in development efforts.

(8) For the most part, there has been no popular participation in the design of decentralization-centralization strategies. The official form and function of local government continues to be dictated by national rather than local standards. There is very little flexibility to deviate away from the national standard that is set. The patterns by which local governments develop have been constrained by central government regulations and policies. Central governments should recognize existing systems of collective problem solving, however organized, rather than "cloning locally the national government" (standard language, standard institutional forms, standard processes, centrally coordinated). The levels of decentralization-centralization do not reflect local preferences, local objectives, or local capacities. There is, however, a need to distinguish between decentralization that is legal and formal and the decentralization that is de facto as a result of implementation. One could argue that decentralization-centralization plans are either resisted or transformed to reflect local priorities.

Evaluation of Decentralization

(9) Evaluation of decentralization-centralization reforms have been virtually non-existent. A reason for this may be linked to the idea of decentralization-centralization as an "ends". The result is that decentralization is only evaluated in descriptive terms. There is a need to re-link decentralization to objectives and trade-offs in order to have something to measure it against. Particular attention should be given to evaluating the impact on teaching and learning at the school and classroom levels. Furthermore, evaluation fails to determine whether the decentralization actually leads to better decisionmaking. In many cases, it has led to greater politicization of the system and as a result more decisions being made on the basis of political motivations rather than technical ones.

(10) Evaluation fails to make a distinction between the prescribed legal, formal decentralization plan and the implemented plan. The key question underlying this is why were the reforms implemented (and why did the system evolve) in a manner that was different from what was planned? The frameworks and tools for analysis focus much more on the final outcome of decentralization (where certain functions end up) rather than on the processes.

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(11) Evaluation also fails to discuss the costs of decentralization to the system. Decentralization implies that the financial burden on the system will be lessened and response time will be increased. This is not necessarily true. In many cases, increasing the number of government levels, increasing levels of communication, etc. pose huge financial costs and time delays to the system.

Support for Decentralization

(12) While many donors often verbalize their support for decentralization, very few of them have actually supported decentralization in any meaningful fashion. Most donors continue to direct their efforts at supporting inputs (textbooks, teacher training, construction, etc.) rather than strengthening the system.

(13) USAID program support of the decentralization efforts of various countries have been extremely static and "formula-istic." Three categories of support have received attention: a) technical assistance to central ministry (in some cases to regional); b) MIS; and c) training. Although they claim to support decentralization, most of the assistance ends up at the central level (or as in the case of Ethiopia, in the capital cities of the regional governments). In two more recent cases, however, direct support has been given to schools-communities in the form of grants. Very little attention has been given to assisting in the "equity" (between regions, ethnic groups, etc.) component of decentralization.

In countries where local government authorities are not highly developed, projects with other collective organizations may be better points of entry than projects with government itself. In some places, existing NGOs and CBOs can be strengthened. In other places, the creation of new umbrella organizations will be more effective. The strategy in either case is to:

a) Introduce experience with collective choice-making in a setting where decisions can be made relatively rapidly and implemented effectively. Rapid implementation will enable citizens to understand the service consequences of their choices. In most cases, frustration with local democratic governance has probably stemmed more from the local government's failure to implement community decisions than from any other source.

b) Have the NGOs gradually develop formal links with local government, so that their actions have the authority of government and so that style of operation (emphasizing financially realistic and effective democratic governance) gradually infiltrates government (Latin America 1991).

(14) Very little support has been given to building either vertical (between the various levels) or horizontal (with private sector, NGOs, communities, etc.) linkages throughout the system or across sectors (with other ministries). Processes of decentralization require development of appropriate linkages among organizations

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at different levels. Strong communication and information flows are critical areas for linkages to be developed along. Through inter-organizational linkages, functions can be allocated so as to counterbalance weaknesses and utilize comparative advantages (Schmidt 1989). Honadle and Gow suggest that effective decentralization strategies must be based on mutually supportive relationships between national and subnational governments. Several large comparative studies of local organizations found that the nature of these "linkages" between authorities representing smaller and larger communities was central to the successful operation of the smaller units. The center must maintain responsibilities for performing functions for which it has a comparative advantage while giving field personnel the autonomy and resources to demonstrate their capabilities. Such an approach requires both strong linkages and shared responsibility between the center and periphery. In countries with weak central governments, decentralization is unlikely to be efficient or effective because too many opportunities exist to subvert program goals when the center has little control over the penalties necessary to elicit compliance.

(15) Very little support has been given to supporting indigenous social institutions and bringing these groups into the decentralization-centralization effort. While central governments are represented by state officials, in many regions the state has had little success in penetrating traditional social institutions. Since broad familial solidarities are still influential, and since fealty to traditional authorities remains strong, village chiefs and clan elders retain substantial control over most community level social and economic activity. Consequently, civil society in much of Africa has maintained a remarkable degree of autonomy from the state. Yet the state is not impotent. Controlled by the loose coalitions of bureaucrats, military officials, and urban and rural merchants, African states maintain overall direction of nation-wide development and policy-making. By means of patronage, extra-legal activity, and traditional kinship relations, government elites monopolize virtually all significant economic and political activity. The consequence of these co-existing systems of state clientelism and traditional patrimonial authority structures is that a large proportion of African people are restricted from participating actively in decisions affecting civil society (Maclure 1993).

Furthermore, the village associations, sectoral committees, and other entities responsible for finance and management of the supply of goods and services are embryos of what may later become recognized forms of local government. . . . It requires only a little stretch of the imagination to view the APE or school committee that works within the framework of a village association as the local government's community education department (DFM: Chad 1994). It follows that national governments and donors have much to gain by treating the embryonic local governments that villages have created for themselves as full partners in the

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design and implementation of all public goods and services (DFM: CHAD 1994).

One reason for governmental opposition to NGOs is that the co-ordination of development efforts at the local level is not made easier if organizations outside the government's control are determining priorities and directing the flow of resources.

The benefits of decentralization can be maximized if good local management practices are established. This requires local level decisionmakers to be trained in effective revenue collection, financial control, personnel management and management information systems including databases for the comparison of performance between institutions and over time.

VI. QUESTIONS FOR FURTHER STUDY

The following sets questions are proposed for further reflection and study. These questions are not intended to serve as any sort of exhaustive list but rather to ensure the representation of a broad set of relevant issues that emerged during the course of the study which were not able to be adequately addressed in this paper. It is hoped that they will be incorporated into the body of paper during later stages of the study and replaced with other sets of questions.

- Can decentralization of the education sector occur effectively within the broader context of national decentralization? How do we ensure sectoral as well as local specificity?
- What are the linkages between education decentralization and regionalization? Does it matter how the regions and sub-regions are divided i.e., across specific ethnic groups, languages, histories, etc.? What are the best mechanisms for supporting "equity" between regions and sub-regions?
- What levels of decentralization, if any, are best for meeting certain policy objectives (equity, access, quality, innovation, communication, financing, etc.)? What are the trade-offs associated with each level? Are the "process" aspects associated with decentralization more important to producing improvements in the sector than where the function is actually placed (i.e., it's not where the decision comes from but how it is made)?
- How should decentralization reforms be sequenced (near term, medium term, long term) given competing conditions of equity and capacity (e.g. limited administrative and technical skills or limited financial and other resource availability)?
- The "process" of designing the decentralization strategy may be an important link to the success of decentralization efforts i.e., who should be on the design team?, what should be their mandate?, etc.?
- What incentive structures need to be in place and disincentive structures need to be removed in order to encourage better decisionmaking within the decentralized system and within organizations? How do certain culturally-acceptable incentive structures (such as corruption, nepotism, or status) drive and/or undermine decisions and priorities within the decentralized system?
- How do different indigenous systems of governance (hierarchy, decisionmaking, etc.) and organization interact and affect decentralization-centralization of the formal sector?

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- What affect does a culture of non-participation among the population have on the ability for innovations to take root in a country?
- What laws, policies and systems of operation should be formalized/loosened (and at what levels) in order to support decentralization?
- What systems of communication are necessary for decentralization to occur effectively? What steps can be taken to increase levels of vertical and horizontal communication throughout the system?
- How do we encourage other non-traditional actors such as NGOs, communities and private sector to participate in decentralization of education i.e., facilitate a broader conceptualization of education?
- How should central governments increase their ties to local social capital (community institutional arrangements, trust among local people accustomed to working with each other, knowledge of local problems, etc.) in order to deliver services and collect taxes? Imposed LGU institutional designs mandate standard forms throughout each country. Creating and operating standardized local governments not only entails large outlays, but also prevents local communities from capitalizing on existing resources (i.e., community development associations) which is even more costly in terms of foregone opportunities.
- Success of decentralization efforts depends on much wider dissemination of information among rural and urban populations and the creation of frameworks of accountability. How can national language newspapers, radio and television programs be used better to spread information and to create frameworks of accountability?
- How do we help governments think about the best financing strategy for decentralizing an educational system; what special financing alternatives exist for the sector, particularly for meeting issues of equity?
- What is the relationship between decentralization and democratization? Do you need democratization in order for decentralization to succeed? If so, on what levels must principles of democracy be operational?
- "New organization arrangements can contribute to autonomy and accountability, but by themselves they are never a sufficient condition for improvements in efficiency -- many countries have a long history of introducing, eliminating, and changing organizations [particularly, their structures] with little positive effect on performance to show for the effort" (Shirley 1991). When decentralizing a system,

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how do you establish the delicate balance between autonomy and accountability? What legal and procedural safeguards should be established to ensure against undue intervention by the central government?

- Is it possible to define in normative terms what is improvement or creation of a "good" administrative system? How do we measure it i.e., are there established norms?

- How should a monitoring and evaluation system be used in the decentralization of a system? Can responsibilities of the government be shifted from control of management and financial activities to evaluation and stimulation of effectiveness? "A complete performance evaluation system includes a reliable and timely flow of appropriate information in standardized form; objectives, targets and specific criteria for evaluation; an objective oversight body to monitor performance and evaluate results; a decisionmaking body to act on the findings; and a managerial incentive program" (Shirley 1991).

SECTION 2: Case Materials

I. ANALYTIC SUMMARY OF CASE MATERIALS

The scope of this analysis was to try to answer what is the status of what is known about decentralization-centralization of education in Africa. That is, what do we know and what do we not know. Some type of answer to these two questions has been pursued through a theoretical analysis and through an analysis of country case materials. This section will attempt to summarize the what is the status of what is known about decentralization-centralization in education based on experiences in eleven African nations -- Benin, Botswana, Ethiopia, Ghana, Guinea, Lesotho, Malawi, Mali, Namibia, Uganda, and Zimbabwe. These are eleven countries in which USAID has supported the education sector. South Africa was not included because it was a special case. The case materials were developed using USAID project documents (except in the case of Ghana where additional cases were already available).

Some general comments can be made about the information that is available. While decentralization has been identified as a priority objective in almost all of the project documents and they have conducted Institutional Analyses, for the most part, documentation about the decentralization effort in the African countries has been extremely poor. This is especially true in two regards: (1) they fail to document the "process" of decentralization-centralization (including capacity and politics of key actors) and (2) they fail to examine the education sector in any systematic way (by levels, functions, etc). The only exception to this was in Ethiopia where there was an attempt in the Institutional Analysis to track the movements of authority, responsibility, resources and information in various educational functions within the context of the country's decentralization policy. This seems to indicate that what is really missing is a common definition/understanding of what decentralization-centralization means, particularly in the context of education. The term "decentralization" has been loosely used to describe so many different situations that it has begun to lose its meaning. In addition, decentralization has been described in all of these documents as a very static process. None of the cases reflect or acknowledge the dynamic nature of the decentralization-centralization process.

Some of the specifics about what is known that can be gathered from the cases are:

(1) In most of the countries, the idea of decentralization came out of some type of crises -- either from macro-economic fiscal problems or failure of education system (i.e., the inability to ensure minimum levels of quality given huge levels of expansion). In most countries, decentralization can be associated with either

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Structural Adjustment Programs (8 countries), a change in government regimes or both. In some of cases, USAID and the World Bank were actively "pushing" decentralization through some form of conditionality.

(2) Most of the documentation took a very "neutral" approach to education. It failed to thoroughly examine the major stakeholders and the level of politicization (in terms of how decisions are made) that exists within the country. There was very little attempt to understand how the level of politicization would influence/be influenced by the decentralization process or how this politicization might effect the success of the project. In addition, the documentation did not clearly identify groups as well as local economic or socio-cultural incentives/disincentives (nepotism, bribery, etc.) that might resist or subvert the decentralization process.

(3) In very few cases was there any explicit rationale given for decentralization-centralization of the education sector, except as part of the broader government strategy to decentralize. In several of the cases, decentralization was closely linked to policies of regionalization (most commonly based on ethnic grounds). There was very little discussion of why certain functions were being decentralized-centralized to certain levels (especially given limited levels of capacity) and no plan for sequencing the decentralization. The only exception was in the cases of curriculum development which was grounded in a creating a more locally relevant curriculum.

(4) Most of decentralization discussion stops short of the school level. In only a few cases was increased school-community level autonomy, responsibility and participation discussed. In addition, most of the discussion has focussed on the formal government administration; very little attention has been given to existing local level organizations, the private sector, etc. The horizontal aspects (particularly expanding the range of actors and socio-cultural institutions) of decentralization have been virtually ignored.

(5) Also, there was virtually no discussion of the changing roles and linkages between varying levels of government and between various stakeholders. Many of the cases have focussed on decentralization to mean a transfer of responsibility from the central to the regional governments (basically a change in foci within the formal structure). In these cases, the regional governments now made most of the decisions and controlled most of the resources. In addition, there was no discussion of how the internal dynamics and culture of hierarchy of key organizations at all levels must change in order to support decentralization.

(6) In most cases, decentralization took on a very narrow definition. In most of the cases, the bulk of the decentralization effort was focused on issues of finance. In

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many cases, this essentially meant placing an additional burden/strain on local communities. In some of the cases, there was some attempt to increase the level of control over these resources. Also, in some of the cases, there was an attempt to transfer responsibility for teachers including: increasing the autonomy of teacher training institutions (though it was not clear in many of the cases what exactly this meant) and increasing regional responsibility for teacher deployment. However, in many cases, personnel (both teacher and administrative) were still linked to the central government who controlled salary, conditions of service, and incentives. In almost all cases, responsibility for the facilities have been assumed by local communities not only in terms of labor but also in terms of materials. In most of the countries, key curriculum responsibilities still formally remain at the central level (though it is not clear what happens to all of this in the classrooms where teachers have control). In almost all of the countries, inspection and supervision, and support functions have all been transferred to the regional/sub-regional levels. Research, for the most part, has remained a highly centralized activity with little research occurring at the classroom level.

(7) There is no discussion of the implementation of the decentralization policies. In particular, how are the structures, procedures, etc. modified, transformed or neglected by the implementing bodies? In the case of Ethiopia, some attempt was made to describe the variations in structures (especially sequencing issues) that regions were adopting based on their regional priorities, capacities, demography, etc. In addition, there was no discussion of any follow-up or accountability mechanisms built in. In only a few cases was there any special support given to the regional governments by the central governments.

(8) In almost all of the cases, very few donors gave support to decentralization activities. Most of the USAID assistance for "decentralization" has come in the form of technical assistance, training or MIS. The bulk of this assistance has been on planning and finance issues and has been directed at the central, or in very few cases, at the regional level. The use of the MIS systems has been primarily at the central level with very little mechanism for sharing/disseminating information. The pedagogical assistance (i.e., curriculum, textbooks, etc.) has, for the most part, been targeted at the central government. In two of the cases, there was some support given directly to schools and communities in the form of grants.

(9) Finally, there has been very little documentation of the effects of decentralization-centralization in reforming the education sector. In many cases, decentralization did not lead to an increase of government efficiency, more local level participation, or even a transfer of fiscal responsibility to the local levels. In the few cases where information on the effects of decentralization were at all mentioned, they seemed to indicate that decentralization had led to greater

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inefficiencies (through increased politicization and corruption). None of the cases discussed the impact of decentralization on the school/classroom level.

In conclusion, the case materials serve to remind us that decentralization of education systems is not as easy as the rhetoric makes it sound. They highlight that decentralization-centralization of an education system is an extremely complex process that must be approached with more care and thought than has been done in the past. The abundance of "blanks" scattered throughout the cases signal that much more can be done and needs to be done by USAID education projects to support the decentralization-centralization process of education systems. For example, more dynamic frameworks and tools should be developed for analyzing what decentralization really means and how to build a more dedicated "process" to support the decentralization efforts. The preliminary framework that was developed for analyzing these set of case materials has proved to be useful in illustrating that large gaps of knowledge still exist in understanding USAID experiences with decentralization. However, it must be tested more rigorously. The next steps then are to further refine the case materials and the preliminary framework through additional research in the field in order to reach greater clarity on critical issues related to decentralization of education systems in Africa.

II. COUNTRY CASE MATERIALS

DECENTRALIZATION FRAMEWORK CASE STUDY

I. Background to Decentralization

A. Country: Benin

B. Environment/Context:

1) Past Relevant Reforms

Education policy has taken three distinct turns since independence: (1) a French elite system during post colonial period of 1960-1972; (2) an African socialist reform in the Kerekou era of 1972-1989; and (3) Democratic reform begun in 1990. In 1990, the Republic of Benin emerged from 15 years of autocratic Marxist rule. In an open National Conference, developed a new Constitution, and through free elections declared their preference for an open society, a government of law, and a market economy.

In 1989, Benin began a structural adjustment program supported by the World Bank and IMF to: (1) curtail the role of the public sector in the economy and increase the role of the private sector; (2) strengthen the public sector's capacity to manage its resources; (3) improve the allocation of investible resources; (4) restore an effective banking system; (5) remove policy and regulatory constraints on the performance of various sectors. The government has made remarkable progress in divesting itself of parastatals.

The country underwent a major devaluation of their currency in early 1994.

2) Experience with Decentralization-Centralization

3) Colonial Experience

The country was a colony of France. The educational system was extremely elitist and continues to be dominated by the French model. From the first year of primary school, all instruction is in French.

4) Universal Enrollment Status and History of Enrollment Growth

Massive expansion took place in the 1970s under the Kerekou regime. Gross enrollments rose from 39 percent in 1975 to 61 percent in 1985. However, gross enrollments have declined to 59 percent in 1989. Net enrollments in 1989 were 47 percent. Children of the urban south remain the chief beneficiaries of the education system.

5) Political

The Kerekou regime launched the New School Movement, or Ecole Nouvelle, in

1972.

A predominantly Muslim population in the North resisted the introduction of French in the schools.

6) Institutional Capacity

Government officials rarely include citizens or the private sector in the decisionmaking process in a spontaneous manner. For Benin, a country ending 17 years of centralized authoritarian and military rule, few civil servants even have experience with such a relationship. Efforts to involve key non-governmental actors have not been very successful to date. Relations between government officials and non-governmental representatives have often been antagonistic. The non-governmental sector is nascent in Benin and is struggling to both re-establish itself as a viable alternative provider of services and to demand its place at the strategymaking table.

C. Rationale for Decentralization-Centralization:

D. Sectors Involved:

II. Education Specific:

A. Description of Decentralization-Centralization Plan in Education Sector Across Levels:

The MEN plans to decentralize many of the decisions concerning the management of the primary education system over a three year period.

Private schools have only been allowed to re-open two years ago.

B. Rationales/Motives for Decentralization-Centralization in the Education Sector:

The Ministry of National Education is in a perpetual mode of crisis management. Over-centralization of the decisionmaking process leaves little time for high level staff to develop or implement long term strategies. In addition, decisionmaking is not based on sufficient information.

The GOB has virtually finalized the institutional reform action plan to be launched in 1992. This reform has three major dimensions: (1) a reorganization and redefinition of the structure of MEN; (2) a reinforcement of the MEN's financial management capacity; (3) a strengthening of personnel management.

C. What major activities have happened to date related to the reform?:

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D. Organizational Structure:

The administrative structure of the MEN is overly centralized and has numerous redundant entities with contradictory responsibilities. Chains of command are often poorly defined. The Regional Directorates are structured as mirrored images of the central administration thus duplicating its confusion and shortcomings. Centralization of the decisionmaking process means that school directors have little direct control over personnel issues. Inefficiencies engendered by this poor structure are exacerbated by the dispersion of the MEN's central administration over ten different sites in two cities.

E. Design:

The National Conference mandated a broad debate on educational issues in which a broad number of stakeholders participated.

Representatives of private education institutions and parents associations and the MEN are planning to put in place a commission to encourage non-governmental participation to have a greater voice in the development, implementation and monitoring of the education reform effort. The Ministry also plans to reinforce the capacity of Parents Associations to participate in school management.

The MEN will progressively transfer responsibility to the Regional Directorates over a three year period.

F. Functions in Decentralization-Centralization:

(1) Finance

- Budgeting, allocation and spending of resources

The GOB has also made significant progress in the decentralization of the education sector budget. The six Regional Directorates are currently preparing their 1993 budget proposal on the basis of the new nomenclature. This represents the first time that Regional Directorates have had the opportunity to program expenditures according to their perceived needs.

The MEN has in fact little control over the preparation and execution of its budget. Budget preparation is to a great extent the responsibility of the Ministry of Finance. A large part of the operating budget for the education sector is under the direct control of the Ministry of Finance. This includes expenditures for scholarships, examinations, and indemnities to personnel for special actions. The Ministry of Education does not delegate budgetary authority to its different entities. As a consequence, Regional Directorates must send individuals to Cotonou to receive supplies. However, the Regional Directorates receive a large part of their operating budget directly from fees charged at the school level.

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- Collection of resources

Families continue to pay a large share of primary school educational costs, paying for school fees, notebooks, school uniforms, and contributing to school construction, procurement of pedagogic materials and equipment.

Under the reform, Parents Associations will be asked to develop new procedures for the management of school fees. The MEN is also committed to encouraging the growth of the private sector.

In light of the recent devaluation, MEN will begin to pick up some of the non-salary costs financed by the parents associations.

(2) Administration

- Planning

The institutional reform aims to develop strategic management capacity within the Ministry and enable the technical directorates to assume strategic planning functions through a decentralization of the planning process. The GOB will adopt legal texts redefining the roles of the different MEN structures.

- Information and MIS

Information systems are poorly developed and information is neither disseminated to key actors or used effectively.

The MEN aims to develop a management information system which will promptly respond to the information needs of all interested actors within the Ministry. The MIS will consist of an extensive central database that can be accessed by all MEN agencies and Directorates according to their defined needs.

- Administrative Personnel Deployment

Poor personnel management has led to a dramatic mismatch between available human resources and personnel needs. A large number of teachers are in administrative positions of dubious utility. This imbalance is a result of a number of factors. Decisionmaking for personnel management issues is highly centralized, thus personnel actions do not take into consideration local needs. The Ministry of Public Service is responsible for many personnel-related decisions that would be more effectively taken by the MEN. The weakness of the personnel management are compounded by an inaccurate information system. Information regarding the personnel placement of the MEN is incomplete, not available to the majority of decisionmakers and is often out of date.

Decentralization will entail progressively transferring decisionmaking responsibilities for personnel, financial, and pedagogical management to the Regional Directorates

over the three years of the reform.

A number of activities related to the decentralization of personnel management will be implemented. These include the reassignment of central ministry personnel, management staff and resources to the Regional Directorates.

- Management/Accountability

(3) Teachers and School Directors

- Teacher Training

The development of a permanent in-service training capacity is part of the MEN institutional reform. The goal is to provide the Regional Directorates and the Direction of Primary Education with the ability to track and formulate training needs. These Directorates will then be able to address INFRE, or other service providers, with requests to develop training interventions.

Regional Directors have been working together on determining the contents of kits that will be distributed to teachers at the beginning of the school year.

- Teacher Deployment

The institutional reform will decentralize many personnel management responsibilities to the Regional Directorates who will be empowered to deploy teachers within each region in a more equitable manner.

- Conditions of service

(4) Facilities

- Construction

- Equipment and Furniture

- Maintenance

(5) Curriculum

- Definition, goals, parameters, standards

- Curriculum Development

No ministerial structure is currently responsible for primary education curriculum development.

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The MEN will place special Curriculum Development Units within the National Institute for Training and Education Research (INFRE) for each subject area. These units will be responsible for the technical work of preparing and implementing the curriculum reform. In addition, a consultative committee with representatives from parents associations and teachers will be established to oversee the curriculum development effort.

- Textbook Production/Textbook Distribution

No Ministerial entity is responsible for developing or implementing a sector textbook policy.

The GOB plans to develop a Textbook Publishing Unit within INFRE which will be responsible for the formation and implementation of textbook policy. This unit will be in charge of developing the specifications for textbooks and contracting for their publishing, printing and distribution on the basis of competitive bidding. The Publishing Unit will also promote local capacity to develop and design pedagogical materials.

The MEN aims to develop a set of specific policies addressing the problem of providing textbooks and pedagogical materials to disadvantaged groups.

- Instructional Materials

Schools receive no pedagogical materials from MEN. Teachers must depend on contributions from parents for everything from chalk to textbooks or provide these inputs themselves. Even the capacity to provide criteria for the development of materials is weak or nonexistent.

- Examinations

The Ministry's evaluation system is in complete disarray. Students are evaluated only to determine whether they should be promoted. Examinations are prepared on the basis of core competence and cannot be compared from year to year. Information is thus never used to judge the effectiveness of the system.

The MEN also intends to develop the capacity to administer an annual national achievement test. Presently, all primary students take three exams every year prepared at the District level. INFRE will be responsible for developing this testing instrument.

- Structure

The Regional Directorates will have more decisionmaking responsibilities regarding school opening and closing, and school rehabilitation and renovation.

(6) Inspection and Supervision

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A network of Instructional Counselors and inspectors exists throughout the country under the auspices of the Regional Directorates. A number of institutional shortcomings has rendered this structure virtually ineffective. Roles and responsibilities of the actors of the support network are poorly defined and understood by teachers. Instructional counselors, who could provide important support services to teachers, do not represent a veritable separate staff. These advisors all double as teachers and school directors and receive neither special compensation, nor specific training.

(7) Research

G. Implementation of Decentralization-Centralization Plan in the Education Sector: USAID will support decentralization by (1) improving GOB capacity to administer and plan for quality education; and (2) increase the involvement of parents and community groups in the schools. Long term technical assistance will be given in the areas of educational planning and MIS.

H. Effects of Decentralization-Centralization Efforts in the Education Sector:

REFERENCES:

Document Name: Children's Learning and Equity Foundations (CLEF)

Type of Document: Program Assistance Approval Document (PAAD): September 1991

Document No: PAAD Number (680-0208/680-0206)

Project Duration (Yrs): 1991-1996

Special: AMENDMENT No. 1: September 30, 1992

II. COUNTRY CASE MATERIALS

DECENTRALIZATION FRAMEWORK CASE STUDY

I. Background to Decentralization

A. Country: Botswana

B. Environment/Context:

1) Past Relevant Reforms

The theme underlying the new National Development Plan VII (NDP) which will cover the 1991-96 period is enterprise development as the engine of growth to diversify the economy away from dependency on the mining sector and to open up greater employment opportunities for a rapidly expanding population.

2) Experience with Decentralization-Centralization

Before independence, primary education was the responsibility of the Tribal School Committees. After independence, the Government began to build schools, but the demand quickly outstripped the supply, and communities began funding and building their own schools. These Community Schools were run by a Board of Governors comprised of community members. Botswana's long tradition of consultation was evident in the linkages between communities and schools. In 1984, however, with the expansion of the school system, Community Schools were absorbed under the Government's jurisdiction and the linkages between the schools and communities weakened. The re-establishment of these linkages is seen as a high priority.

3) Colonial Experience

4) Universal Enrollment Status and History of Enrollment Growth

Since Independence in 1966, the Government of Botswana (GOB) has improved education at all levels. The country has reached net enrollment rates of over 85 percent. At the primary level, there have traditionally been higher enrollment rates for females than males; in 1988, there were 48% males as compared to 52% females.

5) Political

Botswana is a multi-party, non-racial democracy with a strong human rights record. Its democratic institutions are rooted in the Kgotla tradition of open discussion and consensus building at the village level.

The IEES study found that in areas where the opposition parties were strong Community Junior Secondary Schools (CJSS) turned out to be a battleground for political control. Membership of the boards of governors was closely contested

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along party lines and the defeated party was not expected to support the school. While this is a natural development and is to be expected in a multiparty democracy, very often it deprived the school of well-qualified personnel. The political climate within the boards was further heightened by the presence of the local Member of Parliament or his representative as ex-officio member of the board. In some villages this was seen as promoting the incumbent and his party.

6) Institutional Capacity

C. Rationale for Decentralization-Centralization:

D. Sectors Involved:

II. Education Specific:

A. Description of Decentralization-Centralization Plan in Education Sector Across Levels:

B. Rationales/Motives for Decentralization-Centralization in the Education Sector:

Given the difficulties governments face in paying for education, there is a need to diversify the sources of educational funding to incorporate other stakeholders.

C. What major activities have happened to date related to the reform?:

Recognizing both the long-term need for diversification of educational resources and the value of democratizing and decentralizing the rapidly expanding education system, in 1984 the government introduced a policy on educational decentralization known as the Partnership. The Policy is specifically about finance and management of newly introduced Community Junior Secondary Schools. It defines the roles of the central government, communities and any other organizations interested in education. In contrast to the current practice, the policy introduces new attitudes, roles, perceptions and structures in these new schools. The policy of partnership is considered a brainchild of the central government by communities. In the past government jointly supported some private (generally mission-owned) schools. In this case management was totally left to the Missions.

D. Organizational Structure:

E. Design:

F. Functions in Decentralization-Centralization:

(1) Finance

- **Budgeting, allocation and spending of resources**

- **Collection of resources**

Historically, communities and households, religious institutions and the private sector have always made sizable contributions to educational finance and management of schools.

(2) Administration

- **Planning**

- **Information and MIS**

The United Teaching Service has no means of preparing statistical information on teachers, schools, budgets, etc. except manually since it has no computer and is some distance away from the MOE building.

- **Administrative Personnel Deployment**

- **Management/Accountability**

Local authorities were charged with the responsibility of managing primary schools. The education personnel in the district is already overstretched with regard to primary education activities.

(3) Teachers and School Directors

- **Teacher Training**

- **Teacher Deployment**

- **Conditions of service**

As part of its efforts to broaden access to basic education and upgrade the quality of instruction, the MOE has adopted a strategy of decentralized in-service teacher training and school administration. In-service teacher training and regional school administration are to operate from a base of 14 education centers, the locations of which are determined by the numbers of teachers and schools in the catchment areas. At present 6 of the planned 14 are operational.

The centers are conceived as multipurpose facilities under the MOE. Besides being a resource for in-service, primary and secondary teacher training, they are to be used for the training of headmasters, inspectors, and other school administrative staff. The centers will be available to other government ministries and departments for training their community and district level staffs. . . The centers will be run by a professional coordinator under the MOE with support, clerical and

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administrative staff. To simplify the administration of the education centers, the MOE plans to establish a Department of Teacher Education. This arrangement will facilitate the coordination and linkage of teacher training colleges and the education centers.

The Ministry of Education is responsible for the education centers currently in operation. Several are the responsibility of the Department of Non-Formal Education; the others are run by the Department of Primary Education, all under the MOE. When a Department of Teacher Education is established, both pre-service and in-service education will be under a Chief Education Officer who will assign responsibilities to Regional Education Officers, who, in turn, will supervise those staffing the centers.

The Teacher Training Colleges and Education Centers would work together to develop courses, to be approved by the University of Botswana.

(4) Facilities

- Construction

- Equipment and Furniture

- Maintenance

(5) Curriculum

- Definition, goals, parameters, standards

- Curriculum Development

To address the problems of organizing curriculum development and strengthening implementation, the focus of assistance is on the institutional development of the Curriculum Development & Evaluation unit (CD&E) and the nurturing of its links with the Department of Teacher Education, Department of Secondary Education, and Department of Primary Education.

Effective communication procedures will be institutionalized between CD&E and the schools. Community and professional consultative mechanisms will also be strengthened which will help to identify implementation constraints. Formal mechanisms will be established to ensure linkages between CD&E and the teachers.

- Textbook Production/Distribution

Under a contract with Macmillan Botswana Publishing Company and Longman Group, textbooks, workbooks, and teachers guides have been printed for primary schools.

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- Instructional Materials

The Teaching Aids Production Unit of the MOE works closely with the Department of Curriculum and Evaluation.

- Examinations

The MOE's Department of Curriculum and Evaluation is responsible for the development of all instructional resources for primary and secondary education.

- Structure

The structural changes from a 7-3-2 to a 7-2-3 sequence, and eventually to a 6-3-3 sequence, will add significantly to the size and complexity of the Planning Unit's workload.

(6) Inspection and Supervision

(7) Research

The MOE's Department of Curriculum and Evaluation is responsible for the development of all instructional resources for primary and secondary education.

G. Implementation of Decentralization-Centralization Plan in the Education Sector:

The GOB has initially requested assistance from USAID to provide a limited amount of specialized technical assistance and more extensive and intensive training to strengthen deficient areas within the CD&E department and other key departments involved in the project. USAID will provide 3 long-term technical assistants to the CD&E department, 4 long-term technical assistants to the Teacher Training Colleges, and 1 long-term technical assistant in systems management to the MOE.

H. Effects of Decentralization-Centralization Efforts in the Education Sector:

Many politicians have seen the introduction of boards of governors as a forum where they can express and advance their political goals. In some areas there have emerged tense struggles over the control of these boards. The more negative aspect of this however, has been situations where the community failed to support the CJSS because they thought the board is led by political or some other social failures. The pressure on the local leadership, the absence of more literate people at a local level, combined with local political struggles have resulted in very ineffective, inexperienced and less educated boards of governors.

REFERENCES:

Document Name: Strengthening Local Education Capacity

Type of Document: Final Report: Improving the Efficiency of Educational Systems:

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March, 1989

Document No:

Project Duration (Yrs):

Document Name: Basic Education Consolidation Project

Type of Document: Project Implementation Document: June 21, 1990

Document No: (633-0254)

Project Duration (Yrs): 1991-1998

Document Name: Junior Secondary Education Improvement

Type of Document: Program Assistance Approval Document: February 28, 1992

Document No: (633-0229)

Project Duration (Yrs): 1985-1992

Special: ANNEX O: Ministry of Education Organization Chart

II. COUNTRY CASE MATERIALS

DECENTRALIZATION FRAMEWORK CASE STUDY

I. Background to Decentralization

A. Country: Ethiopia

B. Environment/Context:

1) Past Relevant Reforms

Throughout the 1980s, there was a civil war in the country. The socialist government fell in 1991 and the Transitional Government of Ethiopia (TGE) was installed. The TGE has implemented a regionalization policy which involves regional restructuring along ethnic lines. As part of this, there is a new language policy which allows regions to determine for themselves the medium of instruction to be used in the primary cycle.

In 1991, Ethiopia became the signatory to its first Structural Adjustment Credit.

In 1994, the TGE released its New Education and Training Policy.

2) Experience with Decentralization-Centralization

The country has had a strong experience with centralized regimes both under the Haile Selassie government and the Derg Marxist government. Under the previous regime, administration of public education was highly centralized under the MOE; offices at the regional and sub-regional levels acting as executing branches of the central ministry.

3) Colonial Experience

Ethiopia was a colony briefly in the 1930s under the Italians.

4) Universal Enrollment Status and History of Enrollment Growth

Following the 1974 socialist revolution, education enrollment experienced heavy expansion in the 1970s and early 1980s. Gross enrollment rates at the fell from 35% in 1987/88 to 22% in 1991/92. The female participation rate is about 41 percent. The system is dominated by strong regional inequities with some regions having GERs of 7%, while others are at 81%.

5) Political

The education system has a very strong potential to become politicized especially over the regionalization issue i.e., resources to region, hiring policy within the region, etc.

6) Institutional Capacity

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There is a tremendous gap between the administrative and technical capacity of key actors (especially in the regions) in the system and that which is required to successfully pursue and implement much-needed reforms.

The regions vary greatly in their capacity to support provision and delivery of education services.

Absorptive capacity within the regions is extremely weak. Communication links between regions, zones and woredas are extremely weak. Many offices, particularly woredas, lack basic equipment and facilities.

C. Rationale for Decentralization-Centralization:

The impetus behind the regionalization policy is grounded largely in political motivations. The regionalization and decentralization policies are linked to political promises that were made under the EPRDF (revolutionary coalition against Derg government)

D. Sectors Involved:

II. Education Specific:

A. Description of Decentralization-Centralization Plan in Education Sector Across Levels:

Because private schooling was discouraged under the previous regime, the public sector is at present the dominant provider of basic education in the country.

B. Rationales/Motives for Decentralization-Centralization in the Education Sector:

The TGE released its New Education and Training Policy in April 1994 in which critical priority areas were identified:

- In terms of equity, the low enrollment ratios at the primary level; the high gender disparity, and the high regional disparity;

- In terms of quality, insufficient number of qualified and motivated teachers; the shortage of books and materials; high drop-out and repetition rates; ineffective curriculum, particularly in science, mathematics and English; and irrelevance of schooling to societal needs;

- In terms of educational organization, there is low management capacity at all levels; highly centralized, undemocratic, and inefficient structures, without proper delineation of authority, responsibility and accountability; lack of coordination between various levels and efforts; and few mechanisms for community

participation;

- In terms of educational finance, low sector allocations; minimal private sector participation; insufficient cost-sharing at higher levels;

- In terms of socio-economic development, the past use of education as an indoctrination tool, which along with a didactic pedagogical approach, stifled student creativity and independence.

C. What major activities have happened to date related to the reform?:

Under New Education and Training Policy, Amharic is no longer the language of instruction, rather, primary education will be given in nationality languages. English will be the medium of instruction for secondary and higher education.

The new organizational structure under the decentralization has been implemented.

D. Organizational Structure:

The new structure is three-tiered: the regional level, zonal level, and woreda (district) level. There are 11 regions, ___ zones and 560 woredas. Woredas represent the link between the government and schools. Within each region, there exists a Regional Council and its corresponding line bureaus, a Zonal Council and its corresponding line bureaus, and a Woreda Council and its corresponding line bureaus. Rather than reporting vertically, the line bureaus report to their relevant councils and the councils report upwards. The organizational structure was set by the Central government.

While the form of the education organization has been defined as virtually identical to the central level, the actual functions and responsibilities of various offices and personnel have yet to be clearly delineated.

Line bureaus ensure the implementation of laws, regulations, directives, and policies as these are passed down from the central government or developed at the regional level.

The decentralization of administrative roles and functions from the center to 11 regions implies substantially greater autonomy for REBs to interpret and execute policies regarding education sector governance within their respective jurisdictions. As part of the reorganization effort, the MOE and the formal education structure have been formally reorganized, and are now redefining their respective roles and responsibilities within this new federal system. The MOE has been significantly pared down.

E. Design:

There is a Regional Affairs Office in the Prime Minister's Office responsible for supporting decentralization, particularly equity between regions.

While the structure of the system has been set, the regional administrations have been afforded a great deal of flexibility to determine the pace and level of implementation.

USAID has stated that it will influence and help with the implementation of major organizational reforms associated with decentralization. It will: (1) assist the national system in framing and analyzing the policies and procedures which will guide regions towards an expanded system characterized by improved levels of quality and equity; (2) assist selected regions in building their capacities to undertake rational system expansion policies and programs; and, (3) assist national, regional and school institutions in delivering services which support these objectives.

F. Functions in Decentralization-Centralization:

(1) Finance

- Budgeting, allocation and spending of resources

Budgets are developed and consolidated at regional level and submitted to Ministry of Finance for review. The MOE does not participate in the process of budget allocation. The regional governments have some authority over how money is spent.

- Collection of resources

The schools collect school fees, textbook rental fees to cover their operating costs as they get virtually no money from government.

(2) Administration

- Planning

The regional Education Bureau with their zonal and woreda counterparts (and with participation from the planning and finance bureaus) formulate sectoral plans, develop activities to be undertaken under their respective sectors and prepare corresponding capital and recurrent budgets.

- Information and MIS

- Administrative Personnel Deployment

The Regional Councils are responsible for hiring and firing of technical staff and approving staffing patterns.

- Management/Accountability

(3) Teachers and School Directors

- Teacher Training

Responsibility for TTIs have been moved to the REBs with some loose relationships still with the MOE. They have very little autonomy. Some in-service training is undertaken by the WEOs using its own resources.

- Teacher Deployment

Recruitment and placement of teachers are the responsibilities of the regional administrations.

- Conditions of service

Under the New Education and Training Policy, the MOE will develop a professional career structure in respect to professional development of teachers. MOE also sets qualifications for teachers.

The Regional Commission for Public Administration determines payment of teacher salaries according to civil service regulations for the region.

(4) Facilities

- Construction

The zonal and woreda governments and communities are responsible for school construction. The community often provides labor.

- Equipment and Furniture

Some zones run school production furniture units.

- Maintenance

(5) Curriculum

- Definition, goals, parameters, standards

The TGE and MOE are responsible for defining the goals, priority and educational standards of the system.

- Curriculum Development

The Institute for Curriculum Development and Research (ICDR) was responsible for writing curricula, textbooks and materials for the entire pre-university education system. This responsibility has been moved to the REBs. Regional capacity is extremely weak although, the ICDR remains quite powerful.

Some regions with a more complex mosaic cultures will be faced with the challenge of teaching and producing curricular materials in a number of local languages. This will require considerably more resources in terms of funds and

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expertise.

- Textbook Production/Textbook Distribution

The Educational Materials and Production Unit (EMPDA) produces and distributes educational materials to the entire country, although some REBs want to take on responsibility. The EMPDA remains quite powerful. Regional capacity is weak. Regions are responsible for the distribution of textbooks.

- Instructional Materials

The Educational Materials and Production Unit (EMPDA) produces furniture, chalk and teaching aids. The EMPDA remains quite powerful. Regions are responsible for the distribution.

A very low budget is maintained for supplies such as furniture, blackboards and chalk. Schools therefore must purchase most of these supplies from community contributions on the market.

- Examinations

The new Education and Training Policy mandates the creation of a national organization of educational measurement and examination to provide central professional guidance and coordination. The Policy also calls for national examinations to be conducted at grades 8 and 10 to certify completion of primary and secondary education. Although a division under the Educational Programs Department of the REBs is responsible for tests and measurement, its responsibility lies primarily with coordinating the administration of tests rather than developing these. Regions are also responsible for on-going assessments; regional capacity is extremely weak

- Structure

The MOE recently changed the structure of the system from 6 + 2 + 4 to 4 + 4 + 2 + 2. The central government sets the calendar.

(6) Inspection and Supervision

This function is now the responsibility of the regional level, conducted by either the zone or woreda.

(7) Research

Traditionally, centralized in Addis Ababa University's Institute for Education Research (IER) and ICDR. Research is now undertaken both at the central and regional levels by the ICDR, IER, and the REBs.

G. Implementation of Decentralization-Centralization Plan in the Education Sector:

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Implementation of the decentralization plan has proceeded very haphazardly in which regions are moving and implementing at their own pace.

No special provision has been made for strengthening low levels of English of teachers and administrators even though this will language of instruction in higher levels.

USAID states that "the strengthening and the improvement of the regional management of the primary education system, will be the starting point in the Mission's assistance. It will assist both the central and regional governments in coping with the management of primary education in a decentralized system."

Support will include:

- (1) Incentive grants administered directly to schools.
- (2) Technical assistance at both the central and regional levels, with the bulk going to the regional levels (both planning/finance and curriculum/textbook development).

Furthermore, the Mission is committed to supporting the development of the NGO and private sector.

- (3) Training for regional administration staff.
- (4) Development of a School-Leadership Program for headteachers.

H. Effects of Decentralization-Centralization Efforts in the Education Sector:

REFERENCES:

Document Name: Basic Education System Overhaul

Type of Document: Program Assistance Approval Document (PAAD): October 1994

Document No: PAAD Number (663-0015)

Project Duration (Yrs): 1994-2001

Special:

II. COUNTRY CASE MATERIALS

DECENTRALIZATION FRAMEWORK CASE STUDY

I. Background to Decentralization

A. Country: Ghana

B. Environment/Context:

1) Past Relevant Reforms

Since 1966, Ghana has been ruled by a series of military and civilian governments. The current government, the Provisional National Defense Council (PNDC), assumed power in 1981 through a military coup.

In coordination with the IMF, the GOG in 1983 launched one of Africa's most stringent economic recovery programs (ERP). In association with the ERP and GOG decentralization efforts, 110 districts and District Assemblies were established in 1988.

The Education Sector Adjustment Credit (EDSAC) was agreed upon in 1986 with the World Bank. EDSAC II was signed in 1990.

In 1986, the PNDC Secretary for Education and Culture announced a decision to embark on a comprehensive program of educational reform designed to address the numerous problems causing rapid deterioration and stagnation of the system. Two key features were involving parents and communities in funding education and making the curriculum more relevant and functional.

The GOG has demonstrated a political capacity and willingness found almost nowhere else in Africa to undertake significant structural and economic reform.

2) Experience with Decentralization-Centralization

Since 1957, there have been eleven Commissions of Enquiry on local government structures and functions in Ghana, and sixteen laws and decrees related to decentralization.

Structural change, the new curriculum, and decentralization in the education system are not new ideas. Many of the reforms were initially proposed in the policy document "New Structure and Content of Education in Ghana," approved by the government in 1974 but never fully implemented (for lack of political will). *For full history of educational reforms, see Annex E: Institutional and Technical Analysis (E-14).*

Although the structure and powers of local government underwent extensive

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changes in contrasting directions during the post-Independence period, the long-term trend was one of deterioration in local government quality and capacity. By 1981, when the PNDC assumed power, local government units were essentially non-functional.

In 1988, the GOG initiated one of the most ambitious decentralization programs in West Africa.

3) Colonial Experience

In 1957, the country became the first African colony to gain independence from Britain.

Private schools have traditionally provided high quality education at the primary level for the urban elite.

4) Universal Enrollment Status and History of Enrollment Growth

Total enrollment is 70%. Female enrollment as a percentage of total enrollment is estimated at 45%. Enrollment is significantly lower, however, in four of Ghana's ten regions.

5) Political

There are 100 different ethnic groups, most with their own language and culture. Because of the great diversity of dialects, no single native national language exists. English, the official language, is used in schools, business and government and most Ghanians are multilingual.

District Assembly elections were complete by early 1989, and most DAs are functional with sub-committees established. Many teachers have been elected to the DAs, a factor which is likely to generate political support and prove beneficial to the education system.

6) Institutional Capacity

Like all GOG ministries, the MOE suffered a severe exodus of trained personnel during the late 1970s and the early 1980s (because of employee incentives). It was also victimized by a series of massive frauds, and as a result, a number of officials were fired or imprisoned. However, many qualified people still remain.

There is overall a shortage of qualified personnel. In addition, there are strong infrastructure (buildings, roads, etc.) constraints in many districts.

C. Rationale for Decentralization-Centralization:

Decentralization is officially said to be motivated by a political need for power sharing and is not driven by a need for economic or administrative efficiency.

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After seven years of "provisional" government, accompanied by promises of a transition to elected government, the PNDC, which had come to power with a mandate to wrest power from the corrupt, entrenched ruling classes and return it to the people, was under pressure to demonstrate its continued commitment to the eventual democraticization of the system. The creation of elected local-level units was, for several reasons, the best way of fulfilling this promise. First, political decentralization placed a measure of political power in the hands of the rural and urban masses, the ultimate supporters of the PNDC, without significantly reducing the PNDC's hold on the Central Government. Secondly, decentralization could be regarded as the first step in a return to a democratically elected government, which would begin at the local level and eventually at the national level. In effect, the PNDC's decentralization initiative can be regarded as a strategy for relieving mounting political pressure for change.

The rationale for giving the districts more power than the regions lies in the fact that a strong Regions constitute a potential source of competition for the Central government, above all in those regions where a single powerful ethnic group dominates.

D. Sectors Involved:

There are 22 departments to be decentralized to districts from several sectors including education, health, agriculture, public works, and Accountant General (to be merged in each district with District Treasury).

II. Education Specific:

A. Description of Decentralization-Centralization Plan in Education Sector Across Levels:

The MOE is responsible for the delivery of educational services from primary through University.

The private sector has historically served a small portion of the primary school enrollees. Enrollment in religious schools, however, is much larger. The GOG neither actively encourages or discourages private education.

B. Rationales/Motives for Decentralization-Centralization in the Education Sector:

C. What major activities have happened to date related to the reform?:

In 1987, a committee was formed by the Secretary of Education and tasked with the making recommendations for restructuring the Ghana Education Service (GES) and strengthening regional and district education offices.

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As part of EDSAC, the MOE has instituted strict financial and administrative accountability procedures.

Cost reduction is a key theme of Ghana's education reform. Major cost reduction is occurring through elimination of redundant teaching and non-university staff. The GOG has mandated a freeze on the number of teaching posts.

D. Organizational Structure:

Under the MOE's Deputy Secretary for School Education, the Ghana Education Service (GES) is tasked to implement the Ministry's educational programs and functions.

The decentralized system is a four-tiered structure - the central government, regional, district and circuit. Each region has a regional office run by a director responsible for implementing MOE policy. Ghana's ten regions are subdivided into 110 District Education Offices (DEOs) and run by assistant directors that report to the regional offices. Under the districts are circuits. Each district also has a District Assembly in which one-third of the DA members are nominated and two-thirds are elected. DEOs report to the DAs although their salaries are paid by the GES. Not surprising is that the DEOs allegiance has been to the center and not the DAs. It should be noted that the role of the Regional Councils is an extremely circumscribed one as compared to the Districts.

The recently submitted recommendations of the committee call for a major strengthening of the 110 District Education Offices (DEOs) and increased responsibilities and authority for District Education Officers. This reorganization would devolve to the DEOs responsibility for: (1) management of all schools and personnel within the district; (2) supervision of school management, teaching, learning and guidance services throughout the district; (3) budgeting and financial control over schools and institutions within the district; and (4) collection and analysis of statistics and data for all schools within the district. As part of this, upgrading the District Education Officer to Director level has also been recommended.

Historically, the most influential local body vis-a-vis the school, as well as all other local institutions, has been the chief and the chief's council. In many communities, local church groups are active in the schools. In addition to these local structures, the PNDC has established Committees for the Defense of the Revolution (CDRs). These are composed of elected people from the community. In order to provide more focussed community involvement in schools, the Government is actively encouraging the establishment of PTAs. Government has formed District and Area Implementation Committees as a way of stimulating community interest and participation in school affairs.

E. Design:

Planning and coordination for implementation was facilitated by setting up the National Planning Committee for School Reforms (NPCSR), and the formation of District Implementation Committees to liaise between the NPCSR and local communities.

As a conditionality, USAID calls for an MOE decentralization policy, which would, at a minimum, devolution of greater financial and managerial authority to the district level.

Several provisions are set out to prepare for the decentralization effort including a vehicle for every district and training of officers.

F. Functions in Decentralization-Centralization:

(1) Finance

- Budgeting, allocation and spending of resources

While some religious schools are also private and receive no GOG aid, most adhere to MOE policies and curricula and receive GOG aid in the form of teacher salaries and textbooks. Non-religious private schools are required to follow the curricular and policies of the MOE, they receive no public assistance for salaries or materials.

- Collection of resources

Primary school by policy is both mandatory and free, although minimal book fees begin in Grade 3.

Community contribution to the cost of education is significant.

Another potential source of revenue is through additional contributions by the DAs. Because of increasing GOG reliance on the DAs to take greater responsibility for district development, and a trend towards increasing DA funding for development activities within the Districts, it is conceivable that in the future DAs may increase the current level of their direct contributions to District education.

With rare exception, District capital expenditures are financed predominantly out of the District's own resources and not out of Central Government transfers. In sum, despite the apparently wide variety of income sources, Districts have generally exhibited low resource mobilization capacity. The result has been an erosion in public confidence in the management capacity of District authorities, which, in turn, has had a negative impact on their ability to mobilize resources.

(2) Administration

- Planning

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Planning and budgeting functions are gradually being merged into one division under the Secretary of Education into the Program, Budgeting, Monitoring and Evaluation Division..

- Information and MIS

The Manpower and Training Division, under the GES, is responsible for the collection and analysis of data.

- Administrative Personnel Deployment

- Management/Accountability

The GES has responsibility for management of pre-university institutions.

(3) Teachers and School Directors

- Teacher Training

The Teacher Education Division, under the GES, was responsible for pre-service and in-service teacher training. The MOE recently announced the reorganization of higher education, placing the TTCs under the authority of the Deputy Secretary for Tertiary Education.

- Teacher Deployment

The GES is responsible for hiring, firing, transferring and registration of teachers.

Although teachers are supplied and paid by the MOE, they are sometimes selected by administrators of religious schools and are often provided benefits by the religious organizations in addition to standard emoluments.

- Conditions of service

(4) Facilities

- Construction

Community involvement consists largely of fund-raising and contributions in kind, including school construction, renovation and furnishing.

- Equipment and Furniture

Community involvement consists largely of fund-raising and contributions in kind, including school construction, renovation and furnishing.

- Maintenance

Community involvement consists largely of fund-raising and contributions in kind, including school construction, renovation and furnishing.

(5) Curriculum

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- **Definition, goals, parameters, standards**

- **Curriculum Development**

The Curriculum Research and Development Division is responsible for the development of curriculum. It uses committees for the actual task of curriculum development. These committees are typically composed of central office personnel, district and university specialists, and teachers. Most personnel staff are experienced and qualified curriculum specialists.

- **Textbook Production/Textbook Distribution**

The GES is responsible for the facilitation and publication of textbooks. A Project Management Unit (created to manage EDSAC) is responsible for warehousing and distribution of supplies and texts. It also arranges for the procurement of stationary and textbooks from local sources.

- **Instructional Materials**

- **Examinations**

- **Structure**

(6) Inspection and Supervision

The GES Inspectorate Division is responsible for supervision and inspection of pre-university institutions, public and private. The Division has dynamic and experienced leadership in the center, however, it is faced with large numbers of unfilled posts in the field and lack of transportation. The Ministry has begun implementing a large scale reorganization of the inspectorate. School supervision will be performed by circuit-based inspectors rather than by district officers and district-based inspectors.

(7) Research

G. Implementation of Decentralization-Centralization Plan in the Education Sector:

Under EDSAC, the World Bank provided technical assistance and training in planning, programming, budgeting, and monitoring and evaluation. Funds were also available from the new Program to Mitigate the Social Costs of Structural Adjustment (PAMSCAD) for decentralized community initiative programs through DAs. EDSAC II supports reorganization of the school inspector system.

The USAID program supports further decentralization of the MOE.

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H. Effects of Decentralization-Centralization Efforts in the Education Sector:

REFERENCES:

Document Name: Primary Education Program

Type of Document: Program Assistance Approval Document (PAAD): July 1990

Document No: PAAD Number (641-0119)

Project Duration (Yrs): 1990-1995

Special: ANNEX E: Institutional and Technical Analysis

Document Name: Decentralization: Improving Governance in Sub-Saharan Africa - Ghana Case Study

Type of Document: Case Study: March 25, 1992

Special:

Document Name: Ghanian Decentralization

Type of Document: Office of Housing and Urban Programs: July 1991

Special:

II. COUNTRY CASE MATERIALS

DECENTRALIZATION FRAMEWORK CASE STUDY

I. Background to Decentralization

A. Country: Guinea

B. Environment/Context:

1) Past Relevant Reforms

The Government of Guinea (GOG) Second Republic came to power in 1984. The GOG initiated an economic reform program in 1986. In implementing a structural adjustment program, the GOG has adopted policies aimed at freeing the economy from pervasive state control, improving efficiency in public administration and enterprises and setting up a framework conducive to market-oriented economic system.

Throughout the period 1988-1993, the GOG will have a significant public gap. In 1988, the gap was \$35 million and financed by SAP II and co-financing.

2) Experience with Decentralization-Centralization

3) Colonial Experience

The structure of the formal public education system is similar to that found throughout Francophone West Africa.

4) Universal Enrollment Status and History of Enrollment Growth

Enrollment rates at all levels have been declining during the latter part of the 1980s, despite renewed government interest in the sector since 1984. Net enrollment is approximately 28 percent overall and 17.8 percent for girls. Only 18 percent is enrolled in rural areas compared to 54 percent in the urban centers.

5) Political

Ethnic differences continue to define very different forms of social organization and play a role in maintaining distinct regional and identities and interests. If the benefits of education reform do not devolve to lower levels, this could further exacerbate ethnic tensions. At the national level, the reforms will also be seen as benefitting a particular group if there is not some attempt to ensure that the civil service reflects the ethnic diversity of the country.

6) Institutional Capacity

There is a general lack of coherence in administrative structures, lack of administrative capacity among system personnel and virtual absence of channels of

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communication between Conakry and the interior. In addition, the absorptive capacity is extremely weak.

C. Rationale for Decentralization-Centralization:

D. Sectors Involved:

II. Education Specific:

A. Description of Decentralization-Centralization Plan in Education Sector Across Levels:

B. Rationales/Motives for Decentralization-Centralization in the Education Sector:

The GOG has undertaken a large scale reform of their education sector that calls for a concerted effort to restructure, expand and improve Guinea's educational system (articulated in their 1989 National Education Policy). As part of this, GOG announced that they would: (1) strengthen the MEN's and SEEPU's management capacity; and (2) promote decentralized management and planning capacity.

The National Education Policy has been operationalized in the Programme d'Adjustement Sectoriel de l'Education (PASE):

(1) Administrative rationalization and capacity-building at all levels of the educational system;

(2) Encouragement of local and private initiatives in education;

(3) Introduction of computerized personnel management system, and improvements in teacher training and teacher assignment.

Recent student unrest and a teacher strike in March, 1990, indicate that pressures opposed to education sector reform do exist. University students and faculty represent a strong interest group likely to vehemently oppose the implementation of the PASE. Add to this the defensive posture of the MEN (who was arguing for more resources at the University level) and a formula for strong resistance to adjustment is apparent.

C. What major activities have happened to date related to the reform?:

Under the former regime, the GOG launched two major waves of educational reform. Practical curricula were developed at all levels. African languages were introduced as the media of instruction and manual work was mandated in primary schools. The one consistent factor in all the reform programs undertaken by the former government was the absence of the financial, administrative and managerial support necessary to make potentially good ideas viable.

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French was introduced as the language of instruction in all schools

In Proposed Reform 1990-92, the government will introduce the following reforms:

- (1) increased participation by local communities in the construction and maintenance and primary schools and introduction of a matching mechanism for government tax funds and local contributions.
- (2) promoting the expansion of primary education by making it easier to obtain zoning and construction permits for primary schools.
- (3) computerization of the personnel management system, with preparation of job descriptions for all personnel.

D. Organizational Structure:

There exists three level in the system -- central, prefectural and sub-prefectural.

A central Ministry of National Education (MEN), overseen by a Minister of Education, is split into an agency Secretariat d'Etat Pour l'Education Pre-Universitaire (SEEPU) that is responsible for all pre-university education under a Secretary of State, and a higher education agency under the Ministry. The has technical services for each type of pre-university education under its jurisdiction: primary, secondary and technical/professional. SEEPU controls all schools through a provincial structure of five Regional Inspectorates (the four natural regions and Conakry), which in turn administer 36 prefectural-level Directorates of Education and 210 sub-prefectural Pedagogic Delegates. The decentralized administrative offices under the SEEPU are intended to function as regional and prefectural level representations of the central authority. The MEN oversees the two national universities, three institutes and seven research centers. The MEN has three technical services: a general inspectorate, a higher education directorate, and a scientific research directorate.

The recent creation of the SEEPU within the MEN, although intended to consolidate the administration of secondary and primary education, has had two negative results: competition for resources between the SEEPU and the MEN (now in charge of higher education and research), and an unclear role for the remaining services within the MEN. In addition, the new structure of the SEEPU is far from consolidated. Multiple divisions, services and sections exist (69 in total), each competing to establish its independent identity. Many services are isolated and operating in parallel to each other instead of in cooperation. Duplication of effort, under these circumstances, is inevitable (e.g. seven offices are in charge of statistics, and an entire division and a service within another division both proposit to oversee investment).

The internal structure of the MEN and SEEPU follow the basic organizational

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pattern of all ministries in Guinea. Directly under the Minister in the MEN and Secretary of State in the SEEPU are their respective Cabinets of special advisors. Although the regional and prefectural administrative authorities emulate the structure of the central ministry, the vertical lines of communication are not rationalized.

The Inspection Regionale d'Education (IRE) is the regional coordinating body. The prefecture-level directorates of education have from two to five pedagogical counselors, and serve as subordinate antennae of the IRE offices. Sub-prefectoral directorates of education are usually one-person operations run part-time by a primary school director or a principal of a secondary school.

E. Design:

The GOG is systematically undertaking the retraining of all decentralized administrative personnel. The most competent individuals tend to be the heads of services and not mid-level personnel.

F. Functions in Decentralization-Centralization:

(1) Finance

- **Budgeting, allocation and spending of resources**

- **Collection of resources**

Local prefectural and sous-prefectoral officials are seen as tax collectors. Likewise, because local tax receipts finance school construction, educational officials at this level are also associated with government taxation. Therefore, communities have guarded attitudes towards local school authorities.

(2) Administration

- **Planning**

The MEN and SEEPU share a planning and statistics office. Analytic and evaluative capacity is extremely limited; need training.

- **Information and MIS**

The IRE is responsible for regional coordination of information, documentation and archives.

- **Administrative Personnel Deployment**

Personnel management is virtually non-existent; no comprehensive pay list is maintained; personnel files are as much as 8 years out of date; and, the number of people employed by the sector is not known. A heavy central administration also employs large numbers of staff who could be more efficiently used as teachers. Redundancies in administrative services and bloated central agencies contribute to

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this problem. The IRE is responsible for regional coordination of personnel and financial management. The prefecture-level executes this function under the IRE.

- Management/Accountability

Management adheres to a traditional, top-down bureaucratically authoritarian approach. The managers rarely delegate authority or functions, but rather try to participate in every task. Subordination to authority also impedes the decisionmaking process. No line officer is willing to make what he perceives as a critical decision and will always defer to a higher authority. Immediate action on important issues is therefore often delayed while the head of a section waits for a decision from the head of the division, who is waiting to hear from the Minister or Secretary of State. The presence of numerous offices within the MEN and SEEPU and the pattern of top-heavy staffing exacerbate the prevailing tendency towards the establishment of independent domains within the administrative structure. Line officers still tend to see cooperation as an invasion of their turf and very little sharing of information or inter-divisional complementarity takes place. Capacity is weak at all levels; need training.

(3) Teachers and School Directors

- Teacher Training

The IRE is responsible for regional coordination of in-service teacher training.

- Teacher Deployment

- Conditions of service

(4) Facilities

- Construction

SEEPU has a construction service. The IRE is responsible for regional coordination of school mapping and construction.

- Equipment and Furniture

- Maintenance

(5) Curriculum

- Definition, goals, parameters, standards

- Curriculum Development

- Textbook Production/Distribution

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- Instructional Materials

- Examinations

SEEPU has an examination service. The IRE is responsible for regional coordination of examinations. The prefecture-level executes this function under the IRE.

- Structure

Under the PASE, the GOG will introduce multi-grade schools in rural areas.

(6) Inspection and Supervision

SEEPU has its own general inspectorate. The IRE consist of a corps of pedagogic inspectors. Not a single regional inspectorate nor prefectural directorate has a vehicle to be used for school visits.

(7) Research

G. Implementation of Decentralization-Centralization Plan in the Education Sector:

While almost all of the central offices of the MEN and SEEPU have their own vehicles, none of the decentralized administrative authorities do.

USAID is providing technical assistance in the areas of administrative and financial management as well as short and long-term training. In addition, they are supporting an evaluation of administrative capability at decentralized levels.

The World Bank is supporting an IDA loan to achieve, among other things:

- (1) implementation of a computerized educational investment project database;
- (2) definition and establishment of matching fund apparatus to promote increased parental contributions and local tax support for the maintenance and construction of primary schools;
- (3) reduce the number of smaller administrative units and consolidate the structure of the MOE;
- (4) establish senior MEN sector management committee to monitor and control sector-wide decisions and their implementation with monthly review meetings.

France intends to pursue a long-term program to strengthen the inspectorate, the service which evaluates and monitors the actual teaching in classrooms and which oversees much of the collection of statistics and the preparation of reports in the interior.

H. Effects of Decentralization-Centralization Efforts in the Education Sector:

Two significant problems have arisen from the new administrative structure:

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- Unclear definition of the role of the MEN (the part of the ministry not in SEEPU). As the MEN struggles to re-establish its *raison d'être*, it necessarily feels threatened by the existence of the SEEPU, to which it has lost most of its offices. Also, the hierarchy of authority of officers in the MEN with respect to their colleagues in SEEPU is not well defined, contributing to MEN officials' uncertainty about their status.
- Unnecessary services remaining in the MEN. The general inspectorate of the MEN has no function. In fact, the Ministry of Administrative Reform refuses to officially approve the structure of MEN unless the general inspectorate is dissolved.

At the decentralized level, most officials are aware of the adjustment program, but question whether the intended benefits will reach their level. Perhaps the greatest obstacle to implementing the PASE will be the need for a new incentive structure at the decentralized level.

As is the case throughout the public sector, low salaries and limited career incentives combine to make educational administrators more likely to engage in petty corruption, especially at decentralized levels.

REFERENCES:

Document Name: Education Sector Reform Program

Type of Document: Program Assistance Approval Document (PAAD): August 1990

Document No: PAAD Number (675-0222/675-0223)

Project Duration (Yrs): 1990-1996

Special: ANNEX F: Description of PASE

ANNEX I: Ministry of Education Organizational Chart.

II. COUNTRY CASE MATERIALS

DECENTRALIZATION FRAMEWORK CASE STUDY

I. Background to Decentralization

A. Country: Lesotho

B. Environment/Context:

1) Past Relevant Reforms

Under the Structural Adjustment Program 1988/89-1990/91, policy measures were taken in agricultural and land reforms, industrial development, public enterprises, monetary and credit policy, external sector and debt management. Under the Enhanced Structural Adjustment for 1991/92-1993/94, policy reforms will be taken in agriculture, industry, parastatals, civil service and the financial market.

2) Experience with Decentralization-Centralization

3) Colonial Experience

4) Universal Enrollment Status and History of Enrollment Growth

Primary education experienced rapid growth in the 1980s with primary school enrollment rising by 47 percent between 1980-1989. In 1989, the net enrollment (children aged 6-12) years was 79 percent and gross enrollment was 118 percent. In 1975, females outnumbered males by 50 percent but by only 25 percent by 1986. Lesotho has the highest percentage of females in the total primary school enrollment in Africa.

5) Political

Direct stakeholders are the MOE, school proprietors (churches), and parents/local community.

6) Institutional Capacity

Road transport network is limited. The quality of manpower base is low due to low educational levels. The formal private sector is small, due partly to the lack of indigenous entrepreneurial skills.

C. Rationale for Decentralization-Centralization:

D. Sectors Involved:

II. Education Specific:

A. Description of Decentralization-Centralization Plan in Education Sector Across

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Levels The primary and secondary education sub-sectors are run in a three-way partnership between MOE, church proprietors, and parents/community. Almost all primary and secondary schools are owned and operated by churches. The National University of Lesotho (NUL) is the sole university in Lesotho. Various institutions provide non-formal education, including the Lesotho Distance Teaching Center (LDTTC); the Ministries of Agriculture, Health and Interior; the Institute of Extra-Mural Studies at NUL; and, over 400 church and voluntary groups.

B. Rationales/Motives for Decentralization-Centralization in the Education Sector:

1. Major obstacles in the MOE structure identified in the Education Sector Development Plan include:

- a central overly complex structure, characterized by lack of integration between the main management structure and networks of donor-assisted projects;
- weak organization at the regional and district levels resulting in ineffective monitoring and audit of the education system;
- inadequate separation of the operational management functions of institutions such as the National Teacher Training College (NTTC) and planning and monitoring functions of the MOE;
- inadequate staffing and equipment of key units responsible for planning/monitoring and financial management;
- blurred patterns of delegation and accountability within the MOE;
- inadequate definition of individual responsibilities and tasks at all MOE levels; and,
- an incoherent salary structure not related to responsibilities and without incentives for efficiency.

C. What major activities have happened to date related to the reform?:

Major actions to be undertaken as part of the GOL Education Sector Development Plan 1991/92 - 1995/96 are to: (a) revise education legislation to improve the management of education; (b) restructure MOE headquarters to stream-line decisionmaking; (c) decentralize educational management to the districts and strengthen the inspectorate; (d) improve the management and resource use at the school level; (e) improve teachers' conditions of service and establish a career pattern; and (f) increase financial resources for education, particularly for primary education, and cost-containment at the secondary and post-secondary levels.

D. Organizational Structure:

There are three levels -- central, circuit (consisting of three districts), and district. The MOE plans to devolve certain selected functions to the district or circuit level. The GOL will reorganize MOE into five major senior divisions under the Principal Secretary -- Support Services, Curriculum Services, Teaching Services, Educational Management and Planning Unit. Additionally, donor-established project units will

be integrated into the mainstream MOE structure.

E. Design:

F. Functions in Decentralization-Centralization:

(1) Finance

- Budgeting, allocation and spending of resources

The Ministry of Finance, Planning, Economic and Manpower Development (MFPEMD) is responsible for allocating budget levels to MOE and the MOE Support Services and Teacher Services Divisions are responsible for budgeting allocations to primary education. MOE financial management capacity is weak, principally because of inadequate staff with the requisite skills and experience and the lack of an effective system of cost-cent based budgeting (decentralized planning/budgeting). MOE needs to develop and implement a plan to strengthen its capacity in these areas, including the addition of staff and the procurement of an accounting firm to provide training and periodic assistance with financial system development, including budgeting and expenditure record keeping. Improved coordination of planning and budgeting functions is also needed.

The lack of a clear definition of the roles of the three partners in Lesotho's primary and secondary education system -- MOE, proprietors, and parents/community -- has contributed to significant inefficiencies in resource allocation and weak management throughout the system. The churches continue to own and operate the large majority of primary and secondary schools. However, the MOE currently finances the bulk of educational costs through general grants, with churches providing less financial support, mainly for building maintenance and management. Clear criteria seldom exist for the allocation of public funds to proprietors or the use of funds granted. At the same time, little progress has been made in formalizing the involvement of parents and local communities through the establishment of school committees to facilitate local accountability for school operation. School proprietors have been able to use parental and public funds to pursue objectives inconsistent with sector development.

- Collection of Resources

GOL finances university education for students through a loan system. The parents pay fees for school services and instructional materials and supplies and provide labor input for school construction.

(2) Administration

- Planning

As part of the reform, the MOE Planning Unit will prepare guidelines for the preparation of annual plans. In turn, heads of MOE departments will prepare

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annual plans for their own use and that of the Planning Unit for Plan coordination and performance monitoring. Overall MOE coordination of Plan monitoring will be centered in the Planning Unit.

- Information and MIS

The MOE will undertake training and research to improve data collection and use of data for policymaking and implementation (including strengthening EMIS).

- Administrative Personnel Deployment

A rational personnel grading structure linked to function and type of decisionmaking will also be introduced.

- Management and Accountability

MOE officials believe that establishing an explicit contractual relationship between the MOE and proprietors; a stronger presence at regional, district and school levels; and greater empowerment of parents and local communities to influence school management will result in an enhanced partnership and accountability. Legislation that clarifies the roles and responsibilities of the three partners in managing Lesotho's primary and secondary system -- the MOE, churches, parents/local communities -- is in draft. The MOE plans to increase greater parental and community representation on school committees. School management responsibilities will be placed under a headteacher rather than a separately appointed (usually proprietor-appointed) school manager. Further, the MOE plans to introduce explicit contracts with school proprietors for physical facility use and sanctions (i.e., the withdrawal of public funds) for operation of unauthorized or sub-standard schools. Additionally, MOE will strengthen its district levels to monitor school compliance with the new legislation. It will also institute a comprehensive program for supporting the community/parent role in educational management, institute training programs in school management for existing headteachers and establish technical panels for the selection of new headteachers.

(3) Teachers and School Directors

- Teacher Training

The National Teacher Training College (NTTC) is responsible for implementing its structural reforms, improving its management operations and for improving teacher training programs. Day-to-day management responsibilities for the NTTC and the Lerotholi Polytechnic will be shifted to the respective institutions under autonomous status.

- Teacher Deployment

Until MOE assumed responsibility for teacher salary payments in recent years,

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proprietors had had responsibility for all matters of teacher employment and management. The MOE Teaching Service Commission, Support Services and Inspectorate are responsible for the creation of additional teacher positions, assignment of teachers and training of DRTs, respectively. The plan calls for the consolidation of teacher personnel assignment and payment and eventual devolution to the District Education Offices.

- Conditions of service

(4) Facilities

- Construction

MOE provides materials for building new schools. The parents provide labor input for school construction.

- Equipment and Furniture

- Maintenance

The schools are responsible for their own maintenance.

(5) Curriculum

- Definition, goals, parameters, standards

The MOE last issued guidelines for primary school curriculum in 1967. Since then, major changes have ensued in primary education in terms of subjects covered and amount of time allotted to each subject. MOE is to reorganize units responsible for curriculum development and assessment. The MOE has responsibility for reviewing and authorizing curricula.

- Curriculum Development

MOE has responsibility for providing curriculum. The MOE National Curriculum Development Center (NCDC) is responsible for implementing curriculum reforms, distributing materials to schools and implementing pupil assessment improvements.

- Textbook Production/Distribution

The School Supply Unit will continue to produce and distribute textbooks through the text revolving fund.

- Instructional Materials

MOE has responsibility for designing instructional materials. The modified role of the Instructional Materials Resource Center will lead to increased use of private publishers to produce instructional materials.

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- Examinations

The MOE is also undertaking activities to orient the Primary School Leaving Examination, administered at the end of standard 7, to measure pupil achievement in relation to curriculum objectives as well as upgrade its reliability as a testing instrument.

- Structure

The MOE has responsibility for setting the school calendar.

(6) Inspection and Supervision

MOE district and circuit offices are generally too weak to delegate increased school management responsibilities to the local level. Inspectorate services at these levels need strengthening to ensure proper management of resources to maximize quality and efficiency improvements. Limited cooperation between inspectors and school managers, teachers and professional educators exists. There is a shortage of school inspectors.

Another reform included in the planned restructuring is the devolution of responsibilities for school inspection to the district and circuit levels. Responsibility for administrative functions such as signing teachers' contracts and assisting in inspecting school accounts are expected to be transferred to the circuit level. Under the Inspectorate, DRTs will continue to provide professional support to teachers.

(7) Research

G. Implementation of Decentralization-Centralization Plan in the Education Sector:

The USAID Primary Education Program will provide the following support that will impact the decentralization of various functions:

(1) Teachers. MOE efforts to improve the quality of the primary teaching force through: (1) the improvement in the management of NTTC; and (2) the expansion and maintenance of the network of trained District Resource Teachers (DRTs). USAID will provide 1 long-term technical advisor to assist the NTTC Director for two years on the overall reorganization and operational matters, including the strengthening of the pre- and in-service teacher training programs for primary teachers. Master's Degree Training for up to 5 NTTC officials.

(2) Curriculum and Instructional Materials. USAID will provide long term technical advisor will provide advice to the MOE NCDC/Evaluation Unit over three years on the development and implementation of end-of-level guidelines for teachers and an intermediate test at the end of level of standard three.

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3. Improved educational management. USAID will provide 2 long term technical advisors. One advisor will assist the MOE Head of the Statistics Unit for five years to use data in analyzing the current educational situation and identify trends and the consequences of alternative sources of action. He/she will report to the Head of the Planning Unit. The other advisor will directly advise the MOE Financial Controller over four years on strengthening their financial management systems, including improved budgeting, expenditure tracking and cost analysis of policy and program options. He/she will report to the Head of Support Services. Master's Degree Training for 2 people in evaluation and EMIS.

World Bank financing will provide direct assistance for primary classrooms and school sanitary facility construction, headteacher training and inspectorate strengthening, devolution of professional support to district levels, MOE reorganization and teacher training, and some monitoring and evaluation activities.

H. Effects of Decentralization-Centralization Efforts in the Education Sector:

REFERENCES:

Document Name: Primary Education Program

Type of Document: Program Assistance Approval Document (PAAD): August 1991

Document No: PAAD Number (632-0230/0225)

Project Duration (Yrs): 1991-96

Special: ANNEX H: MOE Organizational Chart

II. COUNTRY CASE MATERIALS

DECENTRALIZATION FRAMEWORK CASE STUDY

I. Background to Decentralization

A. Country: Malawi

B. Environment/Context:

1) Past Relevant Reforms

Beginning around 1987, the GOM changed its approach to adjustment, and liberalized the foreign trade regime, the incentive system and credit mechanisms. Two serious problems persist with Malawi's adjustment process. First, despite the widely-approved macro-economic and structural reforms of the last three years, the productive structure of the economy has not changed since the start of the 1980s. Macroeconomic improvement has been achieved by fiscal and monetary restraint, not expenditure switching. Second, fiscal targets have made it difficult for GOM to increase expenditures in social sectors and redress previous imbalances. As a result, the GOM's commitment to education has been uneven. In comparison with other countries in the region, education spending is low.

2) Experience with Decentralization-Centralization

3) Colonial Experience

4) Universal Enrollment Status and History of Enrollment Growth

The MOE estimates that only 53% of school-aged children are attending school. The net enrollment rate for girls is even lower at 44.6%.

5) Political

6) Institutional Capacity

C. Rationale for Decentralization-Centralization:

D. Sectors Involved:

II. Education Specific:

A. Description of Decentralization-Centralization Plan in Education Sector Across Levels:

B. Rationales/Motives for Decentralization-Centralization in the Education Sector:

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The draft Policy Framework Paper, 1991/92 - 1993/94 prepared by the GOM in collaboration with the IMF and World Bank is the most recent document that outlines the government's medium term macroeconomic development strategy and sectoral policies. It states: "Following the recent improvements of the quality of teaching methods, curricula, and physical facilities, the Government will (i) implement the first phase of the decentralization of the Ministry of Education."

C. What major activities have happened to date related to the reform?:

D. Organizational Structure:

The system is comprised of three levels - the central ministry; three Regional Education Officers (REOs) and 28 District Education Officers (DEOs). However, the educational system remains highly centralized. The Ministry of Education and Culture (MOEC) has headquarters in Lilongwe. MOEC manages the formal education and training system as a whole, and directly administers primary, secondary, technical and correspondence education. MOEC is responsible for a number of autonomous agencies, including the University of Malawi, Malawi Institute of Education (MIE), and Malawi National Exams Board (MANEB).

The organizational capabilities of the MOEC are under stress to cope with the demands in the education system. Communication within the Ministry needs to be strengthened both in terms of speed and quality.

E. Design:

F. Functions in Decentralization-Centralization:

(1) Finance

- Budgeting, allocation and spending of resources

On the positive side, MOEC is demonstrating a commitment and technical capacity to decentralize certain functions. Budget, accounting, and some regulatory authority have been transferred to the regional and district education offices, although at present these offices simply administer the funds locally according to centrally-set budget allocation formulas. The MOEC is considering changing what school fees are intended to cover. At present, 80% of the school fee is for tuition, which covers consumable items in the classroom. Almost all of the tuition is needed to pay for exercise books. The proposal being discussed is that exercise books would be dropped from coverage under tuition, and be made the responsibility of the family.

- Collection of resources

Up to the present, education in Malawi has not been free, even though tuition fees are quite small.

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As the major link between local primary schools and the national educational system, DEOs are responsible for collecting school fees from primary schools. Some grassroots support is provided by village development or school committees. These vary in their commitment to education and their ability to mobilize resources for local primary schools. The funds to cover recurrent costs (except teachers' salaries) are collected from parents at the local level by local government revenue collectors. Funds are deposited in accounts administered by the Local Education Authority which is a legal entity of Malawi's system of local government.

(2) Administration

- Planning

The Planning Department in the MOEC is understaffed.

- Information and MIS

MOEC efforts to build even a modest MIS system have proven futile to date.

- Administrative Personnel Deployment

- Accountability

(3) Teachers and School Directors

- Teacher Training

MIE is responsible for the development of curricula for Primary Teacher Training Colleges.

- Teacher Deployment

MOEC must approve individual teacher leaves, salary advances, and disciplinary actions. The school committees supplement teachers' salaries.

- Conditions of service

(4) Facilities

- Construction

The school committees build classrooms and teachers' houses. School construction can be undertaken through grassroots' efforts, but even here the lack of institutional power, which has limited budget growth at a national level, has been a limiting factor. Locally supported self-help projects require approval by District Development Committees; these committees try to satisfy many constituencies and needs, with the result that education projects have not fared well.

- Equipment and Furniture

- Maintenance

(5) Curriculum

- Definition, goals, parameters, standards

- Curriculum Development

The MOEC is currently sponsoring through MIE a revision of primary school curriculum that reduces the number of subjects, and changes teaching approaches and content. The curriculum revisers are developing curricula that will be more relevant for those pupils (the majority) who will not progress beyond primary school and who need to develop skills valued in a village context.

- Textbook Production/Distribution

Purchase of educational materials is currently the exclusive domain of Malawi Book Service (MBS). The inefficiencies and higher costs associated with this monopolistic arrangement have led to a situation where MOEC resources purchase fewer educational materials than they would if procurement were competitively bid among direct suppliers. Distribution remains yet another barrier to the effective supply of educational materials. The transportation of these is largely left to DEOs who are chronically short of transport and materials. It is being proposed that the entire handling of exercise books would be turned over to the private sector, meaning that parents would purchase them from a local vendor, at whatever price the vendor chooses.

- Instructional Materials

The REOs and DEOs assist with the ordering and distribution of other educational materials. The school committees purchase instructional supplies. A recent analysis of the system for purchasing and distributing learning materials to primary schools indicates that this system is very inefficient. A major contributing factor is the lack of competitive procurement procedures for both the purchase of materials and their delivery. Analysis also indicates that the administrative process for ordering materials and distributing them to individual schools is complex, resulting in considerable loss in time, and adding unnecessarily to costs.

- Examinations

At present, the Malawi National Examination Board (MANEB) has the responsibility for registering pupils for the Primary School Leavers Examination, and has begun the task at standards 7 and 8. It is not clear whether MANEB or MOEC will have the responsibility for maintaining pupil registration records.

- Structure

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(6) Inspection and Supervision

A plan has been developed to reorganize the inspection function and to transfer primary responsibility to the district level. The role of headquarters would evolve into one of "methods advisory services" facilitating the development and delivery of training and other actions to overcome reported needs. In addition, headquarters will be responsible for reviewing policy which relates to educational quality. through decentralization of the inspection function, is the intent of the MOEC to develop a school-based inspection capability. This will involve adding to the duties of headmasters the responsibility of conducting classroom audits. Previously, this was the responsibility of the District Inspector. The Role of District Inspector will evolve more into a trainer of the headmasters regarding classroom inspection, and will allow inspectors to focus on other indicators of educational quality, such as analyzing the school and district data on repeating, and on the supply and distribution of learning materials.

(7) Research

MIE is an independent parastatal organization with particular responsibility for undertaking research and disseminating information on subjects such as primary teacher in-service training and primary curriculum development. The MIE also undertakes some in-service training itself for a range of educational personnel. This unit's workload has increased since it began the curriculum reform effort, the design and testing of more textbooks and teacher guides, and the expansion of school management training course (via CIDA and UNDP support). MIE has displayed a strong ability to keep on schedule, even with complex tasks, like the major curriculum reform initiative.

G. Implementation of Decentralization-Centralization Plan in the Education Sector:

The MOEC has lacked the resources to undertake infrastructure development, with the result that few projects have been initiated at the national level without donor support.

USAID does not have any project assistance allocated for supporting decentralization.

The UNDP Project for Strengthening Educational Planning is supporting MOEC decentralization.

H. Effects of Decentralization-Centralization Efforts in the Education Sector:

REFERENCES:

Document Name: Girls Attainment in Basic Literacy and Education

Type of Document: Program Assistance Approval Document (PAAD): September

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1991

Document No: PAAD Number (612-0240/612-0237)

Project Duration (Yrs): 1991-1996

Special:

II. COUNTRY CASE MATERIALS

DECENTRALIZATION FRAMEWORK CASE STUDY

I. Background to Decentralization

A. Country: Mali

B. Environment/Context:

1) Past Relevant Reforms

Economic growth has been stunted by a series of droughts coupled with inadequate economic policies.

In 1983, it became clear that the state budget could not maintain its practice of hiring all graduates coming out of school. This has led to massive unemployment among graduates and has reduced the demand for education. The World Bank intervened with its Fourth Education Project. The efforts of educational reform in the 1990s have been particularly thwarted by the rapid succession of government administrations and ministry officials -- three since 1991 -- and by the social that either provoked or were affected by these government changes or upheavals. The first Government of the Third Republic put in place the Emergency Plan for the Education Sector, however, this Government was soon after replaced. With the lack of institutional continuity within the Ministry of National Education (MEN), the possibility to articulate a firm policy for the education sector, with solid consistent strategies, has been highly compromised.

2) Experience with Decentralization-Centralization

3) Colonial Experience

The system inherited from the French colonial government was particularly limited in scope, highly selective, and focused exclusively on the development of a cadre of support administrative staff.

4) Universal Enrollment Status and History of Enrollment Growth

The education system expanded during the 1960s, with GER growing from 9% in 1960 to 22% in 1970. However, the primary school enrollment rate is 23% with the average in rural areas about 14%. There has been a declining demand for primary education. Female enrollments as a percentage of total enrollments only increased from 36 percent in 1970 to 37% in 1986.

5) Political

The education system has been extremely politicized, especially on the issue of scholarships. A major stakeholder is the Students' Union.

6) Institutional Capacity

The private sector is still very underdeveloped. There is weak capability by the Malian Government to mobilize additional resources. There has been difficulty in promoting alternative resources for financing basic education (the Regional and Local Development Tax).

C. Rationale for Decentralization-Centralization:

D. Sectors Involved:

II. Education Specific:

A. Description of Decentralization-Centralization Plan in Education Sector Across Levels:

B. Rationales/Motives for Decentralization-Centralization in the Education Sector:
In 1989, at the National Council for Education, a specific call for a return to the principle of "Education for Life" was made. In particular, there was a plan for "ruralization" of education i.e., making it more relevant to local conditions.

In its Mid-Term Evaluation, USAID is strongly encouraging greater decentralization of the education sector. In its third amendment, USAID added the objective of "decentralizing the technical and administrative control of the schools towards the regions and communities.

C. What major activities have happened to date related to the reform?:

D. Organizational Structure:

With the MEN, the National Department of Fundamental Education (DNEF) is responsible through its five divisions for administration, management and supervision of all aspects of the basic education system. None of the profession officers in the department have had any special training in administration, management or specialized pedagogy. Regional Directorates report to the DNEF. The National Institute of Pedagogy (IPN) is the application and implementation arm of MEN.

E. Design:

The Center for In-service Training was established and a plan for improving the general and special competence levels of MEN personnel, regional staff, and school directors and teachers was developed.

F. Functions in Decentralization-Centralization:

(1) Finance

- **Budgeting, allocation and spending of resources**

- **Collection of resources**

The new education policy set up by the Malian government is beyond the scope of its own financial capabilities.

One-fourth of the students are enrolled in Islamic schools which do not receive any public subsidies and are financed principally by families and unreported grants for Islamic countries.

(2) Administration

- **Planning**

The Direction Nationale de la Planification et de l'Équipement Scolaire (DNPES) is responsible for general educational planning tasks and produces the Annual Statistical Yearbook.

- **Information and MIS**

Within the MEN, the DNPES and the Direction Administrative de Affaires Financière (DAAF) produce, process and use quantitative information.

- **Administrative Personnel Deployment**

Ministry of Finance maintains computerized personnel records for paychecks.

- **Management/Accountability**

(3) Teachers and School Directors

- **Teacher Training**

The IPN is responsible for the implementation of pre-and in-service teacher training programs.

- **Teacher Deployment**

- **Conditions of service**

(4) Facilities

- **Construction**

The responsibility for construction of the Islamic schools is shouldered by the Parent Student Associations.

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- Equipment and Furniture

- Maintenance

The responsibility for maintenance of the Islamic schools is shouldered by the Parent Student Associations.

(5) Curriculum

- Definition, goals, parameters, standards

- Curriculum Development

The IPN is responsible for the conception, development, production, and evaluation of curricula for all disciplines at all levels of the education system.

- Textbook Production/Textbook Distribution

The IPN is responsible for the production of teaching and learning materials, notably, the conception, writing, editing, and publishing of textbooks.

- Instructional Materials

- Examinations

- Structure

(6) Inspection and Supervision

The regional inspectors are the linchpin between the schools in their respective divisions (32 circonscriptions) and the DNEF. The inspectors represent the most experienced cadre of teachers in the basic education system.

(7) Research

G. Implementation of Decentralization-Centralization Plan in the Education Sector: USAID support to decentralization took four forms:

(1) In-service training.

(2) Relevance of curriculum.

(3) Community Support Matching Funds - matching funds will be made available to communities contributing funds, materials or labor to schools.

(4) Educational Management Information System - The major steps of the component involved the purchase and set-up of computers at the Ministry of Basic Education and at the four Regional Directorates of Education and the training of Malian staff in computer programming and processing.

H. Effects of Decentralization-Centralization Efforts in the Education Sector:

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REFERENCES:

Document Name: Basic Education Expansion Program (BEEP)

Type of Document: Program Assistance Approval Document (PAAD): August 1989

Document No: PAAD Number (688-T-603)

Project Duration (Yrs): 1989-1995

Special:

Document Name: Basic Education Expansion Program (BEEP)

Type of Document: Mid-Term Evaluation: December 1993

Document No:

Project Duration (Yrs): 1989-1995

II. COUNTRY CASE MATERIALS

DECENTRALIZATION FRAMEWORK CASE STUDY

I. Background to Decentralization

A. Country: Namibia

B. Environment/Context:

1) Past Relevant Reforms

The country achieved independence from South Africa in 1990. Since then, a combination of a deep recession, regional drought and significantly depressed mineral prices, have hampered growth.

The government consolidated its eleven educational administrations founded on ethnic lines into six regions (recently changed to seven). There cover thirteen political regions.

Under the former regime, Afrikaans was the language of education beyond lower primary. In 1990, the GRN adopted the policy that English would be the only official language; in 1992, MEC adopted the policy that English would be the medium of instruction from Grade 4. In Grades 1-3, mother tongue may be used at the discretion of local communities. At least 31 distinct languages, belonging mostly to 9 major language groups, can be identified. The change to English as a medium of instruction from Grade 4 poses challenges to the largely non-English-speaking teaching force.

2) Experience with Decentralization-Centralization

3) Colonial Experience

The education system was designed to support an apartheid social organization.

4) Universal Enrollment Status and History of Enrollment Growth

Gross enrollments exceed 100 percent of the appropriate age group in many regions where overage populations are attending school for the first time, or returning to school after long absences, and repetition is high. Net enrollment for boys is 81 percent and for girls is 85.1 percent. Disparities exist between regions in net enrollments ranging from 68 percent to 98 percent.

5) Political

Education is very politicized. For example, as part of the national reconciliation, the strategy of the MEC with respect to resource allocation has been to favor the poorly resourced schools with incremental improvements, but not to reallocate substantial amounts of resources away from well-resourced schools.

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Relationships between communities and schools have not had time to recover from the tensions created during the struggle for independence. The MEC has made a substantial effort to communities about reform, particularly with respect to curricular reform, by means of public meetings and workshops for parents, NGOs and churches throughout Namibia. Leaders of teachers' and learners' unions and traditional chiefs have direct access to the Minister.

6) Institutional Capacity

The new Constitution required that all officials and teachers from the previous administrations remain employed, with tenure, at the same salary, in the new structures. This will continue to be effective until the rationalization scheme for the MEC and its regional offices is implemented.

Although SWAPO leaders are in positions of power, their ability to implement their policies are limited by their inability to trust and mobilize those in middle-management positions.

The administrative transition has been painful in the former communal areas where the second-tier ethnic administrations have been disbanded and the new regional offices established. In the process, the white officials who ran these administrations have either been transferred or, in most instances, have resigned from the service. The local staff who remain, through no fault of their own, tend to be junior staff with little or no training or administrative experience. As a consequence, there is administrative confusion in most regional offices at a time when popular demands for government action are extremely high.

C. Rationale for Decentralization-Centralization:

The government is committed to reducing expenditure and the size of the civil service.

D. Sectors Involved:

II. Education Specific:

A. Description of Decentralization-Centralization Plan in Education Sector Across Levels:

B. Rationales/Motives for Decentralization-Centralization in the Education Sector:

A tension exists between the establishment of a central uniform, education system that serves the needs of independent Namibia, and the desire to keep authority as local as possible to promote greater responsiveness. Although the former ethnic administrations gave the illusion of decentralization, in fact a few central

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institutions set and enforced the policies and procedures throughout the country which gave the regional administrations little real authority. These central institutions have deprived Namibians of information, organizational support, administrative responsiveness and responsibility at the local level.

The challenge today is to centralize those institutional roles necessary to assure unity of quality, equity of access, and efficiency in the use of resources, and to decentralize those which foster relevance and community ownership. This requires a redefinition of regional, central and school level institutions and the provision of education and training to make it happen.

C. What major activities have happened to date related to the reform?:

The MEC Rationalization Task Force was established in 1991. The third proposal was approved in 1993 and has not yet begun implementation.

The MOE has already taken steps to develop linkages with NGOs skilled in providing educational services at the community level. The further development of such partnerships is planned, including the establishment of teacher resource centers in all six regions.

The MOE has further attempted to revitalize School Boards or Committees which represent parents and communities.

D. Organizational Structure:

The educational system has historically been segregated. There has been separate classroom facilities for whites, coloreds and blacks. Administration of the education system has been even more highly segregated along tribal and ethnic lines. In 1990, eleven different, autonomous departments of education were administering schools throughout the country. With the establishment of these separate departments and the nominal transfer of control to "representative authorities" (the second tier government structure), the latter were charged with the "responsibility" for providing primary and secondary education and pre-primary teacher training. The inheritance of this system is a negative competitiveness between the central level which has historically controlled the system and the fragmented, weak administrations at the local level. With the abolition of the representative authorities the MOE has organized into six (now seven) new districts. The relationship between the new central administration and these districts is evolving.

The government has also established Regional Councils in the thirteen political regions of the country.

Work remains to completely staff and make operational the regional level of the

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Ministry. Whether or not district or circuit offices will also be added to the system remains to be determined; however, the inspectors are to serve as a conduit within the educational system from principals, teachers and school committees (or school boards) whose members are elected so that there is a two-way communication system operating -- from the parents to the Ministry as well as from the Ministry to the parents.

To date, education institutions have worked in isolation from each other, with key support functions operating separately rather than in synergy. For example, there has been very little communication between The Academy, the MOE and the teacher training colleges.

Many officers expressed the view that they were unsure whether top management in the MEC was committed to such planning and management reform. The view was expressed that there are in fact three ministries, the old ministry of the colonial period, the ministry of the expatriate advisors, and the new ministry of Namibians. Communication between the three is weak at best, and so is coordination and cooperation, and maybe unity of purpose. Top management in the MEC could usefully be encouraged to put greater priority on internal, cross-directorate communication and linkages, and on team building and the fostering of cohesiveness within the Ministry as a whole.

E. Design:

USAID influenced the design of the decentralization strategy by supporting the following:

(1) This first activity ensures that the GRN integrates the 11 separate education authorities into a unified, national primary administrative system by abolishing the Representative Authorities Act. This will create a Central MOE. Before the second year, the objectives for system-wide administrative reform will be set. By year three, the GRN will initiate administrative integration between central and regional units, which will be completed within the next four or five years.

(2) The MOE will designate a basic education reform committee to direct and monitor the reform. MOE will, by the second year, establish a functioning network of National, Regional and District level Advisory Committees on Educational Policies which include representation of PVOs, the private sector, and community organizations.

There is concern that with the integration of the eleven separate representatives authorities into a single, uniform system there will be an attempt to homogenize the ethnic and cultural identities which were purposefully promoted under the apartheid system. The GRN's response to such concerns is two-fold. First, there

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never was much "ownership" of the education system under the former ethnic authorities. Officials in the regional authorities were not accountable to parents and communities. There was no responsiveness in the structure. Second, in the former ethnic-based education systems, all syllabi, curriculum, and materials were imported. The portrayals of African cultures were very limited and geared to restricted horizons of African pupils. That said, both the GRN and USAID are very aware of the need to ensure that communities participate fully in the design and implementation of the reform of basic education. As the process of reform begins, the program will sponsor both national and community level workshops to ensure participation.

The proposed administrative structure of the MOE unifies the Ministry, but does not seek to centralize all authority. Rather it will support the level of decentralization necessary to promote accountability and allow greater local participation. Those well served by the old system will resist, if not subvert, efforts to restructure the system. Opposition will come from black and white Namibians who benefit from current bureaucratic systems. The degree to which it is administratively or technically feasible to implement key elements of the reform at the pace demanded by the MOE and beneficiaries is a major issue.

There is concern within the MEC that the rationalization plan was developed with relatively little consultation with Ministry personnel, a weakness that has tended to decrease the sense of ownership in the proposed plan.

While the rationalization achieves reductions in the authorized personnel establishment of the MEC and regional offices, it does not necessarily reduce the actual number of posts filled or currently financed. It is also dubious whether the budget for MEC offices will be increased enough to allow recruitment to all posts in the new structure.

Because so few Namibian teachers are proficient in English, the MEC is preparing to address this problem through courses, workshops, volunteer teachers, and the media.

F. Functions in Decentralization-Centralization:

(1) Finance

- Budgeting, allocation and spending of resources

The financing of schools is an area over which the pre-independence central government exercised a most pernicious kind of control. While providing nominal control to the local areas to manage their resources and schools, it in reality ensured the impoverishment of schools in most of the majority areas by calculating and providing educational grants in such as to ensure that they were insufficient

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and bale to be directed to other visible uses.

Under current procedures and structures, the budgetary and expenditure control systems of the MEC are highly unsatisfactory. There is no link between the Planning Directorate and the Financial Administration Directorate, which has the responsibility for developing the budget.

Funds are allocated to regions largely on the basis of the past year's allocation prorated to fit the funds available. How they are allocated within the regions has been left up to the regions; with no clear guidance from the head office, this has generally meant that the regions have followed a similar pattern and based the distribution of resources on the previous years' allocations.

The School Boards control school funds generated by community activities and from voluntary fees. At present, some of these boards are very active at some schools but in need of further development in others. Also, regulations covering their election, powers and limitations are needed.

- Collection of resources

(2) Administration

- Planning

Most educational institutions are top heavy with administrators and lack planners, researchers, evaluators and innovators. The insufficient numbers of highly trained and experienced policy analysts, planners and other senior education professionals outside the urban areas also inhibit local initiatives to adapt educational products to local circumstances.

At the central level the National Planning Commission as well as the Cabinet and the Ministry of Finance work with the Ministry of Education in the planning process.

- Information and MIS

The MEC Action Plan singles out important role for the EMIS currently handled largely Information, Statistics and Data Division (ISDD) of the Ministry and refers to the Ministry's need for an applied research capability presumably falling under the NIED. The linkage between ISDD and NIED is not clear nor is their relationship with testing and assessment worked out at this time.

The obvious key issue is that in reviewing these matters, and designing new systems, the interests of EMIS must be taken into account, so that such information is available to the EMIS system in a form appropriate to EMIS needs.

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One obvious requirement will, eventually, be computerization of regional finance offices and personnel functions, as well as physical distribution of books, materials, etc. It was extremely disturbing to learn that some directorates of the MEC are already beginning to place computers in regional offices, but without any form of coordination or overall plan.

- Administrative Personnel Deployment

Because of the new Constitution, the MEC has been unable to exercise full control over the selection and transfer of its own personnel. The GRN has had to redeploy into the new MEC all officials of the previous eleven administrations who wished to remain.

- Management/Accountability

For the education system to work, institutions must change their point of reference (from Windhoek and South Africa) and serve their local constituents. The entire administrative structure will need to be accountable. To encourage communities to demand accountability, the MC will assist NGO efforts to build community ownership of the reform process.

(3) Teachers and School Directors

- Teacher Training

In teacher training, the Commission on Higher Education is evaluating The Academy and will recommend ways for it to become more responsive by developing partnerships with regional education institutions and the private sector.

The five ethnic-based teachers' colleges have been restructured into four integrated colleges. The MEC has developed a Basic Education Teacher Training Program which was implemented in 1993 in all four colleges.

- Teacher Deployment

Transfers are entirely voluntary on the basis of individual applications for vacant posts at other schools.

The MEC will be developing personnel norms for schools.

- Conditions of service

The MEC has developed a new teacher career structure to create uniform conditions of service for all teachers; this teaching structure is now awaiting acceptance by the Public Service Commission.

(4) Facilities

- Construction

Some communities are building classrooms and teacher housing.

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- **Equipment and Furniture**

- **Maintenance**

(5) Curriculum

- **Definition, goals, parameters, standards**

The MOE will establish a model of an effective basic education system. This model will help educators in the ministry and the regional education authorities (REAs) identify and implement effective practices and inputs, and monitor progress in the achievement of system-wide objectives.

- **Curriculum Development**

Syllabi used to come from the Cape Education Department in South Africa.

The baseline national curriculum will be supplemented by additional curricula developed in local and regional settings to support specific interests in each of these areas.

The MEC is attempting to develop a new curriculum for Grades 1-12 in all subjects: 39 at the basic education level (Grades 1-10) and 42 at the senior secondary level (Grades 11-12). This is further complicated by the fact that the materials must be developed in Namibian African languages. The MEC has a shortage of curriculum development expertise. The curriculum development process is being carried out by Subject Panels (specialists from teachers, Advisory Teachers, Circuit Inspectors, NIED specialist) and Subject Working Groups.

- **Textbook Production/Textbook Distribution**

In the area of Materials Development and Field Testing for primary education, the MEC has assigned major responsibility to the National Institute for Educational Development. In terms of distribution of materials, there are obvious deficiencies on how schools are being served in terms of textbooks and materials (in this context classroom furniture will be included). For example, some schools order and get textbooks, supplies and furniture delivered within an established time frame; other schools order these components and while they may be received at the Regional offices, they are not delivered to the schools because: there is inadequate transportation available for the Regional Office to provide delivery services, neither the circuit inspector nor the school principal knows that the ordered components have arrived and, therefore, make no efforts to obtain them; the principal knows the ordered items have arrived but hasn't the means to hire transportation to pick them up. In a few cases the items are never properly delivered to the schools. There are serious discrepancies among schools, perhaps partially based on the distances between the schools and the circuit or Regional

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Offices, as to which schools are likely to have their order filled. A broad-based textbook committee has been appointed and has met and the committee has assumed responsibility for secure and screening books. The planning for textbook development is the responsibility of NIED. Private publishers and booksellers will prepare and produce textbooks and will deal directly with the textbook authors. Textbooks will be distributed directly by the dealers or, in more remote areas, through regional centers.

- Instructional Materials

The Materials Development Unit is also very weak and is not yet organized into the MEC (until after rationalization).

- Examinations

Examinations used to come from the Cape Education Department in South Africa. The MEC has established an Examinations Directorate which is responsible for designing and administering certificates. At this point in time, the exact relationship at the primary level between NIED and the Examinations Directorate is still somewhat unclear, beyond the broad definition of NIED being responsible for the new curriculum and syllabi, and the Examinations Directorate being responsible for validating standards and tests.

- Structure

(6) Inspection and Supervision

Priority attention is given to the reorganization of the inspectorate and the subject advisory function and to the logistical problems related to supply and distribution systems for the rural areas.

(7) Research

As part of the reform, the GRN will establish and institutionalize the National Institute for Educational Development (NIED), an institute for planning and directing the reform effort and for planning, managing and improving the basic education system.

G. Implementation of Decentralization-Centralization Plan in the Education Sector:

It has been reported that the MEC has been constrained in its reorganization and restructuring efforts by a slow and impeding personnel system that has been unable to deliver permanent appointments in key positions in a timely fashion. The lack of certainty in positions and appointments causes tentativeness in management, commitment and decisionmaking. The MEC is constrained by inter-organizational phenomena that result from merging of personnel holding competing philosophies into a single system. Alternative organizational units such as working

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groups and committees have been used extensively to get the policy and guidance work done and those structures have challenged and sometimes ignored the existing structure. There is a tradition of partisanship within the MEC that will need to change with time.

The initial reform analysis underestimated the MEC lack of expertise in many functions that were previously taken care of by South Africa.

One of the problems mentioned by regional directors is the vast distances between schools and between regional headquarters and schools. The MEC has begun to address this problem by establishing sub-offices.

MEC efforts to improve school management are being supported by the Commonwealth Secretariat, Denmark, Norway/NAMAS, ODA, Rossing Foundation, SIDA, Denmark/IBIS, UNESCO, amongst others. MEC has also initiated the GRN Culture of Care Campaign which addresses community involvement. It is anticipated that support for this campaign will come from the private sector, NGOs and the donor community. With respect to resource allocation, planning, budgeting and policy analysis, MEC is developing its own capacity and is being assisted by the Commonwealth Secretariat, ICD/CIIRZ, ODA, SIDA, Japan/World Bank, and UNICEF.

H. Effects of Decentralization-Centralization Efforts in the Education Sector:

From 1991-1993, the MEC has been able to accomplish:

- Promoting a clear and consistent understanding within regions (school personnel and regional office staff) of the objectives of the curriculum reform process. Numerous panels, training workshops, conferences, circulars, and other participatory forums at national, regional and local levels have contributed to the development of the common understanding;
- Democratizing the curriculum policy and development processes by involving a broad cross-section of the professional, union, private sector and parent communities in deliberating about issues affecting the school curriculum. In keeping with its goal to democratize curriculum reform, Teachers Colleges and schools are now involved in curriculum development. Even in the Colleges themselves, the MEC is now encouraging a collegial form of management so that College staff can begin to have a sense of ownership of College programs and activities. College management and curriculum reform before independence were very authoritarian and repressive.

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Document Name: Basic Education Reform Program

Type of Document: Program Assistance Approval Document (PAAD): March 21, 1991

Document No: PAAD Number (673-0003)

Project Duration (Yrs): 1991-1996

Special: MOE Organizational Chart (50-51)

Document Name: Basic Education Reform Program

Type of Document: Evaluation of the Basic Education Reform Program - Annual Review:

February 28, 1992

Document No:

Project Duration (Yrs): 1991-1996

Special:

Document Name: Basic Education Reform Program

Type of Document: Evaluation of the Basic Education Reform Program - Second Annual Review: March 31, 1993

Document No:

Project Duration (Yrs): 1991-1996

Special:

Document Name: Basic Education Support Project

Type of Document: Project Paper - Amendment No.2: June 30, 1994

Document No: PAAD Number (673-0006)

Project Duration (Yrs): 1991-1999

Special:

II. COUNTRY CASE MATERIALS

DECENTRALIZATION FRAMEWORK CASE STUDY

I. Background to Decentralization

A. Country: Uganda

B. Environment/Context:

1) Past Relevant Reforms

Political stability was re-established in 1986. With peace and security restored, it launched an Economic Recovery Program with support from the World Bank and IMF. Some of the relevant reforms undertaken by the government include:

(1) Implementing initial steps toward a more comprehensive tax reform program; and

(2) Improving the management of the public sector, by initiating a budgetary reform program which involves three major components: (a) restructuring government expenditures toward a number of identified priority activities (road maintenance and repairs, agricultural research and extension, health and primary education); (b) establishing a more rational budgeting process; and (c) reforming the civil service.

2) Experience with Decentralization-Centralization

3) Colonial Experience

The structure of the educational system has not changed since Independence and reflects its British heritage.

4) Universal Enrollment Status and History of Enrollment Growth

During the 1980s, growth has occurred in an unplanned fashion, due almost entirely to the efforts of local communities. Gross enrollment ratios increased from about 50 percent in 1980 to about 70 percent in 1989. Girls persistence in primary school is lower than that of boys.

5) Political

Uganda is distinguished by a tradition of strong community support for schools.

6) Institutional Capacity

C. Rationale for Decentralization-Centralization:

D. Sectors Involved:

II. Education Specific:

A. Description of Decentralization-Centralization Plan in Education Sector Across Levels:

B. Rationales/Motives for Decentralization-Centralization in the Education Sector:

The Ministry of Education has presented a Five-Year Education Sector Investment Program which highlights the following areas as priority:

Democratization. The government aims to provide universal primary education by the 2003 and to locate schools within four kilometers of each school-age child. In addition, the government wants to ensure greater access to education for girls, adults, the handicapped, and disadvantaged groups.

Vocationalization. Education is to be oriented to productive work, by making the curriculum more relevant and by introducing vocationally-oriented courses and community service schemes.

Decentralization. Greater devolution of responsibility from the central ministry to the district and local levels is envisaged, both to mobilize local resources and to increase efficiency.

The officially centralized management and administration of the education system is no longer suited to the large and geographically dispersed system that has mushroomed over the last decade. Furthermore, the national budget is inadequate to provide needed services, including education.

C. What major activities have happened to date related to the reform?:

School management committees, which, with their associated PTAs, have emerged as new local management structures, have been running schools with no training in management or the requirements of effective pedagogy.

D. Organizational Structure:

E. Design:

F. Functions in Decentralization-Centralization:

(1) Finance

- Budgeting, allocation and spending of resources

There is tremendous disparity of resources among schools that reflect the disparities among different communities that support them.

- Collection of resources

Although historically parents have assumed some financial responsibility for their

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children's primary and secondary education, in the past decade they have had to take on an increasing role in managing the bare provision of resources in their primary schools.

(2) Administration

- Planning

The planning and statistics unit exists, but has limited data and capacity to plan.

- Information and MIS

- Administrative Personnel Deployment

- Management and Accountability

The lack of efficient management and accountability will also impede educational reform unless it is corrected. The central ministry must begin to supervise the whole system and rectify the regional, economic and gender disparities that exist. Decentralization in the absence of some regulatory and supervisory role on the part of the central ministry, leaves individual schools and districts dependent on the local support they can muster, and vulnerable to the inequity of different local circumstances. The Northern region in Uganda, for instance, requires special treatment, as do other disadvantaged groups such as orphans, the disabled, girls -- who are disadvantaged because of social norms -- and the less well-off.

Management of the education system at the school and district levels is abysmally weak. Systems for record-keeping and accounting are inadequate, leading to misallocation of funds, salary payments to "ghost" teachers and a general lack of fiscal accountability. Inadequate remuneration of those in responsible positions has led to corruption, affecting head teachers, school management committees, PTAs, district education officers, as well as the district level employees of the Ministry of Local Government.

Even many parents who send their children to school appear to have a poor understanding of their own roles, rights, and responsibilities or of those of teachers and school managers in operating schools. They do not take advantage of available mechanisms -- Resistance Committees (RCs), school management committees, and PTAs -- for participating in school operation.. While there has been much discussion on the role of various local level educational support structures, namely PTAs and school management committee, their roles vary considerably from school to school and district to district.

(3) Teachers and School Directors

- Teacher Training

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Makere University and the Institute for Teacher Education at Kyambogo train teachers for upper-level secondary school and produce tutors for the two layers of teacher training institutions below them. Ten National Teachers Training Colleges form the middle-layer, training teachers for secondary schools. The Primary Teacher Training Colleges, currently numbering 69, provide pre-service training for primary school teachers.

- **Teacher Deployment**

- **Conditions of service**

(4) Facilities

- **Construction**

- **Equipment and Furniture**

- **Maintenance**

(5) Curriculum

- **Definition, goals, parameters, standards**

- **Curriculum Development**

- **Textbook Production/Distribution**

Most materials found in the classrooms are imported as the once thriving publishing and printing industry is nearly defunct.

- **Instructional Materials**

- **Examinations**

Teachers focus only on the Primary School Leaving Examination (PLE), which having become disconnected from the curriculum is an empty ticket to the next stage of "learning."

- **Structure**

(6) Inspection and Supervision

The inspectorate has its inspectors, but scarce means for them to visit schools.

(7) Research

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G. Implementation of Decentralization-Centralization Plan in the Education Sector: *USAID.* Support will include:

- Project assistance for the establishment of the Teacher Development and Management System.
- Non-project assistance tied to GOU allocating resources to allow local level decisionmaking on school management for improving quality and increasing equity of primary education.

The World Bank. The Structural Adjustment Credit calls for government policy adjustments that will result in budgetary shifts from defense to education, and within education, from tertiary to primary education. The Fifth Education Project calls for:

- Rehabilitate existing and construct new schools and teacher training colleges;
- Improve school management and instruction through a network of teacher training colleges and coordinating schools
- Strengthen the planning unit of the ministry;
- Upgrade middle and senior management;
- Expand the project implementation unit of the ministry.

UNESCO. Implementing a project which is an experiment in using teacher training colleges as centers for producing changes in the curriculum, providing in-service teacher training, and initiating community centered vocational training (crop production, weaving, and so on).

European Community. Supporting self-help school construction project in West Nile region.

African Development Bank. Assist the ministry's planning and statistics unit.

H. Effects of Decentralization-Centralization Efforts in the Education Sector:

REFERENCES:

Document Name: Education Program

Type of Document: Program Assistance Approval Document (PAAD): August 1992

Document No: PAAD Number

Project Duration (Yrs): 1992-2002

Special:

II. COUNTRY CASE MATERIALS

DECENTRALIZATION FRAMEWORK CASE STUDY

I. Background to Decentralization

A. Country: Zimbabwe

B. Environment/Context:

1) Past Relevant Reforms

2) Experience with Decentralization-Centralization

3) Colonial Experience

There is a historical consideration of the exclusion of Africans from widespread access to policymaking and implementation roles in the bureaucracy of the education sector. Prior to independence, the education system was highly centralized and controlled by Europeans. Two systems operated: one was serving the European, Asian and Colored population while the other was designed to serve the African population. Strengthening the management capacity of Africans was not encouraged, and this practice existed from ministry level positions to regional Education Officers and the position of Headmaster.

4) Universal Enrollment Status and History of Enrollment Growth

At Independence in 1980, the GOZ initiated major expansion of the education sector at all levels.

The net enrollments rose from 10 percent in 1981 to 90 percent in 1985, and then dropped to 80 percent in 1988. The participation of girls stands at about 49 percent.

5) Political

During the first years of Independence, the GOZ sought to develop policies of reallocating resources to rural schools, serving a mostly black population, without destroying the quality of education in the former white schools and urban black schools. Maintaining quality was thought to be essential to allay fears of the white majority.

6) Institutional Capacity

The years of self-sufficiency during the economic embargo under the Smith regime had produced certain private sector constraints and governmental accounting practices that enabled the new government to carry out its reforms.

C. Rationale for Decentralization-Centralization:

D. Sectors Involved:

II. Education Specific:

A. Description of Decentralization-Centralization Plan in Education Sector Across Levels:

B. Rationales/Motives for Decentralization-Centralization in the Education Sector:
When the results of the initial efforts to make comprehensive changes in the education system were not forthcoming, the GOZ made the decision to decentralize.

C. What major activities have happened to date related to the reform?:
In the case of the MOE decentralization effort, the basic thrust of the effort was "infrastructure"-oriented (that is, the installation of a computerized management information system, with most of the resources utilized for equipment and software, purchase and installation), rather than building capacity for decentralization through human resource and organization development approaches.

D. Organizational Structure:
The highest priority indicated by the MOEC was the development of a National Education Service Center. It was to be the vehicle for consolidating a number of functions carried out by various units of the Ministry that relate to continuing improvements in teacher education, curriculum development, instructional materials development, testing, and psychological services.

E. Design:

F. Functions in Decentralization-Centralization:

(1) Finance

- Budgeting, allocation and spending of resources

The government pays all teacher salaries and also contributes a per-pupil grant to each school, based on the services provided.

- Collection of resources

Primary and secondary schools are funded through a combination of government expenditures and user fees.

Parents pay tuition fees at all secondary schools plus general purpose fees; at the

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more elite primary schools, parents pay general purpose fees. Innovations in cost-recovery are likely to be initiated in the education sector. Precautions will be needed to protect against deleterious, long-term effects of shifting costs towards those groups and individuals who lack the ability to pay for educational goods and services.

(2) Administrative

- Planning

- Information and MIS

- Administrative Personnel Deployment

The personnel structure to support decentralization, pay examination personnel promptly, and maintain security of the examinations appears to be seriously deficient.

- Management/Accountability

More innovations in management are likely to come in this area as parents are asked to contribute to the financing of education. This is going to be in the form of more powerful school boards. At the MOEC level, if decentralization is going to be innovative, it will require that authority and responsibility be delegated to the regional level and to the individual school and classroom. However, if this begins to happen it will be necessary to develop a system of accountability to assure that innovations are more efficient and effective than what they are intended to replace. This will require a much more developed system of monitoring and evaluation, as well as mechanisms for assuring the demonstration and diffusion of successful innovations.

(3) Teachers and School Directors

- Teacher Training

- Teacher Deployment

- Conditions of service

(4) Facilities

- Construction

Most schools are built using private resources or by local district councils. Only 10 percent were constructed with government funds.

- Equipment and Furniture

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- **Maintenance**

(5) Curriculum

- **Definition, goals, parameters, standards**
- **Curriculum Development**
- **Textbook Production/Textbook Distribution**
- **Instructional Materials**
- **Examinations**

The Examination Branch Project will gradually localize examination capability, reducing dependency on the Cambridge Examination Syndicate. By localizing the examination process, it is expected that examinations, and the curricula and syllabi on which they are based, will have increased relevance to Zimbabwe's education need. In addition, localization of the examination process will save the nation considerable amounts of foreign exchange.

- **Structure**

(6) Inspection and Supervision

(7) Research

G. Implementation of Decentralization-Centralization Plan in the Education Sector: BEST resources to strengthen the planning and administrative capacities were tied to the following activities: decentralization of the MOE; localization of examinations; administrative aspects of the distance learning materials and technical kits projects; efforts to develop a National Education Service Center; development of the Human Resources Research Center of the University of Zimbabwe; and, support for training of selected individuals. USAID supported decentralization by approving Z\$1.7 million supplemented by US\$1.8 million in foreign currency, to provide the hardware, software, and technical assistance required to plan and install the system. The choice reflected the assumption that some management capability existed and that the increased information, flexibility, and communications achieved through computerization were critical elements. The BEST-funded project to assist the MOEC in decentralizing certain functions has included extensive training.

H. Effects of Decentralization-Centralization Efforts in the Education Sector: Decentralization of the MOE through computerization has not yet had any major

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effects, since the system is not fully operational. Implementation has been hampered by numerous factors, including underestimation of the time required to install a complicated computer system in a weak regional structure; competition for appropriated trained personnel from the private sector; and limited willingness of central administrators to turn over the authority, responsibility, and resources required for effective decentralization. Much of the training effort has been nullified by the lack of a coherent administrative structure offering opportunities for promotion, as well as the constant attraction of the private sector for trained computer operators.

The BEST program does not appear to have had substantial impact on critical levels of planning and administrative capacities of the educational training system, with the exception of the Curriculum Development Unit of MOEC. The need to strengthen management capacities was underestimated, and level of resources made available for this purpose was far short of the need. The result is that infrastructure projects and equipment are underutilized, decentralization efforts are seriously weakened by human resource problems, and there is a persistent problem of planning gaps throughout the Ministry of Higher Education.

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Type of Document: Final Evaluation: November 1990

Document Number: PD-HBC-223

Project Duration (Yrs): 1983-1990

Special:

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Document Number: PD-BAT-692

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May, 1990

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September, 1990

Lesotho

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Document Number: PD-ABI-170

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Document Number: PD-ABE-771

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Call Number: 379.2098 H249

The objective of this study is to describe the goals, means and outcomes of decentralization and regionalization in Venezuela, Colombia and Spain. The outcomes of decentralization efforts have shown serious problems of implementation resulting from a wide range of intractable vested interests, inadequate planning, ingrained centrist attitudes, differences of opinion between politicians, reformers and bureaucrats, and many others. The author poses several reasons for success of decentralization in Spain and Colombia and failure in Venezuela: (1) collaboration between political parties -- benefits in terms of continuity and compromise; (2) the use of incremental approaches; (3) control over budget and management of resources; (4) creation of regional boundaries; (5) formalization of laws, policies and system of operation.

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This paper challenges some of the basic assumptions underlying decentralization efforts in education by policymakers. In particular, the author scrutinizes (1) the

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The objective of this paper is to analyze the mixture of degrees and forms of centralization-decentralization. In particular, it examines why certain mixture occurs, and why in a given country one may find some organizations moving towards increased centralization while others are moving towards decentralization. The central hypothesis of the paper is that the mix of policies that are implemented

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or not implemented under decentralization are linked to factions within governments -- which form of decentralization is imposed on a particular division or section of the educational system depends on the projects and beliefs about what can be accomplished of the faction or coalition of factions that is dominant in that division.

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Call Number: 351.0073096 M992

This study reviews in comparative perspective the attempts at improving administration for development that three countries, Kenya, Tanzania, and Zambia, have taken since independence. The author documents the content of the measures undertaken, the strategies used in adopting them, and the extent to which the measures and strategies adopted in the three countries compare and contrast. Particular focus is given to examining measures related to (1) decentralization; (2) controlling bureaucracy; and (3) training and development of personnel. The study also tries to gauge the extent to which the various measures have attained the intended objectives, and reviews the factors that may have either aided or constrained attainment of the objectives.

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This paper reviews the experience of AID's Office of Housing and Urban Programs and The Urban Institute with decentralization and democratization in Latin America, and briefly examines the applicability of such programs to Sub-Saharan Africa. The focus is on the specific role of such initiatives in promoting the exercise of local collective choice about public services in ways that are economically efficient and financially realistic. Case studies of Honduras, Chile, Bolivia and Jamaica are presented.

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This book critiques current development planning and administrative methods by arguing that these methods inhibit the kind of analysis and planning that are most needed and appropriate given the increasing uncertainty and complexity of development problems. The author suggests that the primary purpose of projects should be to build up gradually the planning and administrative capabilities of people and organizations in developing countries rather than simply spending larger amounts of money to build various physical infrastructure for them. By designing and organizing projects to reduce uncertainties and unknowns incrementally, integrate planning and implementation, and use the acquired knowledge to alter and modify courses of action during execution, projects will become more effective instruments of learning that can make a greater contribution to development in the future.

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This paper outlines the benefits that are claimed for decentralization of development planning and administration and the various forms that administration can take. The problems of implementing policies in East Africa are summarized, and the essential financial and administrative resources and the political, organizational and behavioral conditions for making decentralization work are described and analyzed. The paper also discusses implications for providing technical assistance to developing nations.

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This study examines AID's efforts to support Peruvian decentralization in light of

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recent comparative research on decentralization in developing countries. It place recent policies of the Peruvian government in historical perspective and examines AID's experience with the Integrated Regional Development Project; the Disaster Relief, Rehabilitation, and Reconstruction Project, and activities financed by Program Development and Support funds. The common element in the IRD and DRR projects was their use of decentralized organizations, especially departmental development corporations, as planning and implementing agencies. On the basis of this case material, the study assays key working hypotheses identified in recent decentralization literature. The author also uses the case to formulate alternative and supplementary hypotheses that should be useful for future research and policy.

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This book argues that the decentralized environment must also be supplemented with a revenue structure that can take advantage of the incentives provided by decentralized decisionmaking, particularly greater local autonomy in determining rates at which revenue instruments are imposed.

In discussions of decentralization, structural reform has been given primary attention; less concern has been given to the fiscal implications. This book discusses various financing alternatives: intergovernmental grants; immovable property transfer tax; land development tax; holdings tax; business taxes and fees; and voluntarism. Without additional fiscal autonomy and an alteration in the incentives inherent in the system, local governments may simply be extensions to the already long arms of the central government with little real decentralization achieved.

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This paper discusses the concept of decentralization of government as a means to enhance the processes of development planning and implementation in new and economically emerging countries, and then analyzes the application of the concept in the cases of Tanzania and Ghana, two countries who undertook major experiments in decentralization in the 1970s.

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This book discusses lessons learned in public enterprise reform efforts in Asia, Africa, and Latin America. The focus is on state-owned enterprises. Topics include: reforming the policy framework; determining the role, scope and objectives of the state-owned sector; decentralized management and management accountability; divestiture of state-owned enterprises; and, sequencing the reforms. The view advanced in the book is that reform of the state enterprise sector and privatization can be mutually supporting strategies in the larger objective of creating a more efficient and productive economy. It was not directly useful to a study on decentralization, however, it did raise some interesting questions which can be applied to decentralization.

Silverman, Jerry. November, 1990. Public Sector Decentralization: Economic Policy Reform and Sector Investment Programs. Public Sector Management Division. World Bank.

This paper argues that alternative forms of public sector decentralization have important differential effects on the performance of economic development programs and suggests a new conceptual framework and improved analytical methods for assessing such effects. From a practical concern for achieving economic development objectives, the analytical framework presented in this paper is based on the following propositions: (a) achievement of economic policy goals and required changes in the role of the public sector are the criteria against which decentralization should be assessed; (b) appropriate changes in the role of the public sector require compatible institutional structures, including elements of decentralization; (c) appropriate changes in the role and structure of the public sector requires the performance of five key economic management functions (i.e., macroeconomic and investment planning; public expenditure programming and management; fiscal policy formulation and generation of revenue; public sector staffing; and operations and maintenance); and, (d) organizations and individuals responsible for performing such functions within those structures must have the capacity and motivation to do so efficiently and effectively.

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USAID Call Number: 350.001 W214

This book examines the role of bureaucracy in the development process. Topics include: (1) bureaucracy and development administration; (2) development planning; (3) financial management; (4) bureaucracy and rural development; (5) public enterprises; (6) local government and field administration; (7) the management of human resources; (8) administrative reform and development. Examples are drawn from English-speaking Africa as well as from parts of Asia.

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This book presents data on the implementation of national family planning programs in Egypt, Kenya, Mexico, Lebanon, Dominican Republic, Haiti and India. The author's key argument is that effective implementation of these programs depends more on sensitivity to people than on rational organization. The book offers an analysis of the influence of international donors; the power of theory; the impact of political, cultural, and bureaucratic settings; the pivotal role of field implementers; the sway of opinion leaders; and the significance of clients' attitudes and experiences. It places a strong emphasis on "process" as being critical to success of implementation.

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Decentralization of Education in Africa

Winkler, D. The Design and Administration of Intergovernmental Transfers: Fiscal Decentralization in Latin America. World Bank Discussion Papers, no. 235. Washington DC: World Bank.

This paper examines the design and administration of intergovernmental transfers in newly decentralizing governments. Even in decentralized systems, central governments have continuing objectives related to the efficiency and equity of service provision by subnational governments. The paper evaluates Latin America experience using sector-specific transfers for education, health, and rural road in light of these objectives and simulates alternative grant designs. The paper recommends wider use of well-designed sector specific transfers but emphasizes how weak administrative capacity of both the central and subnational governments seriously constrains the use of incentives and conditions in grants. Given these administrative weaknesses, the development of mechanisms to foster accountability by local government to local citizens is especially important, and the central government can play an important role in providing the information required for citizens to monitor the provision and financial management of local services. The author presents an interesting matrix summarizing education sector finance and provision assignments for the Ministry of Education and the local government (Table 2.1: page 19).

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