THE PRIMARY SCHOOL TEACHER AND SOCIAL CHANGE IN UGANDA: 1971-1991

BY

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To our children

ABSTRACT

This study has examined the impact of social change on Ugandan primary school teachers from 1971-1991. Primary schooling is believed to be a crucial phase not only as a foundation for the superstructure in education but also as a phase during which children's attitudes, values, learning habits and discipline are established.

Qualitative research, documentary evidence and personal correspondences were used in examining the transformation of the teaching profession from a highly prestigious occupation to a "temporary" profession with no income security.

Political and economic forces were significant factors mitigating against teachers' professional commitment to public service. Political instability based on ethnic, religious and regional cleavages began with the colonial policy of accentuating inter-ethnic divisions so as to "divide and rule". These forces evolved into economic imbalances, civil strife and professional malfunctions. Primary school teachers among the middle class professionals were hit the most. Brain drain, reduction in economic and professional power, undermotivation and low enrolment into teaching were some of the consequences of the forces of social change. It is concluded from this study that teachers have become disempowered individuals who have been reduced to the role of spectators rather than used as change agents for national development.

RÉSUMÉ

Cette étude avait pour but d'évaluer l'impact des changements sociaux chez les professeurs d'école primaire en Ouganda de 1971 à 1991. Considérée comme une phase critique, l'école primaire est non seulement à la base de la superstructure que représente l'éducation, mais est aussi une phase où les enfants définissent leur comportement, leurs valeurs, leurs habitudes d'apprentissage et où ils apprennent la discipline. La transformation de la profession d'enseignant hautement respectée à celui de poste temporaire sans sécurité d'emploi a été étudié à l'aide de recherches qualitatives, de documents probants et de communications personnelles.

Les forces politiques et économiques ont été des alliés contre l'engagement professionnel de la fonction publique. L'instabilité politique crée par les scissions ethnique, religieuse et régionale a commencé avec la politique colonialiste d'accentuer les différences entre les ethnies selon la devise: diviser pour mieux régner. Ces forces ont provoqué le déséquilibre économique, la lutte sociale et le mauvais usage des compétences professionnelles. Les enseignants d'école primaire faisant partie de la classe moyenne des professionnels ont été les plus touchés. L'exode des cerveaux, la diminution du pouvoir économique et professionnel, le manque de motivation et le faible taux d'embauche des professeurs sont quelques unes des conséquences de ces changements sociaux. Cette présente étude révèle que les enseignants sont devenus des spectateurs impuissants plutôt que des participants face à une société qu'ils ont aidé à développer.

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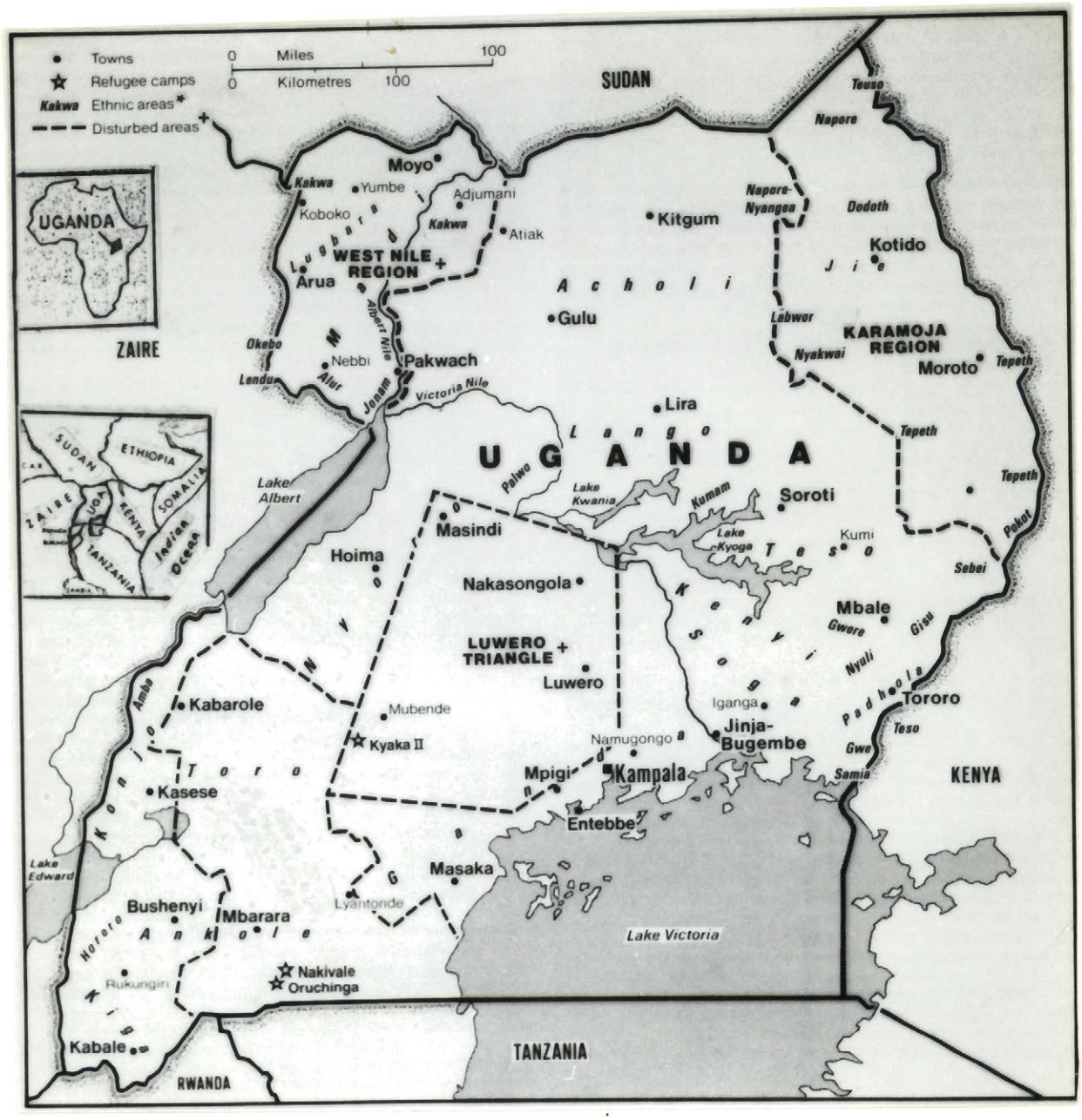

Uganda: International boundaries, towns and ethnic tribes and sub-tribes.

- Most towns are administrative centres for the districts which are normally named after their respective towns.

* Ethnic areas (tribes) are written in Anglo-form e.g Kiga, Soga, Gisu, Nyoro, Ganda etc. Normally, however, the Bantu tribes (**Fig. 3.2**) carry a prefix "Ba" e.g Basoga & Banyoro, instead of Soga & Nyoro, respectively.

\+ Disturbed areas = Luwero triangle and West-Nile regions which were the war zones in 1981-86.

CHAPTER I

THE PRIMARY SCHOOL TEACHER AND SOCIAL CHANGE IN UGANDA: 1971-1991

1.1 General introduction

The decades of the 1960s and 1970s witnessed dramatic quantitative growth in education systems in Africa (Odeat, 1990). Beyond expanding educational institutions, many African countries pronounced intentions to "reform" their educational system, by adjusting the length of the education cycle, by altering the terms of access to educational opportunity, by changing the curriculum content, or otherwise by attempting to link education and training more closely to perceived requirements for national and socio-economic development (Odeat, 1982; Odeat, 1990).

From independence in 1962, to the early 1970s, Uganda made enormous efforts to redesign its education system. This was evident in the third five-year development plan of 1971/72-1975/1976. This plan was meant to transform the education system from its colonial nature to one that suited the needs and aspirations of Ugandans.

Unfortunately this plan was never implemented due to the military coup of 1971 led by Idi Amin. This coup and its aftermath are still evident in the minds and lives of Ugandans today. The political, social and economic structures of the country were severely destroyed by Amin's fascist leadership,

which lacked a coherent philosophy and ideology (Kiwanuka, 1979). His usurpation of power was marked by a process of degeneration of the economy under the magendo (blackmarket and tax evasion), dispensation, and social anarchy (Sathyamurthy, 1986). The regime encouraged those in control to plunder at will and utilise state power for personal enrichment (Sathyamurthy, 1986). This was followed by increased poverty, political instability and civil wars which have been major handicaps to the development of quality education in Uganda. In effect, the morale and quality of the staff and students produced have gradually deteriorated at all levels, with the widest gap of decline being at the primary school level.

Amin's regime was overthrown in 1979 by the combined Ugandan exiles and Tanzanian forces in the liberation war. His successor, Yusuf Lule, was overthrown after 68 days in office. Between 1979 and 1986 the leadership had changed five times: from Yusuf Lule to Godfrey Binaisa who was succeeded by the military council of Paulo Muwanga, which later gave way to Milton Obote who was overthrown by Tito Okello in 1985.

In 1986, the National Resistance Movement (NRM), led by Yoweri Museveni overthrew the Okello government. In 1988, a committee was appointed by the NRM government to investigate how education could be reconstructed (The Republic of Uganda, 1989). It is after reading the committee's findings particularly on teacher related issues that I got the impetus to embark on this study. Teachers in Uganda, and probably in

other parts of Africa, are the most important agents of education (Peacok, 1973). Their motivation to work is a crucial factor in educational and national development.

Like other professionals, teachers seek personal fulfilment and self-actualization through their profession. The conditions under-which Ugandan teachers work have, however, denied them this important gratification. Teacher discontent is vividly expressed in the local media and in ordinary conversations. Teachers need a healthy and fertile environment for effective teaching (Saha, 1983). Uganda has experienced a decline in the number of teachers and in the efficiency of educational provisions and quality of instruction given to the students.

While many of the studies on education in Uganda have focused on student academic achievement, very few have been conducted on teacher professional achievements and other teacher related issues (Passi, 1990). I have singled out primary school teachers for this study for several reasons. First, primary schooling is believed to be an important phase in establishing children's attitudes, learning habits and discipline. As such, teachers work and teach "the whole child" (Peacok, 1973). Second, the role of primary school teachers in forming the loyalties, values and attitudes of children, is necessary for development of a nation socially, economically and culturally. Third, besides the curriculum, teachers are the most important source of socialisation in schools and

children spend the greatest single block of their active time with teachers.

1.2 Statement of the problem

Teacher shortage is a serious problem in Uganda today. In the past twenty-five years, far reaching changes have taken place in the teaching profession. Unfortunately, these changes have been largely negative. The enthusiasm which had enveloped the teachers of the 1960s has been replaced by disillusionment. Teachers are demoralized and frustrated as they struggle to find satisfaction and meaning in accomplishing their assigned tasks.

In search for a revival of an effective education system, one important question to ask is: What can be done to rectify the situation? In order to answer that, an understanding of the underlying causes of the problem is essential. Some preliminary questions may be asked: What factors have led or contributed to the decline of the teaching profession in Uganda? What is the impact of this decline?
What can be recommended?

1.3 Objectives of the study

The objectives of this study are:

(1) to describe and analyze the origins of the formal teaching profession in Uganda;

(2) to identify and examine the forces of change which

affected the teaching profession at the primary school level between 1971-1991;

i) to identify the form in which these forces manifested themselves;

ii) to examine their impact on the teaching profession;

(3) to identify teachers' needs.

1.4 Significance of the study

After all the strife and dissension Uganda has gone through over the last twenty years, the NRM government is investing in various projects to rehabilitate and reconstruct the educational system. The government has recognised that education is an effective instrument for the progress and development of its people. Therefore, large numbers of efficient, trained primary school teachers become necessary. Findings from studies such as this one can assist the government to invest effectively.

This study is an attempt to examine and describe the problems which are presently facing teachers in the face of the general national economic hardships. It is hoped that the research findings will shed some light on these problems and contribute towards establishing solutions to the teachers' needs within the educational system, specifically why and how teachers can be helped at a time when the overall economic situation of the country is in a terrible shape. It is also

hoped that the study findings will lead to a better understanding of the importance of teachers to learners and to the community and economic development at large. Ultimately, the study should contribute to the much needed knowledge in this area for educational reforms.

1.5 Literature review

The literature on teaching as a profession in developing countries is limited and the little which is available is rather descriptive and general in nature. There are various reasons for the lack of data and research studies in Uganda. It is generally believed that during Amin's regime, press and literature censorship became so intense that no newspapers, magazines or books or any form of publication were allowed. This happened because all constructive ideas and comments were critical of the government.

Nevertheless, some literature which is available include The Development of Education in East-Africa, by Cameron, (1970) who examines the teaching profession from its inception in the nineteenth century to the seventies. His main emphasis is on the development of the teaching profession and the role of teachers in their communities. He provides a comprehensive analysis of the organisational structure of the profession. His work is invaluable for information on the teaching profession in East-Africa.

The Uganda Education Policy Report, (The Republic of

Uganda, 1989), is more informative on education in Uganda particularly during the Amin rule. The chapters devoted to teaching cover the colonial period to the present. This report indicates that many teachers are abandoning their classrooms. Some of the recommendations made in this document include raising teachers' salaries and improving their conditions of work.

Sekamwa and Lugumba (1973) in their study on Educational Development and Administration in Uganda 1900-1970, illuminated the status of teachers in the colonial period. Their study suggests that during this period, teachers were indisputable leaders of public thought. In fact Hanson (1970), goes further and asserts that teachers were held in high regard and they commanded local dignity. This explains why the majority of the first heads of governments in Africa after the colonial rule were formerly teachers: for example, famous leaders like Abubaker of Nigeria, Mobido Keta of Mali and Julius Nyerere of Tanzania. Julius Nyerere was educated at Makerere College (now a University) in Uganda (Hanson, 1970).

Fafunwa (1967), Heyneman (1976), and Tiberondwa (1976), have acknowledged the importance of teachers in Africa. Their studies suggest that teachers represent the largest group of trained professionals in most African countries. They further contend that since greater priority is placed on the expansion and reform of basic education, raising morale and ensuring effectiveness of teachers cannot be ignored. Africa is a non-

industrialized world with teaching as the main organized work force. For example, only teachers, and not coal-miners as in Russia and England, would organize an effective nation-wide strike.

In his study, Planning the Supply and Demand of Qualified Teachers in Uganda, Passi (1990) observed that if new teachers were to be recruited, and if old ones were to be retained, an assurance of recognition by society plus a strong economic security have to be offered. This would ensure the survival of the profession. Abagi (1990) in his study on the teaching of agriculture in primary schools in Kenya stressed a similar view. He points out that teachers hold key positions in the lives of students and not only that, they control school instruction. As such, ignoring the importance of teachers can disrupt students' academic aspirations.

In the Phelps-Stokes Commission on Education in Africa, (Lewis, 1962), it is maintained that the "teacher is the school" (p. 140). This report gives a precise perspective of the teaching profession. Recommendations made from the findings of this report suggest that future planning for education should have a direct bearing on the professional status of teachers.

Evans (1971) suggests that the significance of teachers is embedded in two aspects: 1) in the messages they convey (The contents of these messages are normally perceived as a source of socialisation); 2) in their role as models,

teachers' attitudes, feelings and values are consciously or unconsciously transmitted to pupils and then to society. In other words teachers are both socializers and communicators. They occupy a strategic position in the socialization process and therefore, recognising their importance to this aspect is of paramount importance to nation building (Adebisi, 1965; Kityo, 1988).

Some recent works from Sub-Sahara Africa have concentrated on teacher motivation and satisfaction. This has become a global issue in the field of teaching. Nwagu, (1981), Tashakari, Haghighat and Yousef (1988) and Chivore (1988) tackled the issue of teachers' low morale and concluded that teachers are losing morale and are less enthusiastic to go to the classroom.

It is clear from the above review of literature that teachers are an indispensable agent of socialisation in an emerging society like Uganda. To ignore them is to deny Uganda the entire socialisation and developmental process.

1.6 Theoretical framework

Educational systems are generally conceived to respond to the political, economic and moral needs of society (Ghosh, 1987a, Kityo, 1988). As the needs of society change, so does the need to change educational systems. There are numerous and diverse theories of educational and social change (Paulston, 1977). For the purposes of this study, education and social

change will be examined within the framework of the Human-needs Approach.

The Human-needs Approach developed as a result of growing disillusionment with patterns of national and international development over the past quarter of this century. This approach aims at improving the quality of human stock (Fagerlind & Saha, 1983). The notion of quality of human stock includes not only the basic needs of a material nature like food, water, energy and shelter, but also basic human needs related to satisfaction which include education, security, recreation and communication. According to Ghai (1977), the basic human needs theory focuses on the importance of improvement of physical and social conditions of individuals before any development can take place. Bartels (1981) stressed that human needs should not be simplistically equated to a package of safe water, better environment, sanitation and the like. More important he believes,

> ...to the father in Lesotho or Mozambique, for instance, ...his need ....is to create more jobs at home; grow more food to feed the populace, and to develop the necessary human resources, with the skills and attitudes, for servicing plans that will achieve such ends as well as those pertaining to safe water etc. (Bartels, 1981, p. 9).

The main argument in this theory states that any employment should yield outputs, provide an income to the employed and give persons the recognition of being engaged in something worth their while. In Uganda today, primary school teachers are a beleaguered and dispirited force, their status

much eroded and their working conditions poor (UNICEF, 1990).

The best statement on human needs approach is found in the Cocoyoc declaration, (Ghai, 1977). This is a statement issued by a group of social scientists and economists at the end of a seminar organised under the auspices of UNCTAD and UNEP on patterns of Resources Use, Environment and Development strategies. The declaration states:

> ...there is a deep social need to participate in shaping the basis of one's own existence, and to make some contribution to the fashioning of the world's future. Above all, it is not only to get a job but finding self-realisation in work, the right not to be alienated through production process that use human tools (Ghai, 1977, p.6)

This means that policies for development should be based on meeting the basic needs of the poor in the shortest time possible. In the context of Uganda, whose urgent need is rehabilitation and reconstruction, it is important that education's main objectives and developmental policies aim explicitly at promoting employment, satisfaction and provision of the basic needs of the population. This approach should indicate an education that is functional in the development of human resources and the provision of societal needs to all the cultures, sub-cultures and various occupations in Uganda.

Khan (1976), in his study on poverty and inequality in Bangladesh points out that a focus on meeting basic needs of the people should imply a lessening of the dependence of the third world on the capital of the developed world. He argues that self-reliance, as an integral part of basic needs theory,

must bring with it the need to break away from inherited and imposed structures.

The basic needs theory parallels many concepts of development. Like the modernisation theory, it focuses on changes in people. Both theories are concerned with the improvement in general quality of life and place considerable emphasis on education as the biggest part of that improvement.

1.7 Research questions

1) What is the history and nature of the formal teaching profession in Uganda?
2) What are the forces of change which transformed the teaching profession? What form did these forces take?
3) What impact did they have on the teaching profession?
4) What are the current teachers' needs which the educational system should provide?

1.8 Methodology

1.8.1 Method

A qualitative approach was selected as most appropriate for this thesis. It is believed that qualitative methods could better enable researchers to understand what is going on in any given group, community, or locus of human interaction (Locke, 1989). Lortie (1975), went further to say that much

could be learnt of an occupation without using complex measures to uncover the ethos of a social group. As such documentary evidence was selected as an appropriate strategy for this study. In fact, it has been argued that field researchers are in danger of misinterpreting the present if historical sources on the past are neglected (Edson, 1988).

A historical approach as a mode of "inquiry" is no different from other qualitative approaches to research. It is context specific, concerned about natural settings, and seeks to understand experiences as a whole and not in isolation from the past nor the present (Edson, 1988). Precisely, a historical approach seeks to interpret and explain the significance of past experiences and not merely to document them (Sherman & Webb, 1988).

1.8.2 Sources of data

As already explained above, data for this study came from documentary evidence. The documents consisted of Educational Annual Reports, Conference papers on education (1970-1990) and reports from UNESCO. Newspapers and Documents from the Ministry of Education in Uganda made a significant contribution.

Journals such as Comparative Education Review, The International Journal of Education, History of Education Quarterly and The African Review and African studies review were particulary very helpful.

The Uganda Education Policy Review, (The Republic of Uganda, 1989) was a major source of information. This review was a result of the government sponsored study of the whole education system from its emergence (with the missionaries) to 1988. The committee on this review included people from various academic and economic fields.

During the course of this study, I held conversations with elders and other fellow Ugandans in Montreal who were around or even participated when the events I have discussed in this thesis were happening. I also communicated with a number of Ugandans at home so as to get their views regarding the teaching profession and to clarify a few points regarding the documentary evidence available. Their suggestions and views helped me formulate the picture presented in this study.

1.9 Data recording and analysis

The data were analyzed according to the themes that emerged from the various documents. This kind of analysis is described as thematic analysis. It involves the researcher in examining the kinds of themes that emerge regularly from the materials and then in relating them to the concerns of the project. Platt (1981), Alison (1985) and Purvis (1985) provided excellent publications on document analysis. They believe that a problem distinctive to documentary research is the "authenticity" of documents. This is where the authorship of a document is questioned in instances of doubt. In this

study, information from various documents has been compared so as to establish the validity of data. My personal experience as a teacher who studied and worked in Uganda has been of great help in establishing the credibility of the data.

1.10 Organisation of the thesis

This study is divided into five chapters. Chapter I gives a background to the study. It includes the statement of the problem, states the purpose of study and discusses the theoretical frame work. It also includes the literature review, the research questions and describes the methodology used for the study. Chapter II deals with the history of the teaching profession. It examines the role and status of teachers in the 1960s. The administrative structure of the teaching profession is outlined in this chapter. Chapter III deals with the forces that changed the teaching profession. Chapter IV deals with the impact of these forces on the teaching profession. Chapter V gives the conclusions and suggestions for further research. Some correspondences from teachers on the plight of teachers in Uganda are given in appendix A. Appendix B is the glossary of Ugandan terms commonly used in this thesis.

CHAPTER II

THE HISTORY OF THE TEACHING PROFESSION IN UGANDA

2.1 Introduction

Formal education in Uganda, like elsewhere in Africa, emerged with the coming of missionaries in the nineteenth century (Wandira, 1976; Roteberg, 1965). Similarly, the history of teaching as a profession in Uganda is closely linked with the advent of missionaries. With time, the colonial rule in Africa created a demand for Western education. Such a demand necessitated training native teachers. Training of Africans as professional teachers by missionaries was fortuitous to their much desired objective of spreading their religious beliefs to the native people (Roteberg, 1965). This chapter will examine the formation and development of the formal teaching profession in Uganda.

2.2 Traditional African teachers

Examination of the impact of Western-type educational institutions on Africa presupposes description of traditional social structures (Foster, 1965). Such an examination is essential in this study as a starting point for analysis. Before the arrival of Europeans in Africa, there were traditional teachers who were responsible for transmitting knowledge to children. The concept of "teaching" is not new in

African societies. African societies have a long and rich history of educational traditions. Indigenous education was offered by all ethnic and linguistic groups and remains an important transmitter of cultural identity from one generation to the other (World Bank, 1988).

In ancient Africa, education among communities was not a task by itself, but a pursuit which embodied a particular way of life (Melville, 1962; Mwanakatwe, 1968 ; Mekuria, 1978). It was part of life and could not be easily separated from society. Various communities sought to build great tribal nations by developing citizens who were religious and who had good moral character. This cultural pattern existed and flourished because of a tight kinship structure which stressed good behaviour and deeds. For this reason, the security and well being of any tribal community depended upon the efficacy of training given to its members.

A peculiar characteristic of African traditional teachers was that almost all persons of all age groups assumed some responsibility for training children in specific skills or in promoting their understanding of the laws and customs of the tribe. Teaching necessitated the transmission of knowledge through language, examples and tales of real and fictitious stories at home or at informal lessons outside the home. This type of education responded to the concrete problems of local communities (Kityo, 1988). Therefore, the role of traditional teachers was vital and indispensable for the smooth

integration of growing children in society (Cowan, O'Connell & Scanlon, 1965). Those who taught ensured that responsibility, respect and obedience were ingrained in the minds of the young (Keshavjee, 1987). This meant that a person should regard oneself as an isolated individual and yet a responsible member of society (Foster, 1965).

A further function of traditional African teachers was the preparation of political leaders. This grew out of the need to enforce a sense of citizenship and unity of the people in the community (Fafunwa, 1974). To attain these objectives, strong patriotic persons were needed. Political roles were open to a limited number of individuals who were selected on the basis of age, sex, and lineage membership. These were some of the criteria used to select clan heads, chiefs and kings.

African traditional teachers were not specialised agencies. They had no formal schools; instead the type of education described above was generally diffused, undifferentiated and was seemingly irrelevant to processes of social differentiation (Urch, 1968). With the acceptance of Western education, formal teaching constituted a new dimension of social status in a number of social structures. This is not surprising because in most colonial states, the transfer of educational institutions from the metropole to colonies occurred with minimal changes in structure but maximal shifts in social function (Urch, 1968). Western formal education in the end came to foster nascent conceptions of social status

which diverged from the traditional model. Conceptions of social status were the making of the European minority in Africa who provided models for status acquisition based on education and occupation. A shift in educational organisation, after many states gained independence, so as to meet African needs, has always been a fundamental necessity in African countries such as Uganda.

2.3 Western education: recruitment and teacher training

The early 1900s saw missionaries actively engaged in converting and educating the native Ugandans. These educators were not themselves trained teachers but taught what they knew best (Urch, 1968). The European missionaries who were responsible for this education shaped the teaching profession to suit their purposes. Their activities in conjuction with the economic changes that the colonial powers set in motion in Africa helped to create a demand for western education (Foster, 1965; Crowder, 1968). It necessitated getting more teachers and the solution was to train natives.

Good character was one of the few fair criteria on which the would be teachers were selected. Apparently good character coincided with religious morality. Behaviours like drunkenness, immorality, slander and profanity were handicaps when joining the teaching profession (Roland, 1952). Precisely, a "would-be" teacher had to be a loyal convert (Christian), a person of high moral character, free from

vulgarities common to persons of "lower callings" (Elsbree, 1970 p. 45). This meant that to be a teacher, one had to change one's life style.

Teacher training was not secular in content and intent. Missionaries were not interested in offering secular education to the Africans for fear that the "educated" Africans would lose their humility and become rebellious (Keshavjee, 1987). As purely civil institutions, schools or colleges took long to gain official ground, and even then, it was not thought necessary to confine schools to purely secular learning as was the practice in some foreign countries (Wandira, 1976). The kind of training given to teachers at the time was described by the Phelps-Stoke Commission, which was sent to Uganda in 1927 to investigate the development of education in East-Africa, as "an educational system which is divorced from the African physical and social environment" (Lewis, 1965, p.19).

The early training of teachers was designed to produce "catechists". The curricula were focused on training students as inculcators of morals in society. The curricula were designed to give teachers only minimal knowledge needed to serve them as guardians of the moral code. Today's educational precepts, which embrace individual interests and needs of special pupils as determinants of classroom activity, pedagogical skills and professional identity, characteristic of teacher education were non-existent (Battle, 1970). Intellectual competence, human understanding and desirable

educational attitudes as important attributes of teachers were given little or no emphasis (Bartels, 1970). What the missionaries failed to see was that well educated, competent professionals were a necessity in educational development. Such a type of training was criticised vehemently by various scholars (Lewis, 1962; Kasozi, 1977). It was suggested that good training addresses teachers' needs, their lives and further career, the demands of the national economy, and the social, traditional and geographical setting in which teachers live" (Lewis, 1962, p. 30).

2.4 The certification and appointment of teachers

During the colonial period, the qualifications of primary schools teachers simply required the ability to read and write (Wandira, 1976). In rural areas, teacher qualifications were based on the age of children to be taught and the level of modernisation of the community. The younger the children and the more rural the community, the lower the qualifications. Scholastic preparation typical of training colleges was of lesser importance to the missionaries and the colonisers. In fact, teachers were assessed more from personal behaviour and dress code than from their scholarly capability and professional expertise (Tiberondwa, 1976). Commitment to the prevailing religious tenets of the colony superseded scholastic ability.

Similarly, there were no elaborate methods of

certification as there are now. High specialisation in methods and subject matter, which are of great concern today, were not perceived as a necessity. Instead, licensing teachers was the norm. The church had become so established in its authority in education and so enshrined in Canon law that no one could teach in public or private schools without a license from the bishop of one's diocese (Wandira, 1976). The purpose of such a plan was not to protect children from incompetent teachers but rather, it was to safeguard against the employment of religious dissenters (Elsebree, 1970).

In the later period of British rule, fundamental changes took place. The British realised that the social welfare of the colonised was their responsibility (Kasozi, 1970). It was generally realised that education and training in Africa should be adequate and real, and should be the responsibility for all who were concerned with Africa and the Africans (Lewis, 1962). By 1945, the colonial government was a powerful collaborator with the missions in the development of education in the British colonies in Africa.

As education developed, so did the methods of certification. Certifications awarded to primary school teachers varied according to the level of education reached before training began. In most African countries, certification existed for those who had completed eight years of primary schooling or two or three years in secondary school, and for those who had completed a secondary school (4

years) course leading to a School Certificate (Burns, 1965).

In Uganda, although all teachers followed a two-year course of training, any one of the above different levels of schooling was given a different certificate and the salary received was based on the applicants' qualifications. Later, this kind of certification was phased out. A single professional certification was opted for. Primary school teachers of all grades continued to receive the same qualification (the Grade III Certificate).

In other countries like Tanzania, primary school teachers qualified at two levels, Grade C for those who had completed primary schooling and Grade B for those who had completed at least two years in the secondary school (UNESCO, 1965). After the UNESCO Commission in 1965, Grade C teachers were phased out and only one level of entry for all primary school teachers was accepted (Cowan, 1970).

2.5 The size of training colleges and its implications

The majority of training colleges in British Commonwealth countries were originally established by voluntary agencies. Colleges set up by the colonial administration were established at a later date to provide training where no other provisions existed.

The rapid expansion of educational institutions in Uganda led to a substantial increase in provisions for teacher training colleges. There were 33 mission teacher training

colleges and the government had only 3 colleges (see Table 2.1). The Table shows that, although there were more mission colleges than government colleges in Uganda, student academic performance in their colleges was not impressive. For example, while 83 students passed their final examination in government colleges in Uganda in 1960, only 940 passed from agency colleges. This was just over 40 students per college. Generally, in colleges where there were fewer than a hundred students in all, it was often difficult to provide specialist and effective training programmes. Poor performance necessitated a change in re-organising smaller institutions to larger but fewer colleges. The East and Central Africa study Group, commonly known as the "Binns Commission", made recommendations in 1952 to reduce the number of these colleges to 28. Eventually they were amalgamated to form larger inter-denominational government training colleges. Similar recommendations were made in Malawi in the same year by the same commission, but attempts to implement them were apparently resisted (Cameron, 1970). Similarly, colleges in Tanzania were small and many so that by 1965, there were as many as 22 teacher training colleges and only 500 students (Cameron, 1970). In some women's training colleges, the teaching staff exceeded the number of students (Cowan, 1970). In Eastern Nigeria, the majority of the agency colleges had less than 100 students enroled in 1959 (UNESCO, 1961). Having a small college was only advantageous for controlling student

teachers in moral training and in confining learning activities specifically on the reading, arithmetic and writing. In Kenya and Uganda, the smallness of these colleges was reinforced by the vernacular policy of the primary school system. This, as will be discussed later, tied teacher colleges to the area they served.

Another salient feature of these colleges was that they were boarding institutions. As boarding institutions, it was easier for the missionaries to incorporate features associated with a typical seminary or a theological college for evangelical purposes. While this was an advantage to the missionaries, it was a drawback to those being trained as it increased the cultural gap between home and school.

Geographical isolation of many of the colleges was another barrier in providing an effective, educative environment. In most cases, colleges were located in isolated areas and communication was not easily accessible. The isolation factor alone made it difficult for some of these colleges to receive regular supplies of material. In consequence, they lacked a variety of resources that should exist in such institutions (Burns, 1965, Ponsioen, 1972). Furthermore, students had little or no opportunity for social activities. In Tanzania for example, the report of planning recommended that no college should recruit less than 200 students, and that all should be established in places where students would have a chance to have wider social contacts

(Burns, 1965).

After independence in 1962, the administration and the control of primary teacher training became the responsibility of the Ugandan government. All the responsibilities were transferred to the ministry of education. Native teachers received stature, status and a modicum of autonomy, which far exceeded that in the colonial period. After two years of training, teachers were subject to two years of provisional certification and only upon the completion of this two-year probation did they receive full certification.

2.6 Lack of identity of teacher training colleges

Until World War II, none of the teacher colleges in Africa were self-contained. They had no identity of their own. They were always attached to primary or secondary schools and in most cases their tutors taught at both institutions (Cameron, 1970). A good example of this in Uganda is the Kinyamasika Teacher Training College (TTC) in Western Uganda and Shimoni TTC in Kampala which were attached to Kinyamasika and Shimoni primary schools respectively.

It was not until after 1950 that colleges were established in Uganda as distinct and separate professional institutions. A small teacher training college was opened at Kibuli for African Muslims. Asians already had theirs at Shimoni teacher training college. However, by the end of the 1950s there were as many as 42 colleges responsible for six

vernacular languages (Runyoro/Rutooro, Luo, Runyankole/Rukiga, Ateso, Akirimojong and Luganda).

2.7 The language policy

Instruction in native languages in Africa was given with the view of spreading religious education (Kasozi, 1977). The majority of missionaries were opposed to the idea of introducing English as a subject in their education system and perceived it as bad service "rendered to the country, to the religion, to the government and to the protectorate itself" (Kasozi, 1977, p. 86). Although the Africans desired to learn English, vernacular languages still remained one of the best means of preserving whatever was good in native customs, ideas and ideals, and thereby preserving what was more important than all else, "native self-respect" (Lewis, 1962).

The process of education, observed the Phelps-Stokes Commission, was to begin with characteristics of the people as they are and help them to evolve to higher levels (Lewis, 1962). This Commission argued that regard for the native language was a hindrance to the acquisition of the European languages. But the knowledge of foreign languages was needed for Africans to select from European civilization what was relevant to meet their particular needs. Therefore, promoting the teaching of vernacular languages at higher levels of education would limit the real exchange of ideas and influences which were necessary for mutual confidence between

Europeans and Africans. It was also believed that the vernacular policy was a disadvantage in the development of large colleges. This meant that training colleges were tying people to a particular area which was served by that language. Using vernacular instruction in lower classes is relevant for maintaining normal relations between the pupils and their people. In higher education, however, consciousness of community life with all that it involves in human interactions and responsibilities, should be the key to better educational reforms (Lewis, 1962).

2.8 Teachers as models of the morale code.

During the colonial days and as late as the early 1970s, native teachers amongst their communities held a high social status. They were perceived as highly knowledgeable persons and occupied a unique place in the country's social structure (Tiberondwa, 1976). Particulary in rural areas, teachers were in many ways a privileged group, at least in comparison with the peasant farmers, in terms of income and status. Unlike peasants, primary school teachers could afford luxurious things like cars and modern houses.

By virtue of their profession, teachers were expected to maintain social distance and respect in the classroom. Familiarity between teachers and students was not permitted. Clear-cut formalities contained teachers within the limits of professional activities on one hand, and held students as

docile consumers of knowledge and skills conveyed to them by their teachers on the other (Asiwaju, 1975). Typical teachers were able to maintain respect and social distance by alternating their authoritative role with personal roles as the dynamics of the classroom situation dictated.

Teachers were the pioneers of modernisation in Africa. They were extremely influential in helping set the ideals and form the standards of taste especially in rural areas. During this period, they were the only ones who had scholastic skills almost exclusive to anybody else. Their earliest tasks obliged them to impart to the child moral education, basic reading, writing and arithmetic. They commanded a lot of respect in their communities and were easily elected to positions of representative responsibilities, e.g political office. At the same time, they were perceived as part of the sacred order of society. More often they performed a variety of non-related educational duties: for instance, on Sundays, they would be in pulpits preaching the word of God (Read, 1955). This kind of religious mystique was not unique to colonies in Africa. A similar pattern was recorded by some historians in ninenteeth century France. Teachers from rural France were also closely bound to the duties of the clergy (Meyer, 1971). It is believed that teachers were subordinates of the church who spent much of their time performing church inspired duties that took priority over teaching. Such type of duties reflected a lack of professional independence for teachers. In

Africa, this resulted in teachers' lack of collective action to improve their class position. In fact, missionaries were very hostile to the formation of teachers' unions, since unions threatened their policy of low wages (Fajana, 1973).

In spite of all this powerlessness, teachers were almost the only models of modern participating members of the community with whom the pupils had any direct contact. They were almost the only attractive influential members of society mainly because there were no other competing professions apart from nursing. Even then, nurses were very few in number compared to teachers. Teachers' life styles and standards were modern, high and desirable. This made them become desirable role models for imitation.

2.9 Educational administration

Administration of education in this section will be concerned with school inspection and supervision. It should be pointed out at the start that until after independence there was no distinction between supervision and inspection. However, efforts were made as early as 1949, in the Beecher Report, to distinguish between these two activities. Later, inspection came to include a detailed and comprehensive review of all aspects of the organisation, work and life of school institutions (UNESCO, 1963). Supervision referred to the more personal guidance that teachers received from the frequent visits made by inspectors (UNESCO, 1963).

In many cases, the same officers have continued to play a dual role, inspectors on one occasion and supervisors on the other. In general, administration was based on the assumption that both the central and local authorities work as co-operative bodies. A considerable amount of executive responsibility was vested in local authorities (Burns, 1965). The supervision and inspection of primary schools in Uganda came to be the responsibility of Education Officers and their assistants. They were headed by a District Education Officer in each district.

2.9.1 The inspectorate

The emergence of an inspectorate as a separate division of the Ministry of Education in Uganda was established in 1959 primarily to inspect schools and teacher training colleges. In most of the commonwealth countries in Africa, the inspectorate emerged as a separate division of the Ministry of Education. This was in response to the needs which the coming of independence of various colonies had made evident. It was believed that these inspectorates reflected Her Majesty's Inspectors in Britain, whose members were neither servants of the local authorities responsible for education nor tools for the ministry of education (Burns, 1965).

Inspectors were selected from the senior members of the Department of Education and were assisted by other officers from the same department who were temporarily detached from

other duties as need dictated. Usually these senior members of administration who were appointed as inspectors were teachers who had been in teaching and served as administrators for a long period of time. Chief Inspectors, as they were commonly known, were directly responsible for the inspection of secondary schools and teacher training colleges. Primary school inspection, as will be shown later, was the responsibility of District Education Officers.

Before independence, there were no clear cut responsibilities of the inspectorate. Inspectors were involved in the training, assessment, and certification of teachers. At the same time they carried out the inspection of schools and colleges. Inspectors were and still are concerned with the inspection and improvement of academic standards in schools (Burns, 1965). In this respect, they still play a part in sensitive issues like the review of syllabuses, examinations and school broadcasting. They are also advisory to the ministry of education and act as instruments of government policy and are answerable to the Minister, through the Permanent Secretary in the Ministry of Education. They have been agents of government as well as managers and educational administrators. Inspectors were also overwhelmed by the dual roles as inspectors and administrators; as a result, they mainly relied on teacher educators to do the inspection for them. The initial role of teacher educators was the supervision of student teachers. This way teacher educators

found themselves taking on the role of inspectors especially when they went to supervise their students who were on teaching practice (Burns, 1965; Cameron, 1970).

After independence, the Local Educational Authorities (see below) revolutionized the entire supervisory system. The new school inspectors were selected from experienced teachers and were specifically trained only for supervisory roles (Cameron, 1970).

2.9.2 The role of Education Officers

Education Officers (EOs) were officers from the Ministry of Education responsible for the inspection of primary schools at the district level. The head of EOs in the district was and still is the District Education Officer (DEO).

District Education Officers were the professional heads of the Ministry of Education in each district. Before independence, inspection and supervision of schools was highly inadequate. Influential educational reports like that of the Phelps-Stokes Commission (Lewis, 1962) underlined the importance of adequate supervision of teachers. The Commission suggested that effective and successful educational systems are those which are in constant supervision. The Commission compared the supervision and inspection of English school systems in Britain and found supervision of schools in Africa inadequate:

> The objective of both the teacher and inspector should be the same, and the inspector from his

> superior training, experience and knowledge, should take the attitude of friend and adviser, and not that of detective. The time at the inspector's disposal is all too short for anything like a thorough examination. The result is that the teacher's work for a year is often inadequately estimated in a few minutes (Lewis, 1962).

The Commission made a special recommendation of what a desirable school supervision and inspection should be:

> The duty of the inspector is to test the efficiency of the school by an inquiry into the organisation, the classification and the methods of instruction pursued, and also the progress made by the pupils as evinced by the exercise and examination books and by the results of a general class examination (Lewis,1962 p. 25).

The DEOs were selected from teachers of lower Grades, based on their longitivity in the teaching service. Their duties included: (i) Secretary and Executive Officer of the Education Committee of the Local Education Authorities (see below) (ii) Agents of the ministry of education in each district (iii) Advisors to the local education authorities through their committees on primary education. (iv) Makers of developmental plans for primary education in their districts in accordance with the wishes of the committee which they advised. In spite of all these duties they were heavily criticized for their inadequacy in providing professional guidance (Cowan, 1970). Normally, they made their assessment of teachers by external appearances. For example, they were more concerned about the cleanliness of the schools, school attendance and fee registers and the physical appearance of

the buildings than they were in giving guidance and advice to teachers.

The District Education Officers continue to be responsible for the inspection of primary schools in their districts. In the past, they had the powers to determine teachers' careers. Their reports as a result of their visits could make or break a teacher's career (Burns, 1965).

By the early 80s, the inspectorate was going through staffing and transport constraints. The main constraints for the inspectorate have been the lack of transport and shortage of motivated staff. The expansion of primary schools has not been consistent with the expansion and reorganisation of the inspectorate in the Ministry of Education. The supervisors became overwhelmed with administrative duties and the majority of schools have not been inspected regularly and this has seriously affected the administrative and supervisory sectors of the education system.

2.9.3 The local education authorities

Until after World War I, the administration of education in Uganda was exclusively in the hands of missionaries (Knowels, 1983). In 1921, the colonial government established the first Educational Institute of its own, on the site where Makerere university is now situated. The first education ordinance was passed in 1927, whereby the colonial government acquired powers to register and classify all educational

institutions and control the general direction of education (Knowels, 1983). At this point the Local Education Authorities (LEAs) were established to control educational issues in the various districts in Uganda.

The Local Education Authorities (LEAs) were comprised of a district council, whose composition included various bodies who had vested interest in education, with added members representing the missions or churches and local teachers in the ares (Burns, 1965). The main reasons for the formation of LEAs were: 1) to encourage local initiative in educational matters; 2) the need to decentralise the vast administrative machine; 3) the need to harness local resources in money and materials for the operation of education.

The LEAs assumed a statutory responsibility for primary education (Burns, 1965). They were responsible for the general management of local schools in various areas including the appointment and transfer of teachers. In addition, the administration of central government funds, mainly the grants towards teachers' salaries in schools, was put under the LEAs direct management.

The encouragement of local government participation in education was a major change of British colonial policy. This was part of the whole concept of indirect rule which presupposed delegation to the indigenous organizations of as many duties as they would conveniently carry. However, the responsibilities of LEAs was limited to the field of primary

education mainly because this was what they could manage and even then, there were very few secondary schools. In some countries like Nigeria, local authorities were prepared for this vast increase of responsibility over a period of years (Burns, 1965). The delegation of powers with respect to primary education to the local authorities postulated a greater degree of control over the voluntary agencies (missions) and for their existence, these agencies had now to rely on local funds.

Three features emerged from this administrative background. First, most of the primary school teachers' world was bound by the local authority. For example, their salary came from the local office, schools depended on local authority for all their equipment. So when the newly constituted authorities were undergoing economic pains, some primary school teachers went without their salaries for months or had to teach in schools with little or no equipment. Second, local authorities had the powers to make transfers of teachers as they wished. Third, LEAs were able to develop their own schools, primary and secondary. By 1962, very few schools were controlled by the colonial government. This was a tremendous achievement by the local authorities.

2.9.4 Teacher Service Commission

The Teacher Service Commission Act of 1966 was designed to create a central employer which would be responsible for

the hiring and payment of teachers both in government and private schools (Cowan, 1970). In other words the Teacher Service Commission (TSC) was empowered to recruit and employ registered teachers in any public school. The Commission was also empowered to promote, transfer or terminate the employment of any teacher who would behave contrary to the Teaching Service Commission Act (Cowan, 1970).

Under the TSC, many changes took place in educational administration. One major change was the abolition of the vertical division between government and non-government teachers. In addition, the association helped to create a self contained organization based on the concept of professional unity. This unity was reflected in the terms of service, salary scales and a built-in code of conduct determined by professional considerations.

Unlike the missionaries, the TSC allowed teachers more mobility. Teachers could move from one employer to the other with greater freedom. For example, a teacher would move freely from a Catholic to a Protestant school or to a Muslim school or vice-versa. No more was the teacher subject to sudden transfers from one end of the country to the other. Hiring and dismissing under this kind of management were more closely regulated and at the same time more flexible.

The commission was also empowered to deal with teachers for both mission and government schools. For missions, this meant greater Africanisation of the staff. Under such

regulations, missions were not permitted to advertise for teaching posts locally without the permission of the commission (Cameron, 1970). Likewise all returning mission teachers were appointed on temporary terms and the terms of service were the same as those of local teachers.

2.10 Changes in teacher training

The 1989 Policy Commission (The Republic of Uganda, 1989), has emphasised the importance of teachers in the developmental process of the country. The Commission has also observed that the teacher's main task is to skilfully impart knowledge to help students develop both the desire and the ability to learn. To achieve these aims, the Commission recommended changes in the nature of teacher training. Students are to be given more practical and professional training. In addition to professional development of the student teachers, it has been suggested that training programmes should be aimed at securing teachers' personal development with the hope of a more rounded personality and a better practitioner.

2.11 Conclusion

It is evident from this discussion that teachers were remarkably respected persons in their native communities. Prior to the 1970s, teachers were able to improve their economic as well as their professional and social status.

After the emergence of LEAs, schools and colleges emerged as self-respecting professional institutions with a significant say in their professional matters. However, by mid the 1970s a sombre picture began to emerge. The next chapter will examine the forces of change that transformed the teaching profession in Uganda.

CHAPTER III

FORCES OF CHANGE : 1971-1991

3.1 Introduction

The 1950s and 1960s saw an expansion and growth of the teaching profession at an unprecedented scale. Teaching was perceived as a means of social allocation and access to positions of power, wealth, status, prestige and security. By the end of the 70s, teaching as a profession had become an imperiled profession. Why? What were the forces for this change? What form did they take?

Education analysts (such as Ghosh, 1987a), have considered education as shaped by predominant economic, social, political and historical forces which are tightly interwoven in a given community. In order to survive, it is widely acknowledged that a political system needs the support of its citizens (Tindigarukayo, 1988a). Education has, in most cases, provided this support through the process of political socialisation and indoctrination to help children develop the citizenship qualities required in various societies. Therefore the role of education in national development cannot be ignored.

Two types of forces were identified as influential in causing social change in Uganda between 1971 and 1991: 1) the political struggle which laid the ground work for: 2) economic stagnation. Economic stagnation in turn exerted numerous

influences and transformations in society. A new political system (the military government) and the subsequent political instability (coups and civil wars) exerted numerous pressures on society. These pressures stimulated a transformation of the people's general way of life. Such a reciprocal relationship was strong enough to bring about major changes in education. One of these changes was the demoralisation and eventual disintegration of the teaching profession at all levels of schooling. This chapter describes and analyses the forces which transformed the teaching profession into a beleaguered force. The chapter is divided into three sections. The first section describes the education system during and after the Amin regime. The subsequent two sections identify and describe the political and economic forces which transformed the teaching profession.

3.2 Education during the hard times (1971-1991)

Uganda's education system consists basically of four levels (Fig. 3.1). It is estimated that many children of school age never go to school and there is a high rate of dropout at primary and secondary school levels (Katebalirwe, 1989). It is believed that about one-half of the respective age group completes primary school of which only about a quarter enters ordinary secondary school (ordinary level or "O'level") for four years, or technical school for up to three years of vocational training. About a third of the candidates

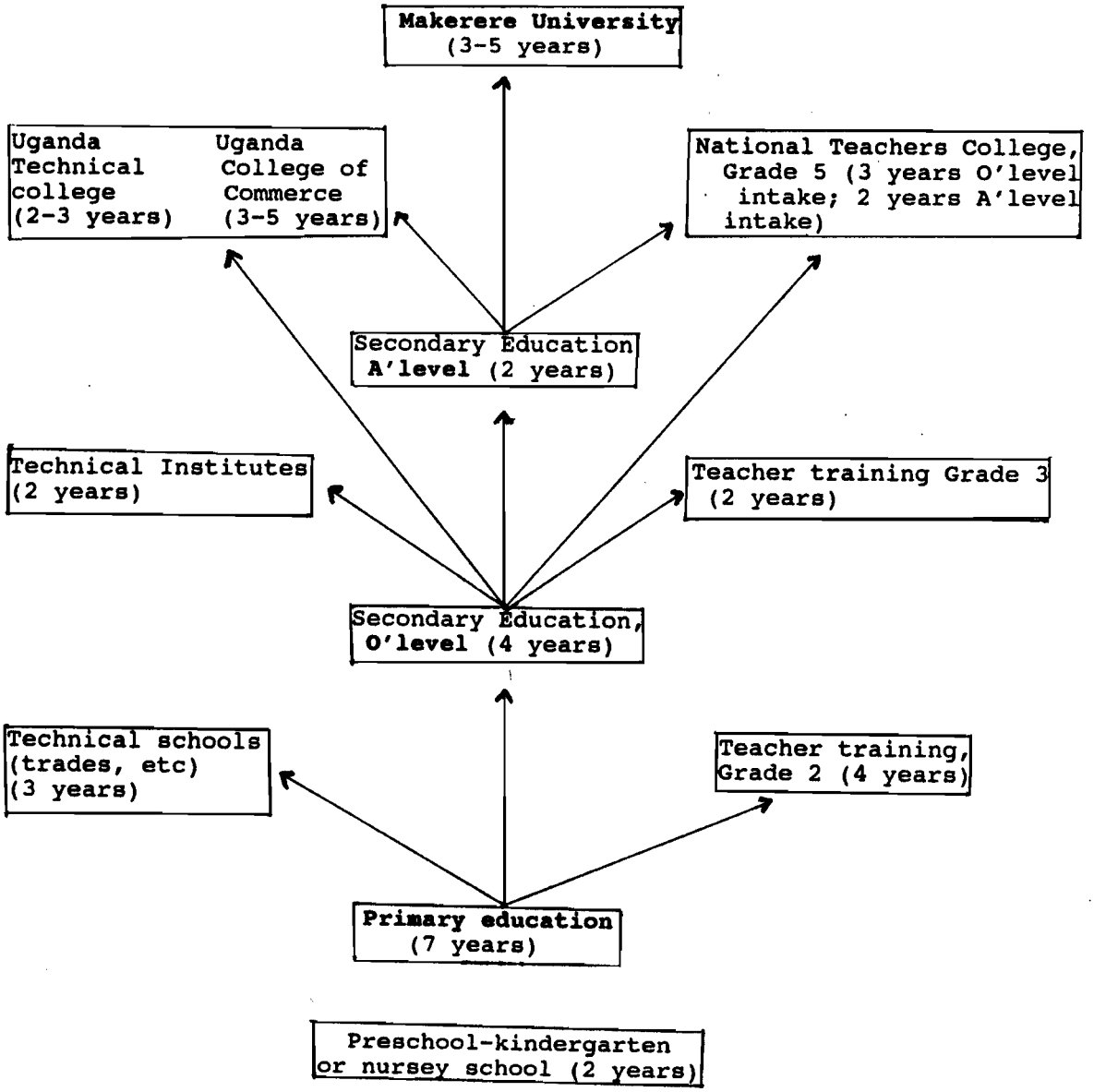

Fig. 3.1 Structure of the formal educational system.
Adopted from Husen and Postlethwaite, 1989.

pass the "O Level" examinations and only about 40% of these continue into advanced secondary education ("A level") for another two years or join various departmental training institutes including teacher training colleges (Grade III); and finally only about 40% pass the "A level" examinations and become eligible to go on to university. Only a fraction of these eligible students get placed in the university due to the shortage of places. It can be estimated that less than 5% of the pupils who initially enrol in primary schools actually make it to the university.

Although both the number of places for Primary One pupils and the total number of pupils enroled more than doubled between 1969 and 1979, this increase is less impressive when seen against the background of those who dropped out before they completed the primary level. Such an expansion required the construction and furnishing of 2,243 new primary schools, an average of 250 per year (Odeat, 1990). The entire capital cost of these new facilities was borne by private citizens rather than by the government. The expenditure of the Ministry of Education (total government expenditure) as a percentage of the national budget during the '70s was kept low; in fact, it gradually declined. For instance between 1971/72 and 1977/78 the total expenditure dropped from 15.3% to 14.7% respectively (Odeat, 1990). In relation to GDP, the resources devoted to education by the public sector declined substantially from 3.4% in 1971/72 to 2.4% in 1977/78, as did the revenue base of

the government (UNICEF, 1990). In the 1980s, the real value of the recurrent and development budget allocations to the ministry of education varied greatly from year to year (Table 3.1). In 1988/89, for example, the total allocation was 21.1% of the value allocated in 1970/71.

Similarly, in terms of quality, this expansion, particularly in the late 70s, masked mediocre achievement. For example, although actual figures of enrolment increased, on average, only about a third of Primary Seven pupils in 1975 qualified for further education (Burua, 1975). A study on student academic achievement conducted randomly in one of the districts in Uganda (Mpigi District), revealed that the level of science knowledge in the last year of Primary School was among the lowest in the world (Bikangaga, 1986). In 1980, 49% of those who sat for "O Levels" either failed or received the lowest possible pass, which in any case could not have helped them to qualify for higher education, (UNICEF, 1990). At the university level, those who attempted to major in science failed to obtain a degree in their chosen specialization.

Such results may not be surprising particularly when the government ignored the role of education in development. This neglect led to a scarcity of learning and teaching materials. Consequently, students spent longer hours in school trying to catch up, copying and memorising a lesson which the teacher had summarised on the chalk-board, from a single out-dated textbook, which might have been borrowed from a neighbouring

Table 3.1 Ministry of education (MOE) recurrent and development budget selected years, 1970-88 (U.Sh. Millions)[a]

Fiscal Year[b]	70-71	82-83	84-85	86-87	88-89
Recurrent	3	68	279	877	9,370
Development	1	5	14	206	759
Total	4	73	293	1,082	10,129
% National Budget					
Recurrent	14.6%	12.9%	13.0%	10.2%	10.8%
Development	3.1%	0.9%	0.7%	2.4%	0.9%
Real Expenditure % 1970 level					
Recurrent	100%	22.1%	36.6%	13.9%	23.6%
Development	100%	7.1%	8.8%	15.3%	9.0%
Total	100%	19.5%	31.7%	14.1%	21.1%

a Source: Adopted from UNICEF, 1990.

b In the 1980s, the real value of the recurrent and development budget allocations to the ministry of education has varied greatly from year to year. In 1988-89 the total allocation was 21.1% of the value allocated in 1970-71.

school. Heyneman (1983), observed that in 1971, there was an average of one chair for every 1.2 pupils; in 1981 there was one chair for every 8.8 pupils (Heyneman, 1983, p. 410). In 1971, all students had their own uniforms, pencils, pens, and notebooks for every subject. Ten years later, as early as the 1980s, many students could not afford uniforms and many of them had to share pencils and note books (Heyneman, 1983). Such a shortage proved a serious handicap to the learning and teaching process. Unfortunately, scarcity of provisions was evident in the entire social system and as a result, the efficiency of public services declined. Education for many of those from the peasant origin ceased to be perceived as a means to better standards of living. The emerging youths of the peasant class were increasingly getting disillusioned by schooling which they perceived as not worth the struggle since those who became educated were the most vulnerable to the prevailing social and economic conditions. Deprived families lost motivation to encourage their children to go to school. The harsh realities of everyday life had stunted the views of many parents of what was best for their children in educational attainment. Analyzing these circumstances leads one to the conclusion that during Amin's regime, Ugandan schools lacked a favourable climate for influencing young people towards educational opportunities. Even those who persisted in schools aimed at getting certificates that could enable them to find jobs outside the country.

The military government perceived education as a dangerous weapon to their political interests. Education, they believed, produced a liberated peasantry or workforce and was therefore a potential threat to their status quo, (especially their remaining in power). Amin viewed educated persons as instigators of "virtual" political coups. His very first cabinet was made of mainly intellectuals and university professors (Kannyo, 1987), but within a year, all of them had been replaced by the illiterate military personnel. It is not surprising therefore that teachers during that era were considered obsolete. The military's philosophy that education was dispensable and that one could lead a better life without going to school did indeed challenge the teacher's value of social worth. It is within this social ambience that present teachers find themselves engulfed. The social system in which teachers served seemed to have failed to grant them the benefits they believed education could offer.

3.3 Political forces

3.3.1 Ethnic rivalries

The first indication of the colonial politics of "divide and rule" was the very manner in which boundaries of Sub-Sahara African states were drawn at the conference in Berlin in the late nineteenth century (Mamdani, 1984). The result, argues Mamdani, was the "fold" of some people, who had no close historical contacts and who were at different levels of

development into one country, while "splitting" nationalities and tribes into or among several countries (Mamdani, 1984). The colonial power in Uganda, through such divisions, created a social class which acted as an instrument of colonial rule and whose socio-economic status was raised sufficiently above the majority of the population (Mamdani, 1984; Tindigarukayo, 1988b; Sathyamurthy, 1986). As a result, the country was divided into two, the **North** and the **South**. Based on this division, the northerners were made into labour reserves from which the army and police personnel could be recruited. Southerners were perceived as good civil servants while Asians were believed to be good merchants (Hopkins, 1967; Mamdani, 1984; Tindigarukayo, 1988a). Occupations, based on tribe, race, region or religious affiliation were an important policy of the British in Africa.

As a result, independent Uganda inherited a divided nation of at least 17 major ethnic groups and a number of minor ones, with disparity in development especially between the relatively impoverished north and the more affluent south. In the southern part of the country live the Bantu speaking people (who make up two-thirds of the country's population), and in the northern part, are the Nilotic, Nilotic-Hamitic and Sudanic (Nubian) speaking people who comprise about one-third of the country's population (Fig. 3.2).

The Independence Constitution provided for four kingdoms: in the south and west are Buganda, Bunyoro, Ankole and Toro

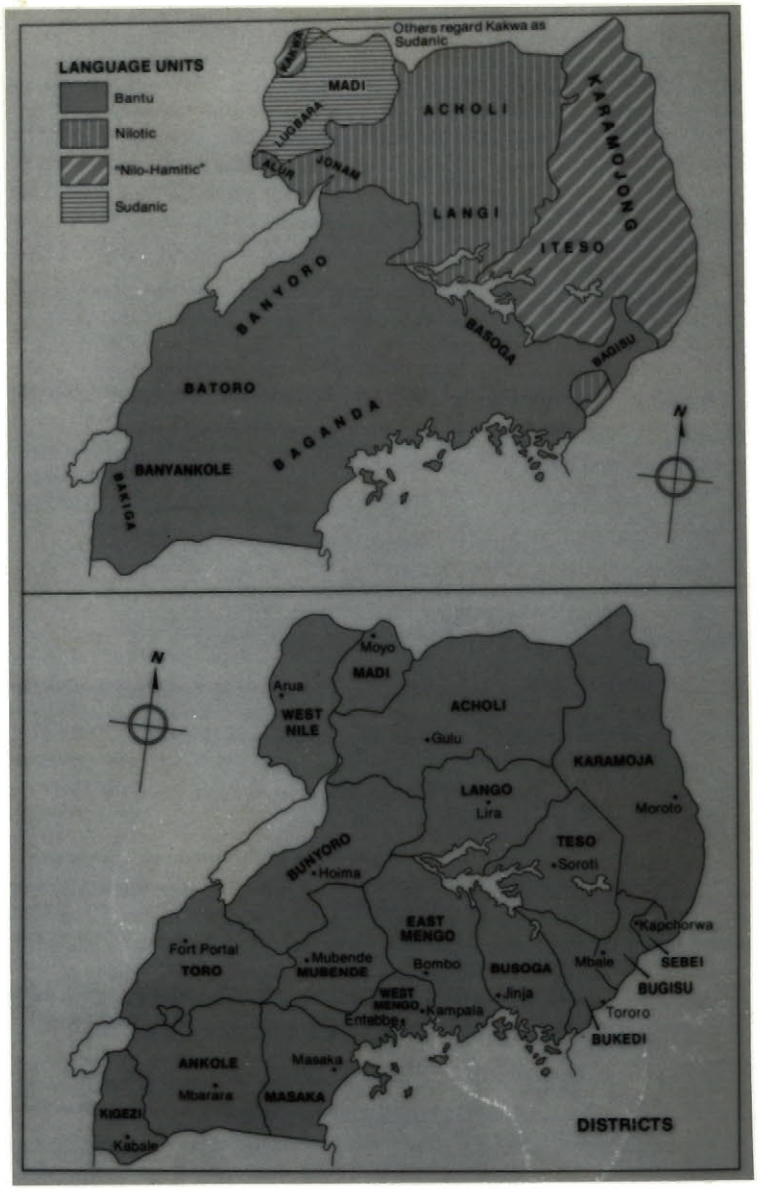

Fig. 3.2. Linguistic units and tribal districts.

The **Bantu** are situated in the earlier developed south and hence **"Southerners"**. The **Nilotic, Nilo-Hamitic and Sudanic (Nubians)** are located in the less developed north and hence **"Northeners"**. Thus ethnic differences coincide with the economic. As a result, each of these two divisions covet power. Each of the old administrative districts shown on the **lower map** roughly coincided with the various tribes in the country. The towns shown were the capitals of the districts or tribes. In most cases, the name of the district was also the name of the tribe with exception of Mubende, East and West Mengo and Masaka which were all Baganda Districts, and West-Nile and Bukedi which comprised several small tribes. The naming has recently changed (**Fig.3.3**) in order to discourage tribal cleavages. Note that the linguistic units (**upper map**) are based on claimed common ancestry (including language & tradition) while the tribes (**lower map**) are based on the present linguistic and traditional similarities. See **page xi** for further description of the tribes in the country. These cleavages form an important basis of the recent strife plaguing the country. The conflict has been between the **Northerners** and **Southerners.**

who had a federal relationship to the Central government, and fourteen districts (in north and east) which had a unitary relationship. At this time Buganda had emerged as the most powerful kingdom, and was the seat of the national capital, Kampala. The British administrative system was established in Buganda. In addition, this kind of administration was later extended to the rest of the country using the Baganda (people of Buganda) as colonial agents. Even among the Bantu speaking, (the southerners), the British created salient divisions. The Baganda, because they collaborated with the British, were the most favoured sub-national group in the country (Hopkins, 1967). They formed a distinct group and received more privileges than any other group in the country with the result that the Baganda have since then developed superior and separatistic tendencies (Hopkins, 1967). Hence the "Buganda question" as it later came to be known, has ever since dominated the politics of Uganda.

Similarly, missionaries first set their tasks around Buganda with the result that competition and ambition were more pronounced among the Baganda than in other tribes. In addition, the system of formal education began earlier and was more developed in Buganda than elsewhere in the country. Furthermore, coffee farming, the most important cash crop in Uganda, was first introduced in Buganda and some parts of the eastern province which made the area more developed than the rest of the country.

Such policies, of furthering the growth of Buganda relative to, and in part at the expense of other parts of the protectorate, (as Uganda was known then), sustained a sense of superiority felt by the Baganda as the most powerful polity in the protectorate. Buganda became the centre of colonial innovation, received more concessions and privileges than any other part of the country (Hopkins, 1967; Hansen, 1977). This resulted in the Baganda being easily selected as civil servants, political agents, landlords and feudal farmers who produced the coffee for export to Europe. On the other hand, the north was turned into a labour reserve from which the army and police personnel could be recruited. According to colonial administrators, northerners displayed better martial qualities than other people in the rest of the country (Ngau, 1987; Tindigarukayo, 1988). This factor was to be crucial after independence since only "Northerners" were armed and therefore could rule using the gun.

Traditionally the army has been associated with northerners. The army was perceived by the rest (the southerners) as an inferior occupation for the ethnically and academically "inferior" persons of the north (Hansen, 1977; Mazrui, 1972). In fact, the army has for long been filled by persons of low education or school dropouts, who later were to terrorize the population and cut off Uganda from development, modernisation and the international world. It is alleged that the northerners became convinced that the army belonged to

them because they were good soldiers "by birth" and therefore they put less emphasis on education. Whatever the beliefs, the army was largely filled by northerners whose education on average was relatively low as compared to the southern regions of Uganda (Otunnu, 1987). When such persons took over the government in 1971, education was not their priority. It is not surprising therefore, with such a history, that the Ugandan education system did not develop after Amin usurped power.

The British applied the policy of classifying responsibilities of Ugandans according to tribes (ethnicity) and created fundamental negative stereotypes and class complexities that helped accentuate ethnic tensions. Ethnicity since then has been used to perpetuate ethnocentrism, violence and revenge (Ngau, 1987). Throughout their different colonies in Africa, the British followed a consistent policy aimed at preserving what they believed to be native customs, beliefs and behaviour as manifestations of innate qualities (Salih, 1990). Some of their other colonies where the above process of accentuating and politicizing communal distinctions were prominent in Nigeria, where Northerners were contrasted with Southerners, in India, where Muslims were contrasted with Hindus, in Ceylon (Sri-Lanka), where Tamils were contrasted with Sinhalese (Salih, 1990 p. 417-418). In other parts of Africa, for example, people who were hunters or tall in physique were expected by the British to be good soldiers and

were encouraged to join the army. Those who comprised the centralised societies (held together by the hereditary institution of Kingship) were encouraged to be administrators (Tindigarukayo, 1988b). It was a British policy that only people of above six feet were allowed to join the army (The Minority Rights, 1984). This policy turned out to exclude the southerners who are relatively shorter than northerners.

Conflict based on cultural and social cleavages, argues Tindigarukayo (1988b), did not exist in pre-colonial Uganda. Pre-colonial conflicts were purely political with no tribal content (Nyakatura, 1973). He suggests that such cleavages became politically salient during the colonial era, for, in the development of the colonial state, both social and cultural differences were politicized. This was possible by providing differential access to positions of advantage to sub-national groups (ethnic tribes) in Uganda which, in turn, led to patterns of competition and conflict along social and cultural lines (Tindigarukayo, 1988b).

This imbalance in political, economic and military power based on cultural differences has been one of the major causes of strife and unrest in Uganda (Boyd, Grmela and Selim, 1990). National unity and economic harmony are some of the most important tools bringing different ethnic groups together so as to form one nation while allowing cultural diversity to persist. On the contrary, since independence, Uganda has experienced a variety of turmoil. Although some of the root

causes of the various turmoil stemmed from the external influence of neo-colonialism, (e.g Communism and Capitalism) most of it resulted from the disunity that was initiated by the British during the colonial rule. In other parts of post-colonial Africa, the biggest cause of civil strife has been ideology, such as communism versus capitalism (e.g Ethiopia, Angola and Mozambique), or racism (e.g South-Africa) or religious rivalries (Moslems versus Christians in Sudan).

Today, long after the British are gone, Uganda's politics are still shaped to a large extent by the shifting relations and alliances between and within the following major groupings (refer to Fig 3.2 and appendix B). (1) The **Northerners** who comprise the **Luo** (**Acholi** and **Langi**) in the north, the **Madi**, **Kakwa** and the **Lugbara** in the North-West (West-Nile), the **Karamojong** and the **Ateso** from the North-East and various minor tribes in **Bugisu** and **Tororo** districts in the east. Historically and linguistically most of the northerners are **Nilotics** or **Nilo-hamitic**. This group consists of a quarter of the population of Uganda. (2) The **Baganda** and the **Basoga** in the south. The Baganda themselves form about a sixth of the Ugandan population. The Basoga are a much smaller group whose language is quite similar to Luganda (the language of Baganda). (3) The **westerners** in the west of the country comprise the **Banyoro, Batooro, Banyankole** and **Bakiiga**. This kind of alliance has only been regional and linguistic. It has not held any political significance so far although its

potential of emerging is there. (4) The southerners or **Bantu** group. Frequently, (especially since the 1980 election which gave rise to Obote's second reign), the Baganda and the Basoga plus the Westerners identify with each other against the Northerners, thus dividing the country into north-south polarities. The Bantu are so called because their languages share a common root word **"ntu"** (Were and Wilson, 1968). They also claim a common ancestry. Either of these ethnic alliances could be more or less pronounced depending on the timing (history) and nature of the conflict. Sometimes a split would arise within the alliance and subsequently spread across the country invoking or strengthening other potential alliances. For example a major split has occurred twice among the northerners: (i) The Nubians (people of west-Nile) under Amin split away and took over power from the Luo in 1971. (ii) The Acholi, under Okello split and took over power from the Langi in 1985. Ngau (1987) argues that such kind of alliances based on ethnic autonomies have been used in parliament, civil service and army in Uganda to form bargaining means of accumulating resources necessary to strengthen local power bases or as instruments for the allocation of rewards to supporters and the denial of rewards to opponents.

The first constitution and elections at independence (1962) allowed Mutesa to be President (Head of state), and Obote Prime Minister (Head of government). The Kabaka being a Muganda, viewed Obote a (northerner) as inferior and wanted

him to be his subordinate, ignoring the constitutional powers which Obote had. This created a conflict which led to a clash between these figures. The clash exploded when Mutesa refused to sign a bill (as required by the constitution) to transfer some part of Buganda (the lost counties, see Appendix B) to Bunyoro, a kingdom in western Uganda. The people of the lost counties had decided, through a referendum to transfer to Bunyoro. Mutesa refused to honour the vote and withdrew his party (KY) from the alliance. However this did not affect Obote's government because his own party (UPC) by then had acquired sufficient KY members in its ranks to remain in power without a coalition (Minority Rights Group, 1984). Nevertheless, this so called " Buganda crisis" determined what was going to happen to Mutesa and Uganda at large. In 1966, Obote dissolved the constitution and dismissed Mutesa as President of Uganda. Mutesa in return ordered Obote out of Buganda Kingdom (this is where the capital of Uganda is situated) (Minority Rights Group, 1984). Obote took advantage of the ethnically imbalanced army (comprised of his own ethnicity) to overthrow the first constitutional government in 1966. King Mutesa fled to Britain.

A new constitution which made Obote an Executive President was passed by parliament in 1967. Now commander in-chief of the army, Obote became very powerful and like his predecessors, continued to rule Uganda along ethnic and religious cleavages. He refused to call elections because he

was skeptical of how the Baganda and the Catholics would vote.

When Amin (head of the army) developed personal differences with Obote, the former took advantage of this hatred and overthrew Obote in 1971. The Baganda cheered after the overthrow of Obote because he had exiled their king. They did not foresee that Amin would be much more brutal than Obote.

Ethnic conflicts have been a drain on resources and have been a serious obstacle to regional development. While it is reasonable to attribute the previous turmoil in Uganda to bad leadership, the underlying force is ethnic rivalry. Ethnic animosities were a result of economic underdevelopment and uneven distribution of wealth among the various regions in Uganda. To reconcile such differences, the strategy of development in Uganda must take into consideration the reality of ethnic and religious based politics (see below) and seek to supersede them (Ngau, 1987). Since he took office in 1986, President Museveni, a southerner, has attempted to create an ethnic balance, diverging from his predecessors by inviting the various ethnic and political groups from all regions to participate in various activities in the country. This is also noticeable in the army hierarchy where promotions of northerners e.g, from Lango and Acholi, are now perceived as an act of reconciliation with different ethnic groups. However, there is sharp disagreement among some Ugandan groups regarding the extent of this ethnic balance.

3.3.2 Religious rivalries

Uganda has been a battle ground between Catholics and Protestants since the colonial era. This tension has always carried a highly political character, with the Catholic church supporting the Democratic Party (DP) (in essence reflecting the Christian Democratic parties of Europe), and the Anglican church supporting the Uganda People's Congress (UPC) (Hopkins, 1967).

Influenced by preconceived ideas brought from Europe, Europeans played a very big role in the development of religious and ethnic consciousness in Uganda. As a result, Uganda has exhibited the most unusual politics, for nowhere else on the continent have political and religious lines of cleavage paralleled one another so closely (Hopkins, 1967). Table 3.2 shows religious affiliation by area in the 1980s. The Table indicates that 49% of the population is Catholic, 33% Protestant, 7% Muslim, while 10% belong to no group. Religion was important in the creation of political parties shortly before independence in 1962. In fact, in the colonial period, Protestantism was a state religion. All types of administrative structures were filled by Protestant converts (Table 3.3). The Table shows the distribution of jobs in Ankole between the two religions. It is very clear from the Table that Protestants dominated in those jobs. After the 1971 coup religious rivalries became less important because Amin banned all political parties (which were linked to religious

Table 3.2 Religious affiliationa by area, 1980s[b].

District	% RESPONDENTS				
	Catholic	Protestant	Muslim	Other	None
Kampala	37	32	19	1	0
Arua	51	37	15	1	4
North Teso	31	27	0	1	40
Central Tororo	52	43	1	0	4
Toro (West)	63	22	4	1	10
Mbarara	38	54	7	0	1
NATIONAL	49	33	7	0	10

a Religious affiliation is fundamental to social groupings in Uganda, and regular attendance at weekly religious services is thought to be as high as 80%.

b Source: Adopted from UNICEF, 1990.

Table 3.3 Ankole higher chiefs and senior officers by religion[a], 1960s[b].

	1961		1963		1966	
	Higher Chiefs	Senior Officers	Higher Chiefs	Senior Officers	Higher Chiefs	Senior Officers
Protestants	50	27	52	27	34	27
Catholics	12	4	14	4	9	2

a Recruitment bias by religion in the 1960s is illustrated by this data from (the former) Ankole district. This bias is country wide.

b Source: Adopted from UNICEF, 1990.

groups). In 1980, when the political parties were re-established, religion re-surfaced, although as a less powerful political force. Today ethnic rivalries seem to play a greater role than the religious rivalries. The latter, nevertheless, cannot be underrated.

At independence in 1962, there were only three political parties. DP and UPC were formed entirely on the basis of religious affiliation as explained above. The third party, Kabaka Yekka (KY), essentially ethnic in origin and whose members were Protestants, was formed in Buganda to support the Kabaka (King) of Buganda. This party had no support outside Buganda. Eventually, after failing to get the majority of seats at independence, UPC sought an alliance with KY to form a government. This was possible because the Kabaka being Protestant preferred to ally himself with a fellow Protestant to than collaborate with Catholics (even though the leader of DP, Benedict Kiwanuka was a fellow Muganda). As a result of this religious based victory, Protestants dominated senior offices and chieftainships.

At the same time, the organisational powers and the entire nature of the missionaries enabled their religious beliefs to contribute powerfully to the structuring of the various regions in the country, notably through the administration of the education system (Hansen, 1977; Mamdani, 1984). Practically all of the elementary schools and a good many high schools were under mission control at the time of

independence. The Anglican system of education deliberately set out to train Protestants as a ruling class through a rapid expansion of higher education, whereas the Catholics had gone in for a broader coverage (Kasozi, 1977; Hansen, 1977). The significance of such planning could not be ignored because it is largely through the school system that the national sentiments were inculcated. Each of the religious groups was engaged in turning out good Catholics, Anglicans or Muslims. In the struggle for supremacy, the Catholic and Protestant churches have always been arch-rivals.

Today, religion continues to be partially the basis for the organization of political movements, trade unions and development groups in Uganda (Boyd, Grmela and Selim, 1990). Religious institutions, for example, are still the principal agents for the delivery of social services such as hospitals and other health care units in the country (UNICEF, 1990).

3.3.3 Educational complexities: political illiterates versus political elites

Like ethnic and religious groups, educational status particularly in the 1950s and 60s had a significant role to play in the leading circles of Uganda's politics. Political elites formed or joined political parties according to their religious or ethnic affiliations. Each of these elite groups had a sizeable, well organized local following, well distributed among important decision-making groups and they

had a considerable impact on national policies (Hopkins, 1967).

An elitist climate was established and it comprised of a very rigid hierarchical stratification system, which was a narrow based educational pyramid with limited upward mobility. These elites persistently exercised significant power over a large number of people with regard to access and allocation of highly prized resources in the national political system. As such, they were the principal actors in the pre-Amin government. Education was a distinguishing characteristic of these elites.

When the army, which was largely illiterate, took over power in 1971, the educated group was persecuted. They were faced with difficult and agonizing choices. They had to choose between going into exile or attempting to work with the system and preserving their integrity. In the end they had to flee for their lives or else if they decided to stay the result was to mysteriously "disappear" (Southal, 1980). "Disappear" was a term used by Ugandans to mean that someone had been killed by Amin's army men who were mainly Nubians by tribe. Nubians have been traditionally associated with the army.

Nubians' involvement in the Ugandan army began in 1895 when Captain Lugard recruited them from the crumbling army of the Egypt and Sudan enclave to help him consolidate the British presence in Buganda (Gwyn, 1977). The recruitment of Nubians from the army of the above enclave was continued by

various British officers to help them put down various isolated resistances in Uganda. Many of these soldiers and their families later on settled around towns and trading centres in the West-Nile district where the native Nubians of Uganda lived. The foreign Nubians were never completely accepted by Ugandans who have continued to view them as aliens. (The controversy surrounding the citizenship of Nubians and other border tribes has been a political factor causing some tension in Uganda (Minority Rights Group, 1984)). However, when Amin came to power, many local Nubians from West-Nile joined the army. Further recruitment were also made from among the Nubians in neighbouring Zaire and Sudan. Under Amin, Nubian soldiers became politically significant. The British preferred to recruit such persons with least education because (according to the British), "they easily obeyed orders and, without the intellectual capacity to question, they would supposedly accept discipline automatically" (Gwyn, 1977, p. 25). Illiterate Amin, who joined the army during the colonial days, is a product of such a policy.

Amin, like Obote, recruited his fellow tribesmen, and other "bayaye", (social failures, outlaws and thieves) picked from the streets (Otunnu, 1987). Within a short time these very persons became powerful ministers. In their nine year period, their leadership had succeeded in turning almost the whole population illiterate. It should be emphasized here that Amin himself was not a product of the Western-Christian system

of education as the previous civilian political elites were (Hansen, 1977). Therefore his seizure of power meant a decisive shift away from the dominance of elites.

The Ugandan army had been comprised of low and poorly educated persons since the colonial days to 1986. Their dislike for the educated was still a significant factor which manifested itself in the type of policies they formulated to run a country. Illiteracy and ignorance were great set backs for Amin in the formulation of policies relevant for Ugandans. What Amin and his advisers knew best was building a powerful defence machinery. Although no data were available on defence allocations, it is believed that three quarters of the country's annual budget was allocated to defence. Amin viewed all scholars as an intimidating force to his political power. He could not distinguish the political elites from other elites. Mr. Museveni, a graduate of Dar-es-salaam university in Tanzania and the current president of Uganda, has described this as backwardness (Museveni, 1987). The Army eventually became the immediate distributer of values, in the long run producing the high percentage of illiterates among the young people of the 1980s and 1990s.

3.3.4 The legacy of Idi Amin

The excesses of Idi Amin's leadership are very well documented (Gwyn, 1977; Southal, 1980; Mamdani, 1984; Ngau, 1987). Mamdani (1984) described Amin as the finest product of

the colonial army. Southal (1980) described him as a "clown who lived his life of power, self indulgence, and tyranny, making himself and his country a total jest, so that all the world must recognise the basic absurdity and inequity of post-independence regimes in Africa" (p.627).

Upon taking power in 1971, Amin took revenge and killed the army officers who belonged to Obote's tribe (Minority Rights Group, 1984). Unfortunately, this kind of behaviour extended to the educated elites in the country. Any one who opposed Amin, especially if one did not belong to his tribe, mysteriously "disappeared" and this was Amin's most common and effective way of eliminating his opponents.

The military which was largely made of illiterate officers, removed learned politicians, including the technocrats Amin had initially appointed, from control of state power in 1971. Civil administration and business firms were also filled by military officers. Those army men who were prohibited from participating in trade and commerce, practised their businesses through their relatives who had little or no knowledge of running large businesses or industry.

By 1974, the militarization of the bureaucracy was followed by the bureaucratization of officers who were in full control of civilian roles (Campbell, 1975; Jorgensen, 1977; Southal, 1980). Thus, wrote Jorgesen (1977), "the cabinet in Uganda had gone full circle from the civilian cabinet of the first Obote regime, to the 1971 early technocrat cabinet of

the Amin regime whose civilian members were issued uniforms and sworn into the army, and shortly later, to Amin's military cabinet with members effectively exiled into civilian roles (p. 65). Besides, membership in the armed forces served as a means of social mobility. It provided the majority of individual soldiers and officers with access to high ranking roles in civilian administration and in business life.

The military leadership amounted to endemic violence and corruption which in turn led to disorganization and breakdown of the social, economic and political systems in Uganda (Southal, 1980). This kind of leadership caused absolute reduction in productivity and the availability of goods and services, as well as in administrative output and in education, health and general welfare (Campbell, 1975; Mamdani, 1984).

Amin's leadership brought another factor to the forefront: Islam. Amin was very quick in taking advantage of religion to reinforce his political power. Since he was a Muslim, he sought the support of Moslems in and outside the country. In Uganda, Muslims make up less than 7.7% of the total population (refer to Table 3.2). In fact his aim was to make Uganda an Islamic state. It is interesting to note that, although the majority of people in Uganda seem to treasure both religion and ethnicity, it has been very difficult to make permanent alliances which would make political stability. Islam had no strong roots in Uganda and in fact those who had

converted during Amin, mainly had done so to get high jobs, or to escape murder. It is believed that most of them have since re-converted to their original beliefs.

It has been suggested that Amin lacked a precise conception of education and its correlation to development. For example, it is widely believed that he had strongly criticised the requirements of formal education and foreign linguistic achievements as qualifications for technical or professional jobs or social status. For example, he was quoted to have said that possession of a university academic degree does not add anything to professional ability (Kannyo, 1987). Likewise, it is believed that he eliminated many senior officers in the Uganda army who had education higher than his own (Gwyn, 1977). It is evident from statements like those above, that Amin was expressing resentment and rejection of the prevailing norms governing social mobility.

Ironically, during the military leadership, the rate at which school girls, particulary those in secondary schools were getting pregnant from army officers was unbelievable. It should be pointed out here that when Amin took power, army men no longer stayed in their barracks. They were allowed to move freely into civilian life. Since they were allocated large businesses (from the property belonging to departed Asians), they were the ones now with wealth. Therefore, since these girls were already vulnerable to the poor economic conditions, little or no resistance was made to the advances of these army

officers. Pregnancies and subsequent dropout from school became epidemic. Apparently, the government did not condemn such a practice. This is understandable since as already discussed, education was not a valuable treasure for the Amin leadership. Society, likewise could not condemn the practise because the majority of peasants and working class people were disillusioned about whether education served any purpose. In fact, for many families, this was a powerful source of "income" which would be used to maintain the other members of the family.

Thus for nine years, Uganda was being ruled by illiterate men, who lacked not only a political purpose but also a constructive philosophy of education. As a result, this government could not in its decade-long rule develop education which was necessary for democracy and national development. Desai (1974), suggests that it is difficult to imagine freedom and democracy with an illiterate society. He argues that democracy without a literate citizenry "is an empty shell, pseudo-democracy at heart, a dictatorship using masses as voting cattle" (Desai, 1974 p. 218).

Furthermore, suppression of civil liberties, expressed in the persecution of prominent elites, press censorship, and the downfall of the economic infrastructure characterised the entire period of the military rule in the 1970s. As a result, the country sank into a "quagmire" of political and economic chaos (Avrigon and Honey, 1982). Little or no effort was made

to replace obsolete plants and equipment. It was practically impossible for Amin to engage in international trade because his image abroad as at home was bad especially after brutally expelling Asians without compensating them for their property. By 1978, the regime was facing a total economic blockade especially after the United Nations voted sanctions against Uganda. In short, Amin's leadership failed to sustain economic development, national integration and political legitimacy. If Amin achieved anything, it was to unite Ugandans against himself. By the end of his rule, ethnic and religious rivalries had disappeared only to re-surface after his overthrow. It is not surprising that education took a nose-dive.

3.3.5 The return of Milton Obote and the rise of the National Resistance Movement (NRM)

Amin was overthrown in 1979 in the liberation war waged by the Tanzanian army (supported by Ugandan exiles) under the command of President Nyerere, a personal friend to Obote. Yusuf Lule was then appointed to be president by the Ugandan exiles living in Tanzania after the liberation war. This appointment was possible because Lule was a Muganda. A person of another tribe would probably have been rejected by the Baganda. Lule is believed to have used this opportunity for strengthening the Baganda tribe in the government at the expense of other interests of the government (Sathyamurthy,

1986; Otunnu, 1987). In his short reign, Lule was accused of trying to re-establish traditional rulers and of making the Baganda tribe a dominant political force. It is also believed that his political style was rigid and clumsy. Furthermore, it was believed that Lule's intellectual and political ideas were imported from Britain and had no relationship to the problems faced by a war-torn Uganda (Sathyamuthy, 1986). It is not surprising therefore, that Yusuf Lule was overthrown within two months in office and was replaced by Godfrey Binaisa. Like Lule's, Binaisa's selection was ethnically influenced.

Binaisa didn't survive for long either. He was deposed by the pro-Obote collaborators led by Paulo Muwanga and Oyite Ojok. The council which selected Binaisa, a Muganda, sought to soothe the Baganda for having lost Lule, a traditionalist who would have brought back the kingship institution. Binaisa however was not a favourite of the Baganda and was believed to be an outcast in their circles. This rejection made him to be liked by the non-Baganda, thus increasing tension between the Baganda and the rest of the population. The tension resulting from this division was capitalised on by Muwanga and his group to forge elections which would see Obote in power for the second time. It is strongly believed that President Nyerere used Muwanga to influence political decisions in Uganda in favour of Obote who was to return and be president again in December 1980. Muwanga, like Binaisa, was less favoured because he collaborated with Obote who is a Luo-Nilotic

(Northerner). At this point in time, Uganda was looking for a Messiah. Obote's second return did not reflect the type of Messiah Ugandans had hoped for.

In 1980, the national leadership changed three times until Obote regained power after a controversial general election. The results of the election were widely disputed and several prominent political leaders retreated into rebel activities to press for changes in leadership. Nevertheless, by using military repression, Obote hung on to power for five years (1980-1985) This leadership was accompanied by a bitter underground struggle between the government and the rebel forces. The most successful rebel group was led by Mr. Yoweri Museveni now President of Uganda.

Meanwhile, the Obote government became pre-occupied with political survival instead of reconstructing the economy. The government resorted to temporary and often irrelevant projects which would hoodwink the masses and earn Obote popularity. For instance, the little financial aid received from multilateral and bilateral agencies was used for importing sugar and salt instead of for reconstructing the productive sector of the devastated economy. Among the manufactured food items, salt and sugar are the most valued food items (other foodstuffs are normally grown on individual homesteads). In addition, Ugandans consider salt and sugar as a measure of economic performance of the government. During the Amin period, salt and sugar were rare commodities. The majority of people were

deprived of such commodities since the factories which used to process such products had broken down. So when Obote filled the shelves with these commodities, it was like having a "bumper harvest". This could blindfold the mass to believe that the economy was recovering. Therefore Obote and his supporters hoped to convince Ugandans and the outside world that they provided the type of leadership the country had for so long awaited. In reality, the economy was still unproductive, totally dependent on importation of sugar, salt and other basic needs.

In an attempt to buy popularity, Obote's government opened new secondary schools throughout the country, even though such a move was not a priority for Uganda at that time. These "new" schools were actually not new but promotions of old primary schools which were themselves in very bad shape. They were mainly buildings deserted by persons who had fled from the liberation war or were exiled or killed during Amin's dictatorship. Such schools had neither teachers nor instructional materials. In reality these "third world schools", as they were locally known, were not an immediate need. The term "third world" meant that these schools were "underdeveloped" and inefficient.

Obote became much more inefficient than he had been in his earlier reign. He failed to control violence committed by his highly undisciplined and ill trained security officers (Tindigarukayo, 1988a). He also failed to assert his

authority, suggesting that he had lost the "political zeal" that was attributed to his first leadership (Otunnu, 1987). Furthermore, Obote had surrounded himself with inefficient and corrupt advisers whom, for some reason, he could neither discipline nor dismiss. Instead he resorted to bribing the military with promotions and business allocations in the same way Amin had controlled his army. Obote's political supporters were likewise rewarded. Therefore, corruption did not stop with Amin; in fact, it had already been institutionalised in the country. For example it was very difficult to get services or jobs, or for students to get scholarships if they did not belong to Obote's political party (UPC). Many teachers and other professionals including those who had returned from exile had to flee again.

During the underground struggle, which was meant to overthrow Obote from his second reign, the "Luwero triangle" became a battle ground between government and the rebel forces. This is an area north of Kampala which was a major site for the civil war of the 1980s (see page xi). Thousands of people were massacred and whole villages desecrated (Boyd, 1989). In 1985, an army rebellion led by Basillio Okello resulted in a coup that brought Tito Okello (overall army commander) to power. The immediate cause of this coup, as widely reported by the media, was Obote's failure to resolve the growing conflict between the Acholi and the Langi ethnic groups (Nyeko, 1987). The ethnic tensions between the Acholi

and the Langi (both Luos), resulted because the Langi (Obote's tribe), were favourably promoted while the Acholi who did most of the fighting in the "Luwero triangle" against the so called "bandits" as Obote used to call the rebels fighting against him in a guerilla war, received no such benefits. When the army Chief of Staff, Oyite-Ojok died in a plane crash, his position was filled by a junior Lango (see appendix B) (Otunnu, 1987). This sparked tension between the Langi and the Acholi in the army which eventually led to Obote's second overthrow. This coup was unplanned, emotional and tribe oriented. Like the 1971 coup, the 1985 coup was not motivated by any ideological purpose. It is also suggested that the Acholi overthrew Obote to save themselves from the civil war in which many of them were selected to fight on the front line (Otunnu, 1987). This theory is supported by the fact that Okello's short-lived government initiated negotiations with the rebels (Museveni), a move which Obote had blocked for years. This did not save Okello's government maybe because Museveni was determined to eliminate ethnic imbalances and create national unity. The Okello government was overthrown in 1986 by the National Resistance Movement (NRM) after less than one year in office.

The NRM government has vowed to eradicate ethnic and religious loyalties from Ugandan politics (The Economist Intelligence Unit, 1990). It is suggested that the NRM government is non-sectarian and represents all communities

within the country (UNICEF, 1990). NRM's approach to politics is believed to rest on fundamental commitment to radical reform of Ugandan politics along national (as opposed to tribal or religious) lines (Sathyamurthy, 1986). The Government hopes to achieve this through the Resistance Committees (RCs). These committees have been established in the 34 newly designated districts (Fig.3.3), to ensure popular grassroots participation in politics (Boyd, Grmela, and Selima, 1990). However eliminating ethnic rivalries is an immense task which will probably take a long time to achieve.

3.4 Economic forces

3.4.1 A brief background to the economy

Uganda is endowed with abundant exploitable physical and human resources capable of steering her to prosperity (UNICEF, 1990). Uganda's main assets are the fertile soil and a favourable climate. In spite of the immense civil strife outlined in this thesis, Uganda has fortunately never been faced with a major famine like other African countries with more or less similar political problems. The Ugandan population feeds itself although manufactured goods are imported.

Uganda mainly depends on fresh foods such as Matooke, sweet potatoes, millet, maize, cassava, beans and peas. The economy is overwhelmingly agricultural which accounts for 95% of the country's export earnings and 55% of the Gross National

Fig.3.3. The current administrative district boundaries in Uganda.

The colonialists had drawn and named administrative districts on the basis of tribes (see **Fig. 3.2**). The districts have been redrawn and renamed in order to discourage tribal feelings.

Product (GNP). Export duties on coffee accounts for 65% of government's revenues, and constitute the primary source of livelihood for some 83% of the labour force (Boyd, Grmela and Selim, 1990). Consistent and competent economic management in the 1960s led the economy to a healthy 4.8% annual growth rate in real Gross Domestic Product (GDP) (Table 3.4). The country was able to feed its population and had a range of basic inputs and consumer goods, and at the same time generated a surplus of agricultural products, textiles, and copper for export. These earnings were more than adequate to cover import needs, and a surplus was maintained in most years. Central government finances were also in a relatively health state. Revenue increased faster than current expenditure and helped to finance significant development projects, including transport and hydro-electric power.

3.4.2 The nationalization of the economy

The concept of economic nationalisation or the "economic war" evolved from expelling foreigners (who were largely Asians) in 1972, one year after Amin came to power. The underlying concept of the economic war was to create a self-reliant non-capitalist economy controlled by Africans. In fact, the concept of nationalisation was an old idea first proposed by Obote in his 1970 famous document "the move to the left" (Gwyn, 1977). Obote's proposals of nationalisation were largely criticised as an attempt to follow Nyerere's

Table 3.4 Annual real GDP growth by sector selected periods, 1963-87[a]

Selected Period	1963-70	1970-78	1978-80	1987
Annual Real GDP[b] Growth	4.8%	(0.2)%[c]	(9.7)%[c]	4.5%
Monetary Economy	5.2%	(2.0)%	(6.8)%	4.0%
Agriculture	4.6%	(1.6)%	(10.2)%	5.5%
Industry	6.5%	(5.9)%	(17.0)	20.0%
Other Sectors	5.3%	(1.4)%	(3.2)%	1.9%
Subsistence Economy	3.9%	3.4%	(14.3)%	5.6%
Agriculture	4.0%	3.4%	(16.3)%	6.8%
Other Sectors	3.7%	3.4%	(1.3)%	2.4%

a Source: Adopted from UNICEF, 1990.

b GDP declined at an annual rate of 0.2% between 1970 and 1978. But it has shown positive growth in recent years (UNICEF, 1990).

c Figures in brackets are negative.

socialistic policies (Sathyamurthy, 1986). Obote's socialist ideas were not supported by many members of his cabinet. On the contrary, it is suggested that civil servants and politicians were conservative, static and metropolitan in their orientation (Sathyamurthy, 1986). Sathyamurthy further argues that these groups of people were wedded to economic, social and political ideas that were current in Britain and socialism constituted an "anathema to many educated Ugandans" (Sathyamurthy, 1986 p. 507).

Amin's hostility to Asians is believed to have been dictated largely by the need to legitimise himself among all the ethnic groups in Uganda. By expelling Asians, he was convinced that he could create black millionaires overnight (Sathyamurthy, 1986). Makerere University students strongly opposed this policy on grounds that it was racist and that it was a prelude to the rise of Ugandan petit bourgeoisie, being headed by the armed forces (Sathymurthy, 1986). In fact Makerere University remained the only significant centre of ideological opposition to Amin's regime.

The expulsion of approximately 50,000 Asians was a radical political and economic move, that was unnecessarily harsh and futile (Tribe, 1975). Such a plan was imposed with minimal explanations and little or no democratic participation of the people. The Departed-Asian Property became a controversial affair causing much tension and many killings due to the lack of a merit system of allocating businesses.

The system was corrupt and was based on ethnic, religious, political or military considerations. Needless to say, the economy plunged into deep recession that has persisted up to this day. Instead of achieving economic independence, the country was turned to perpetual dependency.

Ndengwa (1985), defined "economic independence" as a situation in which the following are met:

1) A reasonable degree of self-sufficiency, or ability to do without imported supplies such as food, energy and other critical inputs essential for economical survival in terms of production and employment; 2) A substantial degree of diversification of sources or destinations of important imports or exports (in other words, the country in question should not be so dependent for its imports and exports on another country that it could not survive or remain stable if trade links with that country were severed). 3) Freedom of the country to formulate its economic objectives and policies and to pursue them without undue and unsolicited influence from another country or groups of countries. According to Ndengwa's definition of economic independence, Amin's government was shortsighted in the declaration of economic independence in Uganda. At this point in history, Uganda still lacked capabilities which could constitute economic independence and exploit the existing resources. Economic independence should on the contrary have meant the co-existence of all Africans and non-Africans. Society and economic independence need to be

understood in their full complexity and with all their differences. This is what economic freedom should mean and of course this presupposes a market.

Asians were in control of two thirds of the country's trade volume and had established lines of credit, a right which exclusively belonged to them as representatives of overseas manufacturers (Tribe, 1975). The famous Madhavani and Mehta Company had each built manufacturing empires using a base of surplus drawn from sugar plantations and refineries, empires which monopolized the production of machinery, steel, glass, rubber, soap and edible oils. Other manufacturing firms were owned by Europeans. Therefore the urban economy was controlled by non-Africans. In the private sector the Asian community had a greater share of the surplus than did the African majority. The access to surplus gave Asians power to make decisions on new investment in private manufacturing. As such, the Asians controlled the structure of trade and manufacturing while Britain benefited more from the surplus in the existing structure of the Ugandan economy through the British commercial banks in Uganda (Maini, 1975). Furthermore Uganda continued to maintain its foreign reserves in sterling pounds and to make pension payments to former British colonial personnel retired from the East-African Community.

It is believed that Asians derived significant benefits from the economic structure but had no powerful external or domestic political allies to protect their interests

(Jorgesen, 1977). The declared economic war was a total failure. Manufactured goods disappeared from the shelves and the so called new traders instead specialised in hoarding, so that they could earn more while avoiding taxes and price controls which the government was enforcing on them. This type of trade came to be known as magendo.

The whole Ugandan economy was twisted out of shape by the military rule of the 70s. Poor management was a result of lack of the ability to organize the physical, financial and manpower resources. The economy was in the hands of illiterates who were not familiar with international trade (Mamdani, 1984). The slowing down of economic growth to a standstill was matched by a similar halt in progress in the majority of social services. Enterprising people left the public service to either join magendolism (blackmarketeering) or fled the country in search of better opportunities. The urban-dwelling professionals were forced to spend so much effort in mere economic survival that they barely had time left for their nominal jobs (Kwesiga, 1991). Monthly salaries became inadequate and could not sustain their needs. In the end, one found that personal ties and obligations took precedence over bureaucratic duties (Southal, 1980). As such the productive output by public businesses, offices, schools, hospitals and high institutions of learning became insignificant.

The economy was also overwhelmed by a series of external

shocks, including the sharp increase in petroleum prices after 1973 and the break up of the East-African Community (Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda) in 1977 (Musoke, 1989; Odeat, 1990). It is quite ironical here that this energy crisis affected Uganda to such an extent yet the country is incredibly rich in hydro-power potential. A very large percentage of total world hydro-electric power potential is in Africa although only a modest part has been exploited. The current government has made proposals to drill for oil in western Uganda, a project that may start in a couple of years (The Economic Intelligence Unit, 1991). Unfortunately, the building of a second hydro-electric plant has been discouraged by external donors.

The collapse of the East-African Community severely affected the transport sector, which consisted of the East-African Railways and Harbours Corporation. The collapse meant that Uganda could no longer use common stock or the common traffic control arrangements based in Nairobi (Sathymurthy, 1986). In consequence, the "Mafutamingi" (see Appendix B) exploited this opportunity to spread "magendolism" by taking control of road transportation with active encouragement of the state (Sathyurmthy, 1986).

The expulsion of Asians from the country created massive unemployment throughout the urban and cash crop sectors of the economy. By this massive expulsion, Amin had hoped to create jobs. On the contrary, industries were closed due to shortage of skilled manpower and foreign capital. As a result many

young people including some teachers had to join the instruments of "terror" (secret police) such as the State Research Bureau, which would give them sufficient income to survive. Obviously members of the secret police were neither liked nor respected although certainly not all of them were bad people. Their main job was to detect "subversion"; Instead they were plundering the population and in most cases victimizing innocent persons. The secret police "occupation" continued to flourish during the second reign of Obote as "the national state agency (NASA)".

NASA's activities were not supportive of rebuilding the shattered economy but instead alienated the population from productive work. For example, pandagali (lit. board the lorry) operation was one of NASA's most destructive activities. This operation entailed rounding up all persons travelling between dawn and 9 A.M in some areas of Kampala. Those arrested were then taken to military centres within Kampala for "screening". The screening exercise was not a fair one because it happened that innocent people were tortured or even killed in the process mistakenly taken for guerillas. This was a big problem for those who were expected at work by eight O'clock. No wonder the economic, school and other social activities made no improvement in Obote's second reign either. Obote was faced with insurgence throughout his second rule. Unfortunately, with all this chaos going on, little attention was given to the plight of teachers. Schools in the war zone were closed

for 5 years. Teachers suffered greatly from such activities since they stand prominently in public service.

3.4.3 The magendo enterprise

The economic war declared in 1972 led to what is commonly known in Uganda as magendo. Initially magendo referred to the hoarding and selling of consumer goods on blackmarket at very high prices, but over the years it came to include all types of crafty businesses which often involved corruption, bribery, cheating and evasion of taxes. Magendo did not exist in Uganda before the coming of Amin (Green, 1978).

Magendolism, it seems, became an appropriate means by which anyone could earn a living or acquire material wealth (Campbell, 1975). This kind of enterprise uprooted the enthusiasm for education as a means to better standards of living. As a result teachers had to spend half the time in trying to make ends meet. The monthly income of primary school teachers became just enough to last them a day or two. Teachers began to supplement their salaries in many ways but the most common have been: (i) petty trade (retail trade of small things such as, match-boxes, sugar, salt etc. (ii) growing their own food (iii) Chai or "Goods and services tax" i.e for every official service, you have to give a tip to the officer by way of a deal. "Chai" has not been an official tax as the "Goods and Services Tax" in Canada today. In order to remain economically alive, civil servants and their bosses

alike participated in this enterprise, which Mamdani (1984) has described as "big time magendo with impunity" (p. 45). (iv) Administrators such as headteachers, managers and ministers in the government made the difference between official salary and actual expenditure via a system which can broadly be described as corruption: e.g forging receipts and making claims for items which were never supplied, bribes, swindling and so on. This meant that patriotism and professionalism have decayed. Getting involved in side jobs while holding to one's profession, in countries like Canada, amounts to an offence of "conflict of interest".

The success of this enterprise depended on an elaborate structure of petty traders and government officials. The entire system thrived on the general decay in the administrative structures (Odeat, 1990). In fact, the most outrageous form of corruption took place at the state level. Amin treated the country as personal property. There was no responsible accountability of expenditures.

The effects of Magendo, were pervasive throughout the Ugandan economy (Heilleiner, 1979). This has included the erosion of the government's tax base, the undermining of official price controls and the reduction in returns to the formal wage sector (Odeat, 1990). The maim victims of this fascist exploitation were the poor and the working class (Campbell, 1975; Mamdani, 1984). Its imprint has had such a great impact on the lives of people that it now seems to be

difficult for them to extricate themselves from the addiction of this largely dubious enterprise. One Ugandan I talked to commented that in such a system, "you either eat or you are eaten."

The military regime condoned magendo and smuggling and in actual sense participated in it. This trade gave rise to a powerful wealthy illiterate middle class persons identifiable from the rest of the population by their "big round bellies". Because of these huge bellies they were nick-named mafutamingi which literally means "too much fat", indicating that these people became overweight because of too much fat in their food (while other people could not afford oil or fat in their food). Some scholars have described them as "marauding marketeers who enjoyed a life style of conspicuous consumption with few parallels even by neo-colonial standards" (Sathymurthy, 1986). To defeat magendo economy, conditions favourable to the essential sectors of production such as manufacturing and transport and viable economic policy are necessary.

Such a kind of fluidity in the social system has led to a decreased awareness of education as a means of achieving economic and social status. It could not be predicted what one could achieve by going to school. Instead, this breakdown has led to poverty which has become Uganda's powerful affliction and a way of life (Castenda, 1988). Schlesinger (1972), described this kind of life as a situation in which financial

resources, education and occupational skills of individuals and families fell seriously below those commanded by the average person or family in an average society.

3.4.4 Economic dependence

Although Uganda cannot be said to have been economically independent on the eve of Amin coup, the economy became more and more dependent after he took power in 1971. The economy became so wedded to the Kenyan economy that the country in many ways was an appendage of it although of course not enjoying the social services which Kenyans received (Kiwanuka, 1979; Southal, 1980; Mamdani, 1984). Dependency, it is believed, blunts economic nationalism and makes political ideology impotent and rhetorical.

The main supply route from the port of Mombasa in Kenya, through Nairobi to Uganda, ran like a great "artery" of corruption (Southal, 1980). From this main artery, "the corrupting tentacles of magendo with its illicit deals and violent transactions penetrate into Uganda pulling into its stream the desperate, the opportunistic, and the down-and-out people" (Southal, 1980, p.646). This is the route by which Uganda depends for its supplies, and along which these supplies are often dissipated and diverted from the intended recipients and sucked into the blackmarket or even re-exported before being unloaded (Southal, 1980). The re-exportation practice stemmed from the "hard-currency" theory, whereby

corrupt officials illegally re-exported the donated aid intended for Ugandans so as to get foreign currency. This created a massive shortage of commodities on the government market. A system was created for the goverment to make supplies of commodities when they could. Therefore, the distribution of supplies between urban centres and rural regions became a political decision implemented by the board of internal trade. This system for allocating supplies to village units was known as mayumba kumi (lit. ten houses). However, the system amounted, in practice, to a lottery. The mayumba kumi (ten cell) system meant that ten families were "combined" for purposes of allocation of supplies such as sugar, salt and soap. A chairperson for the ten cell unit was appointed and was supposedly to receive and distribute these items to his/her unit. The poor or the political opponents frequently lost their allocations which would end up in the blackmarket at exorbitant prices. This kind of practice was complex because it was hierarchical in nature, from ministers through regional and district officers to the chairperson of the ten cell. The goods could be lost anywhere along the allocation tree.

Meanwhile, smuggling continued and intensified. Even up to today, smuggling has not been easy to stop mainly because high ranking officials in both Kenya and Uganda have participated in this enterprise. Farmers in Kenya exploited this opportunity and developed sugar plantations so as to meet

the scarcity of sugar in Uganda (Southal, 1980). Thus economic stagnation in Uganda translated into economic prosperity in Kenya. Kenya was able to benefit from Uganda's misfortunes partly because of the famous transport route which runs from Mombasa through Uganda, Rwanda, Burundi and Zaire. Uganda, therefore, became a blackmarket centre of East-Africa. Uganda's once prosperous small holders gradually stopped growing cash crops for it was not worthwhile. In summary, Ugandan economy, since the 1970s, has depended on Kenya's economy through smuggling, road transport and international communications.

3.4.5 The International Monetary Fund

The International Monetary Fund (IMF) was established in 1944/5 primarily to mobilise national, regional and international resources to build the economies of the West after the devastating effects of World War II (Katebalirwe, 1990). Based on the Western Unity, the IMF was to create a world free market economy in which the western countries would enjoy the freedom of the trade and investment of big capital. When Obote came back to power in 1980, he demonstrated a surprising departure from his socialist policies (this was one of the 18 reasons Idi Amin gave for overthrowing Obote in 1971, (see Gwyn, 1977, p. 68-69). Obote welcomed the IMF and accepted its terms. Therefore the Ugandan shilling was sharply devalued, adding to the misery the people were already

experiencing. Without a ready economic infrastructure, the aid given was wasted in unproductive projects. For a country like Uganda, which does not have to import food, it was theoretically possible to invest more than 90% of the loans into the productive sectors of the economy. It seems the Obote regime invested little or none of the loans and instead imported things like cosmetics, sugar and salt.

In 1987, a year after assuming power, the NRM government negotiated and signed an agreement with IMF under which multinational institutions agreed to contribute to the country's rehabilitation and development plan. This agreement saw the devaluation of the Ugandan shilling by 1000% and the removal of subsidies on a number of products. Such induced structural adjustment measures by the IMF were a significant setback to the economy. The government has now a difficult task of leading Ugandans out of the crisis into which the IMF has pushed them since the 1980s. IMF has determined what Uganda could and could not do in all matters of economic policy, ranging from preparation of the budget, to details of policies relating to economic recovery and revised recovery programmes. For example, although the structural adjustment measures enabled the economy to recover just slightly in agriculture, industry and transport, the overall economic upturn within which those sectors would have recovered continued to be adversely affected by the spiral-like effects of those foreign derived policies of the IMF and its related

institutions. IMF policies have brought about immeasurable miseries for most of Africa and other countries like Argentina, Brazil and the Philippines.

Abject poverty among the rural and urban segments of society is one of the salient consequences of the IMF recommendations for rehabilitating the Ugandan economy. A poor person was defined by the Programme to Alleviate Poverty of the Social Cost of Adjustment (PAPSCA), as one who lacked sufficient income to purchase essential services like primary education and health care. Under this definition, women, children and civil servants in Uganda were identified as poor (Musoke, 1989). It was estimated that in 1989, Uganda needed $110 million U.S. to assist people who were adversely hit by the IMF structural adjustment measures (Musoke, 1989). In recent years, the devaluation of the shilling has met with strong opposition in the government. It is generally accepted that the devaluation of the currency is a handicap to economic management and is in reality reducing public confidence in the politicians. It has been suggested that a break with IMF and its adverse policies is inevitable. Katebalirwe (1990), suggests that the government should build a political will among the people into a productive force that will enable the government to progressively back away from the repressive and exploitative monetary institutions. He further suggests that the government will have to carry out structural transformations leading towards a new economy and a new social

life. Uganda's external trade and diplomatic or monitory relations should be transformed, with emphasis being shifted towards cooperation and mutual trade with non-exploitive institutions.

The IMF has failed to recognize the unique nature of the African economies. The IMF policies were formulated to run an industrial based economy (Katebalirwe, 1990). Africa is unique in the sense that it has an agricultural subsistence economy which calls for a unique management system. Africans need to have industries before the IMF policies can work. In countries where these policies have succeeded, industrial revolution was born before the IMF policies were formulated. Much research is needed to determine how best to boost subsistence economies in Africa.

An agricultural subsistence economy means that every family operates independently, making it difficult to standardize management or policies. For example, the NRM government failed to institute a policy to diversify cash-crop production so as to supplement coffee which accounts for 90% of the export crop. People did not respond favourably to this project probably due to the nature of the economy which is largely subsistence. For big industries and farms, there is a management system which supervises the employees and recommends incentives. At the same time this management supervises the implementation of policies proposed by the government, company etc. In subsistence economies each family

is its own management and its own workforce. In such a system individual families are likely to do what seems convenient for them while ignoring the recommended policies. Uganda, in its attempt to promote the concept of **barter** trade failed to raise the amount of commodities it pledged to supply to the various countries with whom it had made barter trade agreements. This could have been caused by the people's lack of incentives and supervision. In Africa, IMF policies seem to stimulate importation of consumer goods instead of production tools.

3.4.6 Summary

The 1971 military coup was a ruthless takeover whose divisive tactics polarised society, setting the stage for the nightmare that engulfed the country, which was nicknamed by the British, in the colonial days "the pearl of Africa", because of its outstanding economic, social and educational prosperity. Amin's rule was a monumental tragedy not only for Uganda but for Africa as a whole (Kiwanuka, 1979).

When Obote returned to power, he perpetuated the ills of the Amin regime. Scarcity of essential goods was at large, the black market was booming and to make it worse, the liberation war which helped to overthrow Amin had made enormous destruction. Old conflicts such as ethnic and religious differences resurfaced, the commercial and industrial organisations and social services have been difficult to reconstruct. Meanwhile, civil servants, and other fixed-income

earners are being paid salaries worth only one tenth of their nominal value (Southal, 1980). In short, the second Obote leadership was ineffective, corrupt and unpopular especially in Buganda, the power base of Uganda's politics and economy.

Southal (1980) observed that economic recovery is the absolute pre-requisite for any improvement which itself may require an improvement in political security. Twenty years of deterioration and destruction of the material infrastructure, plus the lack of development in the population's personal, educational and organisational capacity for increasing productivity has left the country to suffer a long term deprivation. Primary school teachers, among the professionals, are the most visible manifestations of this deprivation.

Such undesirable and unplanned political and economic forces acted to the detriment of the country's developmental processes. As paid agents of cultural diffusion, (Waller, 1967), such a socio-economic setting has denied teachers their professional commitments. Being middle class workers, teachers carried certain expectations e.g having a car, a good house and so on. These expectations have been shattered. The economic constraints have not had the same significance for all classes. Many people of the working class have been forced to move into part-time hawking, retailing or swindling for survival (Kwesiga, 1991). In fact teachers appear to have become aliens to the community which they had worked so hard to develop. It is not surprising that there has been a notable

decline in the morale of the working class.

Economic recovery and the restoration of social peace and moral standards are urgent. It is hoped that taking such a trend will eliminate all rivalries and moral decay in the country. In addition, Uganda needs much external assistance, but this has been slow in coming. Certainly Uganda has many economic and human resources to exploit. Southal (1980) must have rightfully observed that Uganda has not been of major strategic value to the west as has Israel, Egypt or Pakistan or even a potentially dangerous enemy like Iraq with coveted natural resources, or otherwise the needed aid for economic recovery would have been easy to raise with profit guaranteed (p.655).

CHAPTER IV

THE IMPACT OF FORCES OF CHANGE ON THE TEACHING PROFESSION IN UGANDA: 1971-1991

4.1 Introduction

In a developing country like Uganda, the loyalty of the civil service and its morale are critical factors in the country's developmental process (Hopkins, 1967). Both political stability and economic development depend to a large extent on the energies civil servants are willing to expend in their jobs. A substantial degree of alienation among them is in consequence a serious matter.

The 1950s and 1960s saw an expansion and growth of the teaching profession on an unprecedented scale. Teaching was perceived as a means of social allocations and access to positions of power, wealth, status, prestige and security. By the end of the 1970s, teaching as a profession had become an imperiled profession. The forces of change discussed in Chapter Three had a tremendous effect on education. The impact of these forces on teachers occurred in various ways as will be discussed. While all classes of people suffered the same effects, primary school teachers received the hardest blow. Two examples of the written accounts which I received from Uganda on "the plight of teachers" are printed in appendix A. Accounts such as these have assisted me to categorise the main

themes in this Chapter.

4.2 The exodus of teachers: The brain drain question

The destructive effects of Amin's dictatorial rule on Uganda's social systems are immeasurable. They are depicted in all walks of life. One of the most apparent is brain drain. The question of brain drain in Uganda has had both political and economic characteristics and has been one of the most marked manifestations of Amin's brutal leadership. Amin's Uganda experienced only decay and impoverishment (Southal, 1980), and "the brain drain" has been nothing less than the educated and the persecuted settling abroad to live a normal life.

Brain drain is an old and familiar problem in human history. There have been several efforts to define the concept of brain drain (Adam, 1968; UNESCO, 1968; Zoltan, 1970). Adam (1968) described brain drain as "loaded pejorative, suggestive of loss of a vital resource, without compensation" (p. 1). He further suggests that this concept implies that human capital, as a strategic resource, flows out of economies where it should have made the greatest contribution to human welfare into economies already well-supplied with trained, capable, scientific and administrative personnel.

Baldwin (1971) saw brain drain in terms of "pull" and "push" forces. He argues that people generally migrate partly because they are dissatisfied with conditions under which they

live and partly because of what they imagine conditions will be where they are going. Baldwin explains these conditions as complex forces, much more than comparative salary levels, that determine where individuals want to live and work. These pull and push forces appear to be rooted in the unequal economic development between the countries involved in the immigration and emigration.

There has been an explosive emigration of teachers and physicians out of Uganda in the last twenty years more than there has ever been before, and hence the whole notion of brain drain is a new development attributed to the forces of change. This kind of emigration has been facilitated by the lack of economic growth and political stability in Uganda. Unfortunately, no brain drain data are available. Research, like everything else, came to a halt during the Amin period. The reported scarcity of skilled labour in Uganda and the number of professionals who qualify every year almost equals the number of Ugandans one meets abroad. This suggests that the level of brain drain is very high probably as high as 90 percent.

Around 1978, brain drain became more evident in the civil service in Uganda. Undocumented but well established and frequently referred to evidence in newspapers and in ordinary conversations among Ugandans indicates that approximately seven out of every ten teachers in Kenyan private schools have been Ugandans. When Kenya temporarily expelled Ugandan

teachers, thousands showed up at both the Malaba and Busia boarders between Kenya and Uganda. Unfortunately, the poorly equipped immigration departments at these boarder posts could not cope with the huge numbers and ended up recording none. It is believed that the majority of these teachers have since gone back to Kenya. This flow of human capital is believed to have created a strong and significant infrastructure particularly in Kenya and South-Africa.

This happened at a time when Uganda needed human capital most to create and sustain its economic development. Human capital in this context should be understood in terms of energies, skills, knowledge and capabilities of people applied to the production of goods or services. This term refers to human beings in relation to the field of work, production and provision of services of all kinds in the social, political, cultural and economic development of nations. Teachers, more than any other single group of the populace have played a significant role in determining the attitudes and shaping the ideas and aspirations of the nation. Therefore, external brain drain factor has denied Uganda a very big opportunity of letting teachers take an active role particularly when the rest of the world is running at a high speed in technology.

4.3 Internal brain drain: an anti-rural syndrome

Another effect of the grim economic situation in Uganda has been the resistance by the majority of teachers and other

civil servants to be posted to rural areas; yet about 90 per cent of the population lives in the countryside. It has been interesting to note that, at the beginning of the hard times, workers were moving to the countryside where survival was guaranteed. The concept of magendolism had not taken root and many middle class persons shunned it as immoral and impure. However, this pattern and kind of thinking was short lived. One of the main reasons for this change was that economic growth patterns during the colonial era in Uganda had centred around urban areas. This had already created an imbalance of growth between rural and urban regions. Most of the rural areas were underdeveloped and this kind of pattern has not changed since then. When the practice of magendolism reached its climax, the conditions in the countryside contrasted highly with urban areas and could no longer accommodate middle class persons. Eventually these areas lost the "Pull" of talent, who instead began moving away from their home villages back to urban centres to look for better opportunities and better working conditions thereby creating the internal brain drain.

In the past, primary school teachers in rural areas had constituted the most important social and intellectual integrating force between children of rural and urban settings. Their role in national development was invaluable. In the recent past, the migration from villages to towns in pursuit of better income and living conditions has involved

many young teachers, resulting in an estimated 49 percent increase in urban population. The migration pattern has been dominated by young male teachers. As a result, teaching in elementary schools in rural areas came to be dominated by female and elderly male teachers. Young male teachers have flocked to towns where magendo opportunities are high and transport and other forms of communication are easy in facilitating their bizarre trades. Teachers have found urban areas convenient in terms of connecting (teaching) from one school to the other (schools in urban areas are closer to each other than in the country side). Because this activity involves moving up and down, it has been described as "chasing lines".

The migration of the working class to urban areas is a recent phenomenon present in all districts in Uganda. It has been enhanced by the poor social conditions in the country side. For example, the public health system, like other social systems, has been underfunded and overburdened. It has been estimated, that there is only one doctor for every 30,000 patients and yet in 1969, the ratio was 1:14,000 (Boyd, Grmela and Selim, 1990). Facilities have become inadequate and the network for medicine distribution has been destroyed. Consequently, even the supply of medical drugs has fallen under the magendo system. Furthermore, it is believed that 95% of the medical personnel are located at Mulago, the main hospital for the country.

The belief that men are "bread winners" also played a role for the majority of young men migrating to urban areas. Men therefore have left their families in rural areas, to work or trade in towns leaving women in charge of all the food production. Such anti-rural tendencies have been more serious among teachers (both male and female) with higher qualifications. With such a big talent, they have been highly marketable in rich schools. As a result of this migration, the scarcity of teachers in rural areas has become rural syndrome. Rural children acquire little, less than half of the knowledge and abilities of their urban counterparts even though the same curriculum is followed throughout the whole country. This means that the majority of students in rural Uganda begin their educational career at a disadvantaged position (Bitamazire, 1988).

Educational disproportion between rural and town has lowered the standards of education in Uganda. Paradoxically, education has become an instigator of maladjustment rather than a factor of growth and development. It has become common for rural schools to be satisfied with teachers of lesser qualifications, turning primary schools into a little more than facades for learning institutions.

4.4 Disintegration of family structures

Distinct changes in family patterns have also been observed. In traditional African communities, children have

been perceived as an insurance pension plan, expected to take on subsequent care of their aged parents. This cultural pattern existed and flourished because of a tight-knit kinship structure, which stressed good behaviour and generosity. This structure constituted a well co-ordinated program of socialisation that aided the development of a stable integrated personality.

Since most of the families are large and poor, not all children get educated. The family may concentrate on one or two children who might succeed in completing their education. As such, upon starting to work, they are expected to take care of their parents and other members of the family. Recently, these traditional obligations have been overlooked mainly because of the disgraceful inadequacy of salaries. Whereas a worker in 1967 was able to earn enough and take care of his/her extended family, by 1984, one needed 450% of the minimum wage to buy food for the family (Boyd, Grmela and Selim, 1990). Yet basic values which are inherent in African societies, are expressed and reinforced through recurrent patterns of daily economic routines. For instance, households in traditional African societies tended to maintain themselves as autonomous economic units whose internal organization stressed self sufficiency as the moral imperative of family members. Meeting domestic requirements was viewed as a collective responsibility of all extended family members. In addition, a measure of children's worth was perceived in terms

of their ability to provide for or contribute to the livelihood of their families through productive work. Prolonged failure by an offspring to provide support in the extended family system was seen as a great personal weakness. Today, teachers have failed to maintain that tradition. This failure, resulting from insufficient income, has made teachers, particularly primary school teachers, to be perceived as worthless especially when, for instance, labourers, who have not received an education greater than that of the teachers manage to keep their families at high standards of living.

4.5 Teacher's loss of economic and professional power

The importance of salaries, in determining teachers' social position in society was discussed at the 1966 UNESCO conference:

> Amongst the various factors which affect the status of teachers, particular importance should be attached to salary, seeing that in the present world other factors such as the regard accorded them, and levels of appreciation of the importance of their functions are largely dependent, as in other comparable professions, on the economic position in which they are placed (ILO/UNESCO, 1984 p.42).

Similarly, the ILO report (1978) observed:

> The remuneration which society awards to the members of its teaching profession reflects the importance which that society attaches to its profession, in itself and in comparison with that which it accords to other occupations. Inadequate pay levels affect recruitment and stability within the profession and create frustration which may

> give rise to militancy and even a decline in professional standards. All these factors adversely affect the performance of the education system (p.3).

Teachers form the largest profession in Uganda and are among the oldest of society's occupational groups (Losndale, 1983). The poor wages which teachers are getting have put them in a vulnerable position. Economic remuneration, suggests Franklin (1963), is an important index of the esteem in which a profession is held. Franklin further suggests that teachers need social status and better conditions of work that would provide them with a better standard of living. Therefore the decline in the economic well being of teachers has been a big threat to the educational system in Uganda. The majority of teachers are putting their efforts in to other avenues which can supplement their official earnings. Some of these avenues have collided with their professional ethics. For instance, cheating for primary pupils in their final examinations had become a common practice in urban schools. Yet such a practice undermines the students' ability to learn and also handicaps teachers from being role models. However, the minister responsible for primary education, Mrs Mpanga has recently condemned the practice:

> Teachers should understand that as members of our society, who are entrusted with the future of our children and consequently of the nation at large, have the obligation to shape and maintain academic standards of the students and not to undermine them through such corrupt activities. Teachers, to a great extent are the determinants, through teaching

> our children, of the destiny of our nation. (New Vision, 1991).

Mwesigwa (1991), was more emphatic and bluntly stated:

> ...the minister of education should launch a nationwide crackdown on teachers involved in such practices, be sacked from the teaching service and be imprisoned. This is an evil practise which the ministry of education should get rid of (p.2).

UNICEF (1990) shows that the majority of families have adjusted their consumption pattern to survival levels. This document points out that the economic status of teachers and civil servants has worsened over the last twenty years. It was indicated that no public servants, however frugal, could have survived on their salaries alone (see Table. 4.1) (UNICEF, 1990). Teachers have continuously been poorly paid whereas the more fortunate government staff augment their official salaries with allowances, free housing and other fringe benefits. Teachers on the other hand have had to find the difference outside the classroom. Ever since colonial times, teachers have not received special allowances. By then their salaries were adequate and no teacher-unions were formed to protect their income. When the salaries became inadequate in the late 1970s, teachers found themselves in a disadvantaged position. This has been one of the reasons why teachers have suffered more than any other professionals in Uganda. Whereas salaries have lagged behind inflation, allowances for the other workers have always been increased accordingly.

According to the 1988 census, the majority of civil

Table: 4.1 Uganda government salary scales by grade, 1988[a]

Grade	Estimated Number	Average Salary (U.Sh.)[b]	% of UN Middle Income Estimate	Category of Staff
A	NA	7,963	3.0%	Principal Judges
U1	NA	4,208	1.6%	Directors, Heads of departments
U2	NA	4,000	1.6%	Doctors, Deputy Heads, Engineers, Town Clerks
U3	1,000	3,763	1.5%	Academic Staff, Senior Executives
U4	3,500	3,763	1.5%	Graduate Teachers[c], Senior Administrators
U5	9,100	2,551	1.0%	Higher Executive Staff, County Chiefs
U6	15,500	2,172	0.8%	Registered Nurses, Grade V Teachers[d]
U7	49,000	1,917	0.7%	Primary Teachers[e], Chiefs, Enrolled Nurses
U8	161,500	1,765	0.7%	Group Employees, Casual Workers

a Source: Adopted from UNICEF, 1990.

b In July 1991 US $ 1 was = U. Sh. 1000 and salaries were about double those shown here. Government salaries have been below subsistence level for over ten years, and no public servant, however frugal, could survive on his salary alone.

c Graduate teachers. Teachers with a university degree. They are qualified to teach at A'level and O'level.

d Grade V teachers. They possess a diploma in education obtained in 2 years following A'level education. They are qualified to teach at O'level.

e Primary Teachers. They possess a certificate in education obtained in 2 years after ordinary secondary education. They qualified to teach at the primary school level.

servants had some additional form of income, and 58% were engaged in agriculture to supplement their wages (UNICEF, 1990). In fact, today, almost every teacher is both a teacher and a peasant farmer. Teaching, in the last twenty years, has had little or no stake to offer those hired to work in it. The conditions which gave the teaching profession its prestige in the 60s have disappeared. Lack of incentives has generated less ambition and little or no cause for teachers to identify themselves with their profession. As a result, teachers have become less career oriented than they had been in the past. A survey conducted in 1989 indicated that teacher turnover rates had increased by 51% (The Republic of Uganda, 1989). In the same survey it was shown that the majority of beginning teachers did not expect to teach continuously for the rest of their adult lives. For many of these teachers, teaching is no longer envisaged as their ultimate goal (Passi, 1990). This is further reflected in the under-utilised primary-teacher training colleges. For example, although between 1982 and 1987, primary teacher training colleges expanded from 94 to 105, they did not attract many students and the capacity of the colleges has remained unused (see Table 4.2).

Interestingly, a study done in the 70s concluded that Ugandan teachers were more stable when compared to teachers in United States (Heynemen, 1976). The same study indicated that teaching was a prestigious and well paid occupation. Seventy-five percent of the participants in the above study indicated

Table 4.2 Teacher supply and demand in primary schools in Uganda 1980-1987[a]

Year	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987
Enrolment (thousands)	1292.2	1407.2	1502.2	1730.3	1930.7	1217.8	2337.2	2505.7
Teacher/pupil ratio	40	40	40	40	40	40	40	40
No. of periods per week	40	40	40	40	40	40	40	40
No. of classes	32,310	35,180	39,550	43,257	48,267	52,925	58,430	62,638
No. of teachers required	31,310	35,180	39,550	48,257	48,267	52,925	58,430	62,638
No. of qualified teachers employed	26,615	28,904	30,964	32,818	34,486	35,987	37,438	33,493
Shortfall[b]	5,695	6,276	8,586	10,439	13,781	16,938	20,992	29,245

a Sources: Adopted from Passi, 1990.

b Although the number of colleges increased, the output is not adequate. In 1988 there were only 33,493 qualified primary teachers leaving a shortfall of 29,145.

that they had no intentions of leaving the teaching profession. When asked if they received sufficient respect in being professional teachers, 65% said "yes" (p. 43).

During the sixties, teachers could count on a stipulated predictable income (Mayeske, 1970). The salary was adequate to maintain a family and even provide surplus. About 50% of all primary school teachers could even afford luxuries including cars. Government programmes provided loans to assist workers advance themselves.

When the military took power in 1971, government loans ceased, rents went up and promotions were achieved through corruption (UNICEF, 1990). Presently, the minimum salary for the primary school teacher is just over 1,000 shillings per month (US $ 2), whereas the cost of living is ten times as much. This was well illustrated by the 1988 Kampala cost of living index which indicated that an income of about 12,000 shillings (US $ 12) per month was required for bare subsistence (The Republic of Uganda, 1989). Similarly, a UNESCO survey in 1983 on salary and income distribution revealed that pay levels today underscores the low prestige of the teaching profession (UNESCO, 1983). The same survey suggested that unskilled urban workers or labourers have an annual income far greater than that of primary school teachers. Paradoxically, income decline for professional workers has become a period of advancement for some non-professionals. Webb & Ashton (1986) observed a similar

phenomenon in the United States between 1967 and 1978. They noted that truck drivers, coal-miners and plumbers were earning more than teachers. In Uganda, hawkers on Kampala streets for example, or wheelbarrow attendants (wheelbarrows are a form of transport used for "home deliveries") and domestic workers have an income which greatly exceeds that of teachers. Kelshall & Kelsal (1970) in their study on teacher job satisfaction, came to the conclusion that in the developing world, the most important requirement for maintaining professional status of teachers is the improvement of salaries. He argues that high income goes with high status and high levels of self-esteem. He concluded that one cannot separate esteem needs from the income one commands and therefore the social status one holds in society. Hence, teachers who prided themselves on their advancement from the lower class to the middle class in the 60s are alarmed to see that their income has fallen so low compared to that of other workers with little or no education (net income in Uganda in the 1960s was proportional to the level of education one had acquired, Knight (1967)).

Since the late 70s, the majority of civil servants have "lived as if they had never been". The media has recently been active in reporting the plight of people in the former Soviet Union regarding the shortage of food and other consumer supplies. While food shortage has not been a significant problem in Uganda, other hardships apparent in the former

Soviet Union has been a life style for many Ugandans for the last 20 years. Ugandans have not been lining up for food but line ups for other essential manufactured supplies such as fuel, soap, medicine has been a common practice.

The conclusion drawn from all the discussed hardships is that Amin's leadership epitomized the degradation of Ugandan people to the level similar to that described by Karl Marx about the Louis Bornate regime in the mid-nineteenth century (Karl Marx, 1964):

> ...he does not affirm himself but denies himself, does not feel content but unhappy, does not develop freely his physical and mental energy but mortifies his body and ruins his mind...The worker therefore only feels himself outside his work and inside his work feels outside himself (p. 110-111).

This partly explains why there has been little commitment by teachers to the teaching profession. For some time, the Ugandan press has lashed out at teachers, criticising them for late arrival at work, arbitrary absenteeism, premature retirement from classrooms before end of lessons, and transgressions of work regulations. Similarly UNICEF (1990), made special mention of the increasing lack of commitment by teachers. The reason why teachers have felt no sense of dedication has been well defined by one of the participant teachers in the UNICEF survey:

> With my poor salary, I do not feel guilty about dodging lessons to work at a small side job. I like to teach, but while I teach, I also must live (UNICEF, 1990, p.65).

When the basic needs for civil servants were being taken care of, work came first and interests like those expressed in the above statement did not exist. In such a diffused situation, commitment, as described by Nias (1981), where one must be willing to give thought, time and energy to the day-to-day performance of the job, cannot be realised. For instance, assignments have rarely been given to students and teachers have had little time for lesson planning. This is contrary to findings on effective teaching which suggests that learning requires more use of the existing school days (Goodlad, 1983). In other words, students need to be academically engaged for a good proportion of the school time. After all, students' chances in life highly depend on what happens to them in their early years.

Government papers have periodically commented on the desirability of more committed and involved civil servants. The New Vision, a government based paper, has consistently expressed the view that teachers' lack of commitment, has lowered the quality of education. In one of my private communications, I asked one of my teacher-friends how she has managed teaching in three schools and at the same time remained efficient. In reply, she wrote:

> ...It is not a question of efficiency. It is a question of survival. True, I hardly get time for procedures like making lesson plans. I admit, my lesson plans are made between the staff-room and the classroom. Then I have to run to the nearby school for another lesson. I prepare that lesson within the time I take from the school I was last and the school I am going to next. By the end of

> the day I am a little less than dead (Personal Communication).

The implications underlying such a statement are clear. It could be speculated that lessons prepared while on the way from the staff-room to the classroom are "formal and dull".

4.6 The private coaching industry

Another consequence of the economic forces discussed in Chapter III has been the development of private tutoring locally known as coaching. Under normal circumstances, private tutoring is a practice meant to assist the weak or low ability students to catch up with regular classes. In the recent past tutoring in Uganda has been transformed into a popular and productive enterprise which no student can do without, regardless of the student's ability to learn. Whereas, traditionally, the main concern was to help students in their academic work, today it has become a powerful "industry" for providing teachers with extra income. Coaching has become an indispensable source of income for many teachers particularly in urban centres. A teacher may coach as many as 50-60 students. Teachers deliberately teach less during official class hours in order to entice students to attend coaching sessions. In this way teachers have created for themselves an extra source of income to supplement their meagre salaries.

The point I want to make here is that, when the motive of coaching is viewed as a business, it is highly questionable whether teachers give attention to pupils' motivation in the

learning process. This whole process of coaching seems to reflect a conflict of the teachers' official responsibilities on one hand, and the desire to earn a living on the other. To get the best out of teaching, one has to be willing to go beyond the mere job. Reliability, punctuality and deep concern for children are essential in a school climate. The lack of economic power has made teachers lose the professional power greatly enjoyed in the 60s and early 70s.

4.7 Parent-teacher association

Parent-Teacher associations (PTA) were created back in 1967 as School Welfare Associations. They were composed of both teachers and parents and their primary roles were to create a healthy relationship between parents and teachers. Subsequently this role has expanded to include financial obligations owing to the unfavourable economic climate. As early as the late 70s PTAs became powerful funding bodies for primary and secondary schools. Schools have used PTAs to raise extra funds for school maintenance because the government aid and school fees recommended by the government are insufficient. The extra money, to be paid by parents, is regularly reviewed at PTA meetings making it difficult for some parents to keep up with this demand. Each school arrives at the amount of extra fees independently, and in most cases, wealthy parents dominate the process thus making the school fees too high for poor parents to afford. As a result, poor

children find themselves left out of good schools and are forced to enrol into the low cost "third world schools" which are understaffed and poorly equipped.

Although PTAs have played a great role in paying inducement allowances to teachers in urban areas, so as to maintain them in the profession, PTAs have on the other hand been a heavy set back for rural areas which could not afford exorbitant allowances to maintain quality teachers. Parents in the countryside have not been powerful enough in generating extra income for their teachers. Teachers in rural areas who have not been able to migrate to urban areas have created habitual practices like absenting themselves from classrooms or reporting late to school. They prefer to give priority to their crops at home, a practice that will ensure sufficient bread for their families. This is unfortunate because 90% of the population live in rural areas and need these teachers for development. PTAs' influence are more evident in the wealthier urban areas. Schools in urban areas which pay a formidable PTA allowance attract the best qualified teachers in the country. Because parents struggle hard to pay the PTA fees, a policy was implemented whereby students have been given a role in the administration of the funds. Class prefects have been given a responsibility of monitoring teachers; for instance, it has been the class prefect's duty to report whether a teacher has been present, absent or late for a class. This has been a frustrating and humiliating practice for teachers. It has

undermined teacher-prefect relationship, putting prefects in a superior position to their teachers. Not only that, policies such as this imply that teachers cannot take care of their own destiny and are incapable of being responsible professionals. On one hand it is true that teachers deliberately miss classes so as to attend to other jobs outside their schools, but on the other, a better way of supervision would be preferred in order to preserve teachers' professional esteem.

4.8 Social worth

Other facets of economic and political strain in Uganda have manifested themselves in the teachers' lack of social worth. This has provoked a considerable amount of concern among prominent educators. In earlier days of the profession, only very bright students were admitted to teacher training colleges and teachers then were valuable members of society (Greenough, 1970). In the recent past, teaching, particularly, in primary schools, has become a work performed by the desperate and those who failed to qualify for other professions. The Republic of Uganda (1989), succinctly summarises the nature of new entrants:

> The majority of students tend to be an academically frustrated lot who join teaching as a last resort, while others use teacher training to wait for opportunity to move elsewhere (p.104).

Similarly, UNICEF has commented:

> Today primary school teachers are often a beleaguered and dispirited force, their

> professional status much eroded, their working conditions poor (UNICEF, 1990 p.41).

Heynemen (1976), described the teaching profession before the 1971 coup as a very prestigious and a well paid occupation. Tiberondwa (1976) penned a marvellous portrait of teachers during the 60s, formed by the scarce education they had received:

> Socially, the teacher was a very respected person. His house, was a people's house. He was invited to important functions. The teacher was a man of the people (Tiberondwa, 1976, p.54).

Lewis (1962), suggests that:

> The personal example of the teaching staff is probably the most fundamental influence for character development as for all other objectives of education. Exhortation and school machinery are but sounding brass and tinkling cymbal if the life of those responsible for education does not personify the ideals advocated for (Lewis, 1962 p.55).

Economic and political changes in the 1970s and the 80s have modified the image portrayed above. Once persons of leisure and refinement, teachers have been largely superseded and overshadowed by the Mafutamingi, who have been perceived as persons of vigour and enterprise. Mamdani (1984), described mafutamingi (see appendix B), "as a class of persons for whom fascist terror provided a framework for quick enrichment" (p. 39). The life style of the mafutamingi is marked by "incessant and conspicuous consumption" (Mamdani, 1984, p. 53). Mamdani summarises the mafutamingi life as "a declining nobility,

determined to make a big show of their wealth" (p.53). This new social group was the main local beneficiary of the Amin regime. But the wealth they amassed has not helped to increase the productivity of the economy (Mamdani, 1984). This and many other factors have been a great setback to teachers' professional status. Primary school teachers have been undignified as compared with the above class of people. For example, this undignified factor is depicted in their dressing. Today the majority of them have become incapable of affording the minimum requirements of life. For example a new pair of shoes is out of reach for many. Many primary school teachers put on shoes locally known as rugabire. Rugabire are a form of sandals made from pieces of old car-tires. Yet wheel-barrow attendants (usually school dropouts) can afford decent dressing. Wheelbarrow attendants often travel 1-3 km to deliver consignments and can make up to 10 trips a day. However, three trips by the wheel barrow "driver" may be equivalent to the primary school teacher's monthly salary. This has made many teachers vulnerable because humans, contends Stodgill (1974), not only like to occupy comfortable high status positions within groups, but also enjoy within limits, association with high status persons. Similarly, Lortie (1975), suggests that "teaching heavily depends on public support. Lack of societal or public recognition of teachers' role in their community strikes hard on their self-worth" (p. 92).

4.9 School dropout

In the 70s and 80s, parents could no longer look to the school for social cohesion. They were reluctant to encourage their children to attend school. Instead, child labour has been on the increase in the recent past. During Amin's era, boys as young as eight years took to the streets, selling petty items like cigarettes, matches and other small household items. Such a kind of trade by these children was not a supplement but a major source of income without which they would not survive. On the other hand, girls were forced to drop out of school and the only jobs available for them were as housegirls for wealthy people, or babysitters of their siblings while their mothers went to sell a few vegetables in the nearby market. Going to school became either a luxury or an unwise investment.

Thus education became seemingly economically and socially irrelevant. Accordingly, the school drop-out increased tremendously (Balyamujura, et al., 1985; Levy, 1971). What was more important for parents particularly from the peasant origin was immediate earning. Parents became discouraged when they looked around, and saw primary school teachers (an elementary school is the institution with the closest ties to the local community), barely able to eke an existence out of their profession. Katebalirwe (1989), suggests that 60% of primary school children drop out before their seventh year in school. This was enhanced by attractiveness of the seemingly

lucrative magendo trade.

4.10 Untrained teachers

Economic hardships have brought an enormous number of untrained teachers into the ranks of the teaching profession. The use of untrained teachers continues to disguise one of the most disturbing facts about the education system in Uganda. Unpublished information suggests that 58% of the primary school teachers are an untrained force. This agrees with Balyamujura et al. (1985) who reported that 44% of primary school teachers and 39% of secondary school teachers have not been trained in teaching (p. 68). Who are these untrained teachers and what impact do they have on the overall picture of the profession? A Senior 6 school leaver (one with an A' level school Certificate) may teach Senior 1-4 classes (senior 1-4 cover O'level while Senior 5-6 cover A'level see (Fig. 3.1)). Similarly, O" level school leavers or drop-outs may teach at primary school level. At times even Primary school leavers (Primary Seven) instruct Primary One pupils. Some teachers who are qualified to teach primary classes have been found in the less well-endowed secondary schools ("third world schools", as they are locally known). The employment of such a large number of untrained teachers began in the 1980s. It was the IMF-induced inflation and the 1981-85 civil war which pushed trained teachers out of the profession only to accommodate the untrained force. One cannot avoid the

conclusion that too many persons have been put into classrooms with insufficient preparation for their assigned tasks. The question of qualifications in teaching is an important political issue because it affects both the costs and the social prestige of the teaching profession. Avalos (1980), in her review on teacher effectiveness in the third world, observed that teachers with high qualifications had better attitudes to teaching. She further argues that training of some kind is necessary. What a teaching profession should be has been summarised by Waller (1967):

> Teaching is not only an occupation, it is a status as well. It is in the truest sense a "position", for the fact of being a teacher places one neatly in the world" (Waller, 1961, p.28).

The point which Waller has made here carries with it certain social privileges and duties. When these social privileges are not granted, then future teacher supply is jeopardised. Unqualified teachers have no professional status and have nothing to protect and definitely have little bargaining power for the needs of teachers. Some teachers have expressed anger in the way the untrained teachers do the teaching. To many qualified teachers, it is not a matter of standing in the classroom and reading the text to students, training of some kind is necessary.

4.11 "Chalk eaters": A myth or reality?

Primary school teachers have been labelled Abalya choka

(chalk eaters), suggestive of society's low opinion of primary school teachers. "Chalk eating" implies that teachers earn nothing worthy from their job. Other civil servants have been able to get "chai" (tips) for their services. The nature of the teaching profession does not allow teachers to receive tips from their students. Teachers, instead, get more chalk-dust than income from their work hence the label chalk eaters. Such labels have had a negative bearing on the motivation of teachers to work. Maslow (1970) argues that lack of motivation creates frustration which in turn gives birth to maladjustment in careers.

4.12 The teacher's work place

The conditions surrounding the work place of teachers have also deteriorated. For the purposes of this study, work place will be understood within the context of 1) class size, 2) instructional materials, 3) school buildings and 4) accommodation for teachers.

Working conditions in schools, suggests Eicholtz (1970), have a tremendous influence on the motivation to work. He argues that a good school climate is the key to excellence. Eicholtz also believes that good working conditions are a catalyst that makes people to do more to help an institution to reach its objectives.

4.12.1 Class size

Class size as a work condition, in this context, refers to the number of children the teacher handles in the classroom. Recently, the number has ranged from 50 - 60 children per (qualified) teacher (Passi, 1990). This kind of organisation, especially in the lower primary classes (primary 1-4), is believed to have had an adverse effect on the children's current and future academic performance. Cameron, (1970) explains that a school can only provide satisfactory learning conditions if it is reasonably spacious, comfortable and adequately equipped with learning materials. The larger the class the more the organizational problems teachers have to solve. One teacher in Uganda sent me this remark:

> The teacher has the responsibility to achieve educational goals. The objectives of the educational system are our everyday work. That is what it means to be a teacher. The basic class work setting for the teacher is the classroom. At primary level we teach the "whole child". Therefore the classroom situation provides the conditions of our work. When you have a large class, the teachers' problems increase. It also means that the teachers' output of effort and thought increases. Yes, it means more teaching and more preparation. Let us face it, past a certain point, you are not teaching, you are controlling a crowd (Personal Communication).

A big class size has other implications. For instance failure to keep a proper reliable class attendance has been one of the problems encountered in having a big class. The most effective and convenient way, in Uganda, of keeping track of the pupil's daily attendance is to use <u>registers</u> in classes. It has been observed that this routine of checking

off names from class registers every morning has decreased. Teachers argue that the register routine is time consuming. By the time teachers finish calling out names, half the time allocated to a lesson is gone (personal communication). Lessons are allocated 30 minutes each in Primary 1-4 and 40 minutes in Primary 5-7. (The Republic of Uganda, 1989, p. 45).

Although it is believed that class size doesn't affect the quality of education, what is overlooked here is that between the class size and the educational outcomes are teachers and their work (personal communication). Furthermore, present economic conditions in Ugandan families are directly reflected in the classroom. Problems of communicable diseases, malnutrition and inadequate clothing are all brought into the school setting by students. These children need extra health care, food and clothing as a matter of priority. All these have contributed to the work situation and work problems of primary school teachers. Teachers have confronted this situation lacking the support they had before economic chaos hit the country. Understandably, this has been a difficult situation for teachers to respond to, especially when they themselves are rowing in the same boat.

Proper student evaluation has been another area of concern related to the size of class. Because teachers are too busy running here and there, "chasing lines" for economical survival, rarely do they give assignments. They have no time to mark the assignments.

4.12.2 Teaching facilities

The absence of modern teaching facilities and up-to-date textbooks has made the task of teachers unenviable and relatively ineffective. Parents have often complained that teachers are not efficient but the conditions under which they work are very poor. The lack of instructional materials in schools in Uganda has been of great concern. At the moment, the proportion of recurrent expenditure devoted to classroom supplies is only 0.1%, far below the standard of other countries (UNESCO, 1984). One teacher made the following remark:

> In my school days, things were easier. Each student had his/her own textbooks. Now I pity my students and my fellow teachers because the school does not have enough books to lend one to each student. Some students never get a chance of seeing the books at all, because we have several streams of more than 40 students and each class needs to study the same text (UNICEF, 1990).

It is evident from the above extract that lack of instructional materials has presented great difficulties in maintaining high standards of teaching. It may not be surprising that there has been a high percentage of school failures and pupils have had to repeat the same grades many times. It is believed that as many as 30-40 percent of every generation, particularly girls, have been falling back a schoolyear or more. It has been acknowledged that the curricula are overburdened with superfluous and outdated material (Odeat, 1990). Schools have lacked basic teaching

aids such as audio-visual equipment, films and photocopying machines. It should be acknowledged that in the absence of instructional materials the teacher's imagination is likely to dry out. The lack of school inputs has built up a negative orientation to teaching and education in general.

4.12.3 School buildings

Lack of good school buildings has become a fundamental drawback in the effectiveness and morale of primary school teachers. School buildings, desks and chairs are rudimentary, so that little comfort is apparent. Most school buildings are dilapidated and lack adequate ventilation and sanitation facilities. Many buildings were destroyed during the liberation war in 1979 and the civil war of 1980-1985. One of my teacher friends, when asked to describe the teachers' working conditions in Uganda, said:

> The absence of beauty in the school environment makes no room for fun while learning and teaching. Bare ragged walls often are no inspiration to either students or teachers (Personal Communication).

The physical environment includes not only classrooms but washrooms and staff-rooms. Some of the buildings particulary in rural areas are small, overcrowded and lack management. Teachers spend almost the whole day in school buildings and perform their professional roles in an adverse environment. The need for a suitable school plant cannot be over-emphasised. Students need to grow and develop physically

during their school years. Good buildings with suitable equipment, furniture and other facilities promote uninterrupted growth and development (Wagaw, 1979).

4.12.4 Accommodation for teachers

Accommodation has remained the most important factor attracting and keeping teachers to their jobs in Uganda. Urban housing is very expensive and the salary of teachers is not enough to pay for monthly rents. Presently, the only way of attracting and keeping effective teachers in a given school is to provide them with subsidised housing. A study in Zimbabwe, to determine what attracted young persons to teaching, suggested that adequate and decent accommodation ranked first (Chivore, 1986). The study suggested that qualified teachers were attracted to those schools which provided good housing. Similarly, the performance of students in those schools which provided housing was found to be relatively high. The same study indicated that those schools which failed to make the above provisions did not attract qualified teachers and the performance of students in their examinations were poor (Chivore, 1986). My personal experience as a teacher in Uganda has shown that the majority of teachers who have remained in teaching have done so because of the subsidised accommodation offered to them. The most effective teachers in Uganda have been found in those schools which provide accommodation for their teachers. In such schools, absenteeism and late arrivals

as discussed earlier in the study, have been reduced. Accordingly, schools like Namilyango, Nabbingo, Kisubi and Kampala High around the capital city have retained their teachers and have been able to attract committed teachers. On the other hand, those schools which do not provide housing and, which do not provide PTA allowances (commonly known as "booster") are filled with part time or untrained and in many cases under-qualified teachers.

4.13 Conclusion

Stable political and economic conditions were positive forces which helped to expand the teaching profession to flourish in the 1950s and 1960s. By the early 1980s, it was evident that the economic and political forces had changed and therefore they failed to maintain their positive influence thus reducing the profession to what has been described in this chapter. The means which teachers and other civil servants have used to earn a living have been many and diverse. Most of them are strenuous and inappropriate. Teaching as a profession in Uganda has no prestige and therefore, is not an enviable occupation. More precisely, for the middle and working class in Uganda, it is survival of the fittest, Darwin's theory of biological evolution. Put in another way, you "either eat or you are eaten".

CHAPTER V

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

5.1 Discussion

This thesis has examined the history of the teaching profession in Uganda and its dramatic transformation in the last three decades. The analysis of its history suggests that the profession flourished and was a high status occupation in the 1960s. By the mid 70s, the social, financial, professional status and enthusiasm had seriously been challenged by numerous forces which were broadly political and economic in nature.

Findings in the previous chapters will be used to address the last research question: What are the current teachers' needs which the educational system should address? Three major types of needs have been identified from the previous sections:

1) Economic security of teachers
2) Good working conditions
3) Professional recognition.

The activities, organization and daily operation of schools are basically determined by teachers and other staff (Evans, 1971). At the same time, as models of imitation, teachers are more than a mere source of knowledge in the classroom. Their willingness to develop "whole people" is a crucial factor in Uganda's educational plan to promote change. By teaching

values to their pupils, teachers influence the way these young people respond to established patterns of behaviour and responsibility.

Education had ceased to guide parental aspirations during the 70s and 80s because the leadership that evolved had no consideration for the value of education in national development. The contention that education is a driving force for socio-economic, cultural and political development (Ghosh, 1987a), is being revived by the present National Resistance Movement (NRM) government. The government's revival efforts are reflected in the numerous projects the government is presently engaged in, such as Universal Primary Education (UPE) (Boyd, Grmela and Selim, 1990). UPE is a multi-purpose project with the following aims: (1) full development of personality, striving for the rearing of people to respect labour and have a deep sense of responsibility. Uganda's experience of turbulent years has created a considerable moral degradation so much so that ethical values and a sense of responsibility and duty have been depressingly low (The Republic of Uganda, 1989). (2) To reinforce a spirit of self-reliance and (3) to inculcate in the young the spirit of national unity so that they can be builders of a peaceful state and society. This study has shown that major causes of strife and unrest in Uganda have been lack of national unity. The concept of national unity should: (1) bring different ethnic groups together to form one nation while allowing

cultural diversity to persist; (2) reduce the gap between the elites and masses (social integration); (3) evolve national values out of a multiplicity of ethnic values over local areas (value integration); (4) establish central authority (administrative integration) (The Republic of Uganda, 1989). During the 70s, education and its relationship to development was largely ignored. In spite of the numerous schools which emerged during that period, hardly any allocations were given to education. Instead, parents bore the total expense of maintaining primary education (Odeat, 1990).

In view of the forces of change discussed in Chapter III, the first and immediate need for teachers is the uplifting of their morale. The economic status of teachers needs immediate attention. How can teachers regain their self worth? Inadequacy of teacher salaries is a great threat to quality of education and all other activities which directly depend on a well educated society. The quality of education is essentially determined by the quality of persons who choose careers in the teaching profession. The research findings in this study suggest that the inadequacy of salaries has imposed social, psychological and economic hardships on teachers. The realisation that they are not rewarded as they should be, induced a sense of status panic in many teachers and naturally this has undermined their motivation to work. Teachers are frustrated by the low status they are accorded in society. Naturally, this directly affects their self and professional

esteem. Bess (1977) observed that unless teachers' status is uplifted, the teaching profession will rarely maintain sustained role commitment that is necessary for excellence. However, the conditions necessary to enhance and ensure high status in teaching are difficult to create especially when the country is undergoing an economic crisis. Research findings on the satisfaction of teachers in North America suggest that the teaching profession has become an imperiled profession precisely because it deprives so many good teachers of their motivation and a sense of professional self-esteem (Ashton,& Webb, 1986). James (1890), acknowledges three influences of esteem. First, he believes that esteem refers to our aspirations and life goals. Human beings measure their achievement against particular aspirations. Second, he suggests that human beings achieve a general sense of worth based on communal standards of success. Similarly sociological studies on esteem suggest that individuals can neither be isolated from the social milieu in which they are embedded nor can they be isolated from other people with whom they interact. Teachers are no exception.

If the teaching profession is to attract qualified individuals who believe in the value of teaching and if the best teachers are to be retained, ways must be found to alleviate the economic status of teachers.

The second important need for teachers in Uganda is the improvement in their working conditions. Educational

administration has an urgent role to play in regard to the improvement of the quality of life in the local environment. Physical facilities and conditions such as ventilation, sanitation, furniture and instructional materials are outdated and inadequate in the current schools in Uganda. The scarcity of learning material in the classroom is a very serious impediment to educational effectiveness in Africa (World Bank, 1988). Given that many primary school teachers in Uganda have less formal education and training than is usual among teachers in more developed regions, of teacher-guides and other materials designed to assist teachers in the organization of classroom activities plays a significant role in effective teaching. Availability of learning materials will assist teachers in the organisation of classroom activities and thus increase teachers' sense of efficacy (Abagi, 1990).

Needless to say, the government needs to invest more money in education. As expected, the government is likely to disregard such a suggestion due to lack of funds. The arguments presented in this thesis show that the economy and other developmental projects highly depend on the will of teachers to carry out their tasks. Teachers in Uganda are the only means through which human resources can be trained. Other approaches as suggested by Ghosh (1987b) in the furthering of learning, such as the use of microcomputers, satellites and the telematique, are not possible in the foreseeable future in Uganda. However, for the little capital there is, a higher

percentage is needed for education. Education can be allocated more money in comparison to other sectors. During Amin's regime, defense was allocated the biggest chunk of the budget and yet, although no data were available, one is very sure that Uganda is not facing any external invasion like that which Kuwait or Iraq faced in the Gulf war. With all the high illiteracy rates and poverty in the country, investing in education is equally or even more important than investing in industry and agriculture.

Improvement in the physical environment of teaching is also urgently needed. Although not much is known about how a poor physical plant affects the quality of education, we cannot fail to speculate that a healthy school environment dictates and controls teachers' and students' activities. Provisions for good staff-rooms, classrooms, washrooms, and housing for teachers could revive the morale of teachers. School environment has subtle as well as overt impact which influence attitudes, actions and most important affect teacher perceptions about themselves (Bremback, 1966, Pratzner, 1984). Dewey (1950) stated clearly that effective schools are those that provide appropriate and good facilities for the "free and full play" of individual vigour. What Dewey is saying is that failure to maintain an attractive school environment not only curtails learning, but also it obstructs students' and teachers' motivation to work. In addition, Uganda is a country striving for modernisation and social change (Kityo, 1988),

therefore, in the 1990s, to make complete provisions for good working conditions, structural transformation in all sectors of the economy is needed. In relation to structural transformations Bachuss (1981) states:

> attempting to make radical changes in the educational system and curriculum content of schools .... without affecting corresponding changes in their social and economic structures will be like hitting one's head against a brick wall (Bacchus, 1981, p. 222).

Physical plant quality and not quantity should be emphasised. Instead of expanding the number of "third world schools", efforts should be concentrated on a few existing schools to improve their quality.

The more immediate suggestions in the improvement of the quality of education should be perceived within the framework of human basic needs approach. Such an approach advocates the dignity and well being for all world citizens. This means that plans for development should be based on the deep social need to participate in the shaping of one's own existence, and to make some contribution to the fashioning of the world's future. The attainment of such objectives requires full participation of all segments of the population in gainful and productive employment and provision of all essential services for enrichment of the life of the community. Planning the provision to alleviate poor working conditions should therefore take into account the actual realities of socio-economic conditions as understood by the populace. Teachers

should be made to understand that the allocations given to education are reasonable compared to what is given to other sectors.

The third need for teachers is recognition, which of course is tied with economic status. Teachers cannot be isolated from the society in which they operate, and therefore they need to conform to the present societal ethos (Stodgill, 1974). With the current situation, there is greater need for them to assert their significance in the process of fostering the knowledge, values and skills necessary for national development. Even though at one time in the recent history of Uganda, during the Amin's legacy, the relevancy of education as a means to a better living became questionable, the reality is that it is still the source of socially recognised knowledge. At present, educational institutions are the leading government information systems and the most appropriate channel for the enlightenment of the public at large. The communication revolution, as suggested by education analysts like Ghosh, (1987b), are a distant dream, and yet in the case of Uganda, if she has to develop fast, the utilisation of educational technology in reducing inequalities and developing skills for self-reliance are a necessity (Ghosh, 1987b).

Awareness regarding the environment, population explosion, human rights abuse and other problems threatening the existence of humankind can best be effectively transmitted

to society through teachers. Further, with global warming in the face of land-mismanagement, deforestation and other desertification processes that cause drought and famine in many parts of Africa, and the exacerbating rates of illiteracy, there is no pretending that teachers are not a necessity. These global problems require the participation by everybody in the world. Teaching these things to children all over the world is the most effective way to protect the environment. Uganda needs motivated teachers to play this role of protecting the environment. In transmitting such knowledge, teachers are the most indispensable agencies employed in the education of the masses. As mentioned earlier, radios televisions, newspapers and magazines are out of reach for the majority of Ugandans. The communication network has suffered the fate other economic and social services have suffered. From an advanced level of development in the first ten years of independence, the communication sector fell into disrepair and mismanagement. For example, the State-owned television station had a geographical coverage of 65% of the country in the 1960s to early 1970s, but by 1985 transmission covered only 15% of the country (UNICEF, 1990). Individuals who have access to television are less than 1% of the population. Newspapers are limited to Kampala, the capital city, where a number of private, government and religious presses have been established. Access to television and newspapers to lower income groups and rural areas is essentially nil (UNICEF,

1990). Although most of the airtime on Radio Uganda is devoted to news, education and health programmes, radio listenership is limited by lack of batteries, which are expensive when available. Even though the hydro-electric potential of Uganda is more than it needs, electricity is limited to towns whereas 90% of the population live in rural areas. As a result, listenership is limited to short periods of the day, targeted to news and announcements.

Teachers do make a difference in the learning process of students. An assurance of recognition by society in the concrete form of future economic security has to be offered to the new teacher (Passi, 1990). This means that accurate planning to meet the demands of school teachers in Uganda is essential for the country to achieve its set goals of social, economic and political development.

In summary, teachers at almost every level in Uganda have become alienated because they have been deprived of job satisfaction, and the motivation to work. They have been diminished by their own work and saddened by the outlook of the future which past experience has rendered grey and unpromising.

Any approach used to reinstate teaching as a desirable career would begin by addressing the causes of teacher dissatisfaction and alienation. Pratzner (1984), suggests that work is likely to be satisfying when we value what we do, when it challenges and extends us to do well and when it satisfies

our basic human needs.

Major reforms are needed that address the endemic problems threatening the teaching profession. The conditions of teaching described in this thesis warrant drastic improvement. Unfortunately in Uganda, local structure for self-improvement and established processes for instituting and evaluating significant changes were destroyed by lack of management.

In proposing remedies for the plight of teachers in Uganda, one is immediately aware of a host of besetting problems. For instance, as I have already said, improving the quality and morale of teachers is essentially a financial problem. Attempts to solve the problems of low morale by improving their financial rewards confronts the government with an insurmountable problem. The country's economy is still in disarray, a situation that was ignited by the mismanagement of the economy by the military regime in the 70s, the liberation war against Amin in 1979 in addition to the five years of civil war (1981-1986). This is in addition to the global problem of trade imbalances whereby poor nations are underpaid for their exports compared with what they pay for imports, furthermore, the policies of large financial institutions such as IMF towards the third world. Salary structures which would attract and hold good teachers are not feasible in the near future.

Uganda inherited an irrelevant social and political

structure created by the colonial masters. Ethnic and religious conflicts, as well as Amin's power, were built by the British (Tindigarukayo, 1988a). However blaming the British is not the solution to problems facing Uganda today. The whole of Africa needs ideological independence.

Nevertheless suggestions will be given in an attempt to make the teaching profession become a worthwhile and satisfying lifetime job, not merely a way-station or hunting place for employment elsewhere in government or outside the country.

Attempts to adjust the structural causes of poverty in Uganda should be within the framework of basic human needs approach as suggested in this thesis so as to allow individuals to find ways to integrate themselves into the workplace. The aims of this approach as already indicated are to transform schools so that they no longer alienate teachers, administrators and students, and to free the intelligence of those who work in schools, so that they might better analyze their problems, invent solutions and improve the quality of education (Ashton & Webb, 1986).

5.2 Conclusions

Several conclusions may be drawn from this study: 1) The history of the teaching profession in primary schools and other levels of schooling shows that teaching was previously a high status occupation and teachers were highly regarded.

2) The working conditions in Uganda in all fields are very pathetic. Teaching at the primary school level has been most vulnerable to the prevailing social and economic situation, as compared to other professions.

3) This study on primary school teachers has brought to light certain pre-requisites which must be met if the teaching profession at the primary level is to revive or even survive:

i) teaching has suffered from lack of both economic and professional status

ii) teachers' working conditions as a matter of urgency need improvement.

iii) the progress of teaching in primary schools highly depends on the recognition accorded to teachers by society.

5.3 Policy implications

This study has indicated that the role of teachers in national development is undermined by low salaries. Teachers are generally ill rewarded when compared with persons of comparable or less education in other branches of the government. The government should establish loan schemes specifically for teachers, which would assist them in personal advancement. This loan system would help teachers battle with inflation and at the same time it should enable teachers to avoid working in more than one place as is the current

practice. This could raise the morale of teachers.

Besides loan schemes and salary increases accommodation for teachers should be provided on a subsidised basis. Furthermore, promotional ladders should be established. This will not necessarily mean that teachers be removed from active classroom teaching. A policy which gives teachers titles based on hard work or seniority would be recommended. This policy could be similar to the one used in the university where academicians are promoted from the rank of lecture to senior lecturer to associate professor and so on. It is an incentive which could assist teachers in regaining their self-worth.

To deal with the many unqualified teachers, training programmes now in operation need to be supplemented by a comprehensive plan for in-service teacher training designed to improve the competencies and qualifications of primary school teachers. For instance, many untrained teachers without professional qualifications in primary schools could be provided with late afternoon or evening, weekend or vacation courses by the education department.

It may be suggested that a program be developed which will encourage the return of professional Ugandans living abroad. While developing incentive programmes which may attract these citizens back, one should bear in mind that political and economic stability overrides everything else. This would automatically demand a cultural revolution which would in turn liberate the economy. And with a liberated

economy, there is hope for a higher standard of living, hence cultural prosperity.

5.4 Further research

For further research, a number of areas can be investigated:

1) Teacher motivation. No systematic research has been done on this topic. With the current economic crisis, if the teaching profession is to survive, there is a great and urgent need to understand the teachers' needs. The country's needs have changed in the last two decades and so have those of the teachers.

2) The Brain Drain Question. There is hardly any statistical data on the Ugandan "Brain Drain", even though the number of people who fled the country is predictably very high. It might be very useful to carry out an attitude survey on Ugandans living abroad.

3) Teachers' role in national unity. The role of teachers in promoting national unity is crucial. Education is believed to be one of the major contributors to political development by creating an informed and participant citizenry. As the study has indicated, the impact of the political and economic forces has been destructive. Just as NRM government is striving for a political revolution, there is an opportunity to revolutionize the entire education system for social transformation. Education in Uganda can be geared to promote

national integration by encouraging ethnic mixing and the reduction of social barriers between ethnic groups. If the NRM is to introduce changes in the social structure, it has to tackle the problems that have remained unsolved throughout Uganda's history. Therefore, the role of the teacher to promote national unity becomes of paramount importance. It will be worthwhile to keep track of further development in the teaching profession and to see the impact of cultural, political and economic revolution on the teaching profession in Uganda.

APPENDIX A

SOME REPORTS ON THE PLIGHT OF TEACHERS IN UGANDA.

CORRESPONDENCE I

This correspondence was written by a Ugandan teacher who has been teaching for the last twenty years:

The working conditions of Ugandan teachers have made the teaching profession which was once respected, be despised and detested. Why? Salary: The monthly salary of a teacher cannot maintain him (even if he might be a single person without any dependants) for one week! Now with the African extended family structure, this might be the only educated person in his family (all the family savings were spent on him), and he is expected in addition to maintain his own family to pay school fees for his brother/sister or relatives and support his parents financially! This kind of situation has resulted into the teacher:

1) wearing second hand clothes (they are quite cheap and affordable)

2) looking unhealthy and haggard as he has to miss some meals especially lunch.

3) become anti-social (e.g. not invite people to his house)

4) break from the extended family structure that is, avoids going home (where his parents are) as he cannot afford it (his home may be 200 km away)

5) do haphazard work. This ranges from teaching into 3-4 schools whereby he teaches half or a quarter of the total teaching load but still gets his full pay. Or in most cases will take on the coaching of students from rich families. This coaching doesn't mean in reality what the concept stands for. Instead of the teacher having a one to one relationship with his/her student, he engages the whole class of about 50 or more and teaches them. What in reality is taught to these students is what should have been

taught during the formal hours. But because he was busy in another school, teaching to earn a living, he was not able to teach in this other school. Sometimes it is intentionally done so that the formal class hours are not taken seriously, in order to make students attend "coaching" sessions which are out of school hours of course and which are paid for, the price of which is dictated by the teacher and it is usually the amount of time put in, that determines the payment. He usually earns more from coaching for a week than he earns from his monthly salary. However there are some factors which keep teachers in this profession:

a) Accommodation: Urban housing is very expensive and the salary of teacher cannot pay for a teacher's accommodation. So those schools which provide housing for teachers have in turn a stable teaching staff.

b) Security: Although they are miserably paid, teachers tend to feel secure to have a job to go to.

I strongly feel that if working conditions of teachers were improved, they would remain in their profession (Although currently many are flocking to South-Africa and Kenya). There have been motivational strategies to improve the morale of teachers. For instance, the Parent-Teacher Association (PTA) which is composed both teachers and parents. PTAs have created a system whereby each parent pays a certain fee as teachers' "boosters", which are given to the teacher on top of their basic salary. This system has been successful in urban areas where parents are wealthier. The disadvantage of this system is that rural areas lose their teachers to urban centres. As earlier mentioned, when a teacher is teaching in more than one school, with the booster, he will get a big lump-sum. What are the implications of teaching in three or four schools for the quality of education? Many periods are left untaught in-order to fit 3 schedules in a 10 hour period!

The government on the other hand has only tried to boost one aspect of education. Science teachers are given 10,000 on top of their salaries in order to encourage the teaching of science in schools. This however has

demoralised the arts teachers as they have been made to feel unwanted, unimportant and almost useless. One wonders how much input they are giving. Other factors frustrating in teaching are lack of teaching materials e.g textbooks. Despite the International Development Aid's (IDA), distribution of books to some schools, many schools are still crying for books. The few that are donated somehow find their way on the street markets to be sold.

The encouraging thing with NRM government policy is that it has decided to reduce the number of useless civil servants who were being unnecessarily paid, in order to save and uplift the standard of living for teachers. It is hoped this will take effect soon.

CORRESPONDENCE II

This correspondence was sent by a Canadian who has been teaching in Uganda for more than twenty years:

Generally, the teaching profession was highly regarded, and the salaries, decent enough, according to one's qualifications and experience. In the primary school where I was then, salaries ranged from U.Sh. 400 to 1000 (Can. $ 60 to 150) a month. A teacher could afford the ordinary things, like a bicycle which he cannot buy today in 1991, with the salary equivalent to $3 -$6 Canadian dollars a month. In the 60s, teachers got their salaries regularly and punctually. Today, you can wait for months....and of course, meanwhile a devaluation occurs, prices soar, and what you could buy 4 months back with the money you earned then, will cost 2 or 3 times as much and your salary will not increase until possibly the following year....or two or more years later. Then Teachers could afford luxuries like cars but today.....

Of course today rural schools do not have the same advantages as city schools, e.g scholastic materials, buildings etc. Today, more than then, transportation can be a serious problem, so that rural schools stand at a disadvantage.

From as early as 1971, teachers who could leave the country, did, going to Kenya and some to South African countries where salaries were and hopefully still are attractive.

Many Teachers I know admitted staying in teaching for two reasons namely, a) they have nowhere to go (cannot leave the country). b) "Free" accommodation provided by the school. One of my friends told me that he couldn't afford or build his own house. Another told me that he couldn't even afford a plot of land. A few however feel happy with educating children, but the morale wears away with financial constraints.

Lack of teaching materials in Uganda is a very serious problem. A committed and effective teacher would love to use incentive methods. Simple rewards can really motivate children. But....where, how to get them?

You asked me to describe the status of teachers today. I don't have much. Well, the real status is that of second or even third class citizen who probably failed or is alleged to have failed his secondary education, has no university degree, and therefore only good for teaching. I will also say that teachers are civil servants from whom more is demanded than for which he is remunerated.

Margaret, classroom conditions have not changed much after all the catastrophe which you are familiar with. Private and urban schools are not badly off. In rural areas classrooms are overcrowded (50, 60, 70, 80 children), due to shortage of teachers and classrooms. All in all, the absence of "beauty" makes it no "fun" for learning or teaching. Bare walls, often decrepit, are no inspiration.

Well the teaching profession has changed so much so that the government of Museveni has a lot of work ahead of them. Teachers dignity took a hive when salaries became meaningless. Personal survival have superseded everything else. Absenteeism is a common practice. A teacher has to work in two or three places in-order to get a meaningful income. Unless teachers' needs are met, they will continue to "prostitute"

themselves from one school to the other. In Montreal we talk of 40,000 children going hungry. Teachers in Montreal do not go hungry. Here, the majority get no breakfast and in most cases miss lunch.

APPENDIX B

GLOSSARY

The meaning of Ugandan terms commonly used in this study are given for purposes of this thesis only. For precise definitions, other sources should be consulted.

Abalya choka, (lit. chalk eaters). Negative terminology referring to primary school teachers in relation to their meagre salaries

Acholi, (*sing. Acholi*) The people of former Acholi district now divided into Gulu and Kitgum districts. *see **Nilotic and Luo***

Baganda, (*sing. Muganda*) Ethnic group of former Buganda kingdom *see **Bantu***

Banyoro, (*sing. Munyoro*) The people of former Bunyoro-kitara kingdom, now reduced to Hoima and Masindi districts. In the pre-colonial days, Bunyoro kitara used to cover almost the entire southern half of Uganda. The Banyoro rivalled the Baganda during the colonial days. Under Omukama (king) Kabalega, they resisted the British rule but were later defeated by the Buganda-British coalition. This defeat resulted in transferring part of Bunyoro to Buganda, Tooro and Ankole kingdoms. The parts transferred to Buganda became the "lost counties" (Nyakatura, 1973). *see **Bantu***

Bantu, (*sing. Muntu)* This is one of the four distinct language families in Uganda. (The other three include **Nilotic, Nilo-Hamitic** and **Central Sudanic (Nubians)**). Within the Bantu group is found: (a) the more centralised societies (kingdoms): **Baganda, Banyoro, Banyankole and Batooro** who were once governed by royal families. (b) the less centralised societies (chieftainships): **Basoga, Bagisu, Bagwere, Banyoli, Basamia, Bakiga, Bamba** and **Bakonjo**. The **Bantu** languages vary but have a common root word "**ntu**". The Bantu are also called

the "*Southerners*" because they live in the south and the rest of the people are called "*Notherners*" because they live in the north.

Bayaye, Crafty, Rough, Untrustworthy, Riff-raff people and businesspersons capable of making dangerous deals in trade. Of recent the term applies to any one who is crafty in anything.

Central-Sudanic, see Nubians

Chai, (*lit. tea*). Unauthorized service tax i.e. a form of Corruption

Langi, (*sing. Lango*). People of former Lango district now Lira and Apach Districts. *see Luo and Nilotic*

Lost counties, *see Banyoro*

Luo, Comprises mainly the Acholi and the Langi

Mafutamingi, (*lit. much fat*). A class of persons for whom Amin's regime provided a framework to "get rich quickly". Initially these were the people who inherited the Asian-departed property. Later mafutamingi came to include smugglers and other persons who acquire wealth through unclear means.

Magendo, Blackmarket and tax evasion. Although price controls have been lifted, magendo still persists.

Mayumba kumi, (*lit. ten houses*) A unit of ten houses grouped together for purposes of allocation of scarce commodities

Nilotic, These are people bordering the Zaire in the west and Sudan in the north, the majority of which include Langi, Acholi and Lugbar.

Nilo-Hamites, Live in northeast Uganda adjacent to Kenya and Sudan and include the **Iteso** and the **Karamojong.**

Nubians, (*Central-Sudanic*) Originated from central modern Sudan. Comprises people of North-western Uganda (West-Nile) and the neighbouring areas of Zaire and Sudan. Nubians include **Kakwa, Lugbara** and **Madi.** Idi Amin is a Nubian Kakwa.

NRM National Resistance Movement.

Pandagali, (Lit. board the vehicle). Refers to a security operation which was commonly used during the second reign of Obote to check guerilla

activities. All persons travelling early in the morning would be rounded up and ordered to board vehicles then taken to unknown security centres for screening out "bandits" (i.e guerillas).

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